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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY;
OR, A
COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING
PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,
AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT,
FOUND IN THE LATE
EARL OF OXFORD'S LIBRARY,
INTERSPERSED WITH
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL
NOTES.

—◆—
VOL. III.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR ROBERT DUTTON, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

==
1809.

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Amare & sapere viz Diis conceditur.

By Alex. Niccholes, Batchelor in the Art he never yet put in practice.

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and public recantation. Laying open many treacheries intended for the subversion of England.

*Cresce, cruor, sanguis satietur sanguine, cresce,
Quod spero sitio, vah sitio, sitio.*

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Our Fathers were very rich with little
And we poor with much.

Written by Walter Carey. London, printed by R. Young for William Sheffard in Popes-head-alley. Anno Dom. 1627. Quarto, containing twenty-one pages 552

THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

(HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH *
IN THIS LAST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT,
CONCERNING THE
GUNPOWDER-PLOT ;

As near his very Words, as could be gathered at the Instant.)

Together with a Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of this late intended Treason, joined with the Examination of some of the Prisoners.

Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, Anno 1605. Quarto, containing ninety-two Pages.

The Printer to the Reader.

HAVING received (gentle reader) the copy of the King's last speech to the parliament, as near to the life of his own words as they could be gathered; and being about to commit them to the press, as I did his former, there is presently come to my hands a discourse of this late intended most abominable treason against his Majesty, and the whole state. And because that a great part of his Majesty's speech was grounded upon that fearful accident, whereof this discourse doth make an ample declaration; I have thought it would not be unpleasing unto thee to join them together in the press. And, so leaving thee to make thy best use of both, I bid thee heartily farewell.

MY Lords spiritual and temporal, and you the knights and burgesses of this parliament, it was far from my thoughts till very lately before my coming to this place, that this subject should have been ministred unto me, whereupon I am now to speak. But now it so

* This is the 150th number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

falleth out, That whereas, in the preceding session of this parliament, the principal occasion of my speech was, to thank and congratulate all you of this house, and in you, all the whole commonwealth, as being the representative body of the state, for your so willing and loving receiving and embracing of me in that place, which God and nature, by descent of blood, had in his own time provided for me: So now my subject is, to speak of a far greater thanksgiving than before I gave to you, being to a far greater person, which is to God, for the great and miraculous delivery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all, and consequently to the whole body of this estate.

I must therefore begin with this old and most approved sentence of divinity, *Misericordia Dei supra omnia opera ejus*. For Almighty God did not furnish so great matter to his glory, by the creation of this great world, as he did by the redemption of the same. Neither did his generation of the little world, in our old and first Adam, so much set forth the praises of God in his justice and mercy, as did our regeneration in the last and second Adam.

And now I must crave a little pardon of you, That since Kings are, in the word of God itself, called Gods, as being his lieutenants and vicegerents on earth, and so adorned and furnished with some sparkles of the Divinity; to compare some of the works of God the great King, towards the whole and general world, to some of his works towards me, and this little world of my dominions, compassed and severed by the sea from the rest of the earth. For as God, for the just punishment of the first great sins in the original world, when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and the cup of their iniquities of all sorts was filled, and heaped up to the full, did, by a general deluge and overflowing of waters, baptise the world to a general destruction, and not to a general purgation, only excepted Noah and his family, who did repent and believe the threatenings of God's judgment: So now, when the world shall wax old as a garment, and that all the impieties and sins, that can be devised against both the first and second table, have and shall be committed to the full measure; God is to punish the world the second time by fire, to the general destruction and not purgation thereof. Although as was done in the former to Noah and his family by the waters; so shall all we that believe be likewise purged, and not destroyed by the fire. In the like sort, I say, I may justly compare these two great and fearful doomsdays, wherewith God threatened to destroy me, and all you of this little world that have interest in me. For although I confess, as all mankind, so chiefly kings, as being in the higher places like the high trees, or stayed mountains, and steepest rocks, are most subject to the daily tempests of innumerable dangers; and I amongst all other kings have ever been subject unto them, not only ever since my birth, but even as I may justly say, before my birth, and while I was yet in my mother's belly; yet have I been exposed to two more special and greater dangers than all the rest.

The first of them, in the kingdom where I was born, and passed the first part of my life: And the last of them here, which is the greatest. In the former I should have been baptised in blood, and in my destruc-

tion not only the kingdom wherein I then was, but ye also, by your future interest, should have tasted of my ruin. Yet it pleased God to deliver me, as it were, from the very brink of death, from the point of the dagger, and so to purge me by my thankful acknowledgment of so great a benefit. But in this, which did so lately fall out, and which was a destruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here present, and wherein no rank, age, nor sex should have been spared; this was not a crying sin of blood, as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay a thundering sin of fire and brimstone, from the which God hath so miraculously delivered us all. What I can speak of this, I know not: Nay, rather what can I not speak of it? And therefore, I must, for horror, say with the poet, *Vox faucibus hæret.*

(In this great and horrible attempt, whereof the like was never either heard or read, I observe three wonderful, or rather miraculous events.)

(First, in the cruelty of the plot itself, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearful cruelty of their device, which was not only for the destruction of my person, nor of my wife and posterity only, but of the whole body of the state in general;) wherein should neither have been spared, or distinction made of young nor of old, of great nor of small, of man nor of woman: The whole nobility, the whole reverend clergy, bishops, and most part of the good preachers, the most part of the knights and gentry; yea, and, if that any in this society were favourers of their profession, they should all have gone one way: The whole judges of the land, with the most of the lawyers and the whole clerks: (And as the wretch himself, that is in the Tower, doth confess, it was purposely devised by them, and concluded to be done in this house; that, where the cruel laws, as they say, were made against their religion, both place and persons should all be destroyed and blown up at once. And then consider therewithal the cruel form of that practice: For, by three different sorts in general, may mankind be put to death.)

(The first, by other men, and reasonable creatures, which is least cruel;) for then both defence of men against men may be expected, and likewise, who knoweth what pity God may stir up in the hearts of the actors at the very instant? Besides the many ways and means, whereby men may escape in such a present fury.

(And the second way, more cruel than that, is by animal and unreasonable creatures;) for, as they have less pity than men, so it is a greater horror and more unnatural for men to deal with them: But yet with them both resistance may avail, and also some pity may be had, as was in the lions, in whose den Daniel was thrown; or that thankful lion, that had the Roman slave in his mercy.

(But the third, which is most cruel and unmerciful of all, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things, and amongst them all, the most cruel are the two elements of water and fire; and of those two, the fire most raging and merciless.)

Secondly, How wonderful it is, when you shall think upon the small, or rather no ground, whereupon the practisers were enticed to invent this tragedy. For, if these conspirators had only been bankrupt persons, or discontented upon occasion of any disgraces done unto them, this might have seemed to have been but a work of revenge. But for my own part, as I scarcely ever knew any of them, so cannot they alledge so much as a pretended cause of grief: And the wretch himself in hands doth confess, that there was no cause moving him or them, but merely and only religion. And especially that Christian men, at least so called, Englishmen, born within the country, and one of the specials of them my sworn servant in an honourable place, should practise the destruction of their king, his posterity, their country and all: Wherein their following obstinacy is so joined to their former malice, as the fellow himself, that is in hand, cannot be moved to discover any signs or notes of repentance, except only that he doth not yet stand to avow, that he repents for not being able to perform his intent.

Thirdly, The discovery hereof is not a little wonderful, which would be thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were as well acquainted with my natural disposition, as those are, who be near about me. For, as I ever did bold suspicion to be the sickness of a tyrant, so was I so far upon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all advertisements, or apprehensions of practices. And yet now, at this time was I so far contrary to myself, as, when the letter was shewed to me by my secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar construction of them, and in another sort, than I am sure any divine, or lawyer, in any university would have taken them, to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us up all by powder; and thereupon ordered that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered, and the man apprehended: Whereas, if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other sort of danger, no worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction.

And, in that also, was there a wonderful providence of God, that, when the party himself was taken, he was but new come out of his house from working, having his firework for kindling ready in his pocket, wherewith, as he confesseth, if he had been taken but immediately before, when he was in the house, he was resolved to have blown up himself with his takers.

One thing, for my own part, have I cause to thank God in, that, if God for our sins had suffered their wicked intents to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken nor written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an ale-house, a stews, or such vile place, but my end should have been with the most honourable and best company, and in that most honourable and fittest place for a king to be in, for doing the turns most proper to his office; and the more have we all cause to thank and magnify God for this his merciful delivery. And especially,

I for my part, that he hath given me yet once leave, whatsoever should come of me hereafter, to assemble you, in this honourable place; and here in this place, where our general destruction should have been, to magnify and praise him for our general delivery; that I may justly now say of my enemies and yours, as David doth often say in the psalm, *Inciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt*. And since Scipio, an Ethnick, led only by the light of nature, that day when he was accused by the tribunes of the people of Rome, for mispending and wasting in his Punick wars the city's treasure, even upon the sudden broke out with that diversion of them from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day was the day of the year, wherein God had given them so great a victory against Hanibal; and therefore, it was fitter for them all, leaving other matters, to run to the temple, to praise God for that so great delivery, which the people did all follow with one applause: how much more cause have we that are Christians to bestow this time, in this place, for thanksgiving to God for his great mercy, though we had no other errand of assembling here at this time? Wherein, if I have spoken more like a divine, than would seem to belong to this place, the matter itself must plead for my excuse: for being here come, to thank God for a divine work of his mercy, how can I speak of this deliverance of us from so hellish a practice, so well as in language of divinity, which is the direct opposite to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I justly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this sentence, 'The mercy of God is above all his works.'

It resteth now, that I should shortly inform you what is to be done hereafter, upon the occasion of this horrible and strange accident. As for your part, that are my faithful and loving subjects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt up with zeal in this errand, and your tongues so ready to utter your dutiful affections, and your hands and feet so bent to concur in the execution thereof (for which, as I need not to spur you, so can I not but praise you for the same :) As it may very well be possible, that the zeal of your hearts shall make some of you, in your speeches, rashly to blame such as may be innocent of this attempt; but, upon the other part, I wish you to consider, that I would be sorry that any, being innocent of this practice, either domestical or foreign, should receive blame or harm for the same. For although it cannot be denied, that it was the only blind superstition of their errors in religion, that led them to this desperate device; yet doth it not follow, that all professing the Romish religion were guilty of the same. For as it is true, that no other sect of hereticks, not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan, no, not even those of Calicut, who adore the devil, did ever maintain, by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful, or rather meritorious, as the Romish Catholicks call it, to murder princes, or people, for quarrel of religion. And although particular men, of all professions of religion, have been some thieves, some murderers, some traytors, yet ever, when they came to their end and just punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature, and not in their profession, these Romish Catholicks only excepted: yet it is true, on the other side, that many honest men, blinded peradventure with some opinions of popery, as if they be not

sound in the questions of the real presence, or in the number of the sacraments, or some such school question ; yet do they either not know, or, at least, not believe all the true grounds of popery, which is, indeed, the mystery of iniquity. And, therefore, do we justly confess, that many papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ, and his merits, at their last breath, may be, and oftentimes are saved : detesting, in that point, and thinking the cruelty of puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any papist. I, therefore, thus do conclude this point, that, as upon the one part, many honest men, seduced with some errors of popery, may yet remain good and faithful subjects ; so, upon the other part, none of those, who truly know and believe the whole grounds, and school-conclusions of their doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians, or faithful subjects. And, for the part of foreign princes and states, I may so much the more acquit them, and their ministers, of their knowledge and consent to any such villainy, as I may justly say, that, in that point, I better know all Christian kings by myself, that no King nor prince of honour will ever abase himself so much, as to think a good thought of so base and dishonourable a treachery ; wishing you, therefore, that as God hath given me an happy peace and amity with all other Christian princes, my neighbours, as was even now very gravely told you, by my lord chancellor, that so you will reverently judge and speak of them in this case. And, for my part, I would wish, with those ancient philosophers, that there were a chrystal window in my breast, wherein all my people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart ; for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident, further than in these two points : the first, caution and wariness in government, to discover and search out the mysteries of this wickedness, as far as may be ; the other, after due trial, severity of punishment upon those that shall be found guilty of so detestable and unheard of villainy. And now, in this matter, if I have troubled your ears with an abrupt speech, undigested in any good method or order, you have to consider, that an abrupt and unadvised speech doth best become, in the relation of so abrupt and unorderly an accident.

And although I have ordained the proroguing of this parliament until after Christmas, upon two necessary respects ; whereof the first is, that neither I, nor my council, can have leisure, at this time, both to take order for the apprehension and trial of these conspirators, and also to wait upon the daily affairs of the parliament, as the council must do : and the other reason is the necessity, at this time, of divers of your presences, in your shires, that have charges and commandments there. For as these wretches thought to have blown up, in a manner, the whole world of this island, every man being now come up here, either for publick causes of parliament, or else for their own private causes in law, or otherwise : so these rebels, that now wander through the country, could never have gotten so fit a time of safety in their passage, or whatsoever unlawful actions, as now, when the country, by the aforesaid occasions, is, in a manner, left desolate and waste unto them. Besides that, it may be, that I shall desire you, at *your next session*, to take upon you the judgment of this crime ; for

as so extraordinary a fact deserves extraordinary judgment, so can there not, I think, following even their own rule, be a fitter judgment for them, than that they should be measured with the same measure, wherewith they thought to measure us: and that the same place and persons, whom they thought to destroy, should be the just avengers of their so unnatural a parricide. Yet, not knowing that I will have occasion to meet with you myself, in this place, at the beginning of the next session of this parliament (because, if it had not been for delivering of the articles, agreed upon by the commissioners of the union, which was thought most convenient to be done in my presence, where both head and members of the parliament were met together, my presence had not otherwise been requisite here, at this time) I have, therefore, thought good, for conclusion of this meeting, to discourse to you somewhat about the true nature and definition of a parliament, which I will remit to your memories, till your next sitting down, that you may then make use of it, as occasion shall be ministered.

For albeit it be true, that, at the first session of my first parliament, which was not long after my entry into this kingdom, it could not become me to inform you of any thing belonging to law or state here (for all knowledge must either be infused or acquired; and seeing the former part thereof is now, with prophecy, ceased in the world, it could not be possible for me, at my first entry here, before experience had taught it me, to be able to understand the particular mysteries of this state;) yet, now that I have reigned almost three years amongst you, and have been careful to observe those things that belong to the office of a king; albeit that time be but a short time for experience in others, yet, in a king, may it be thought a reasonable long time, especially in me, who, although I be but, in a manner, a new king here, yet have been long acquainted with the office of a King in such another kingdom, as doth, nearest of all others, agree with the laws and customs of this state. Remitting to your consideration, to judge of that which hath been concluded by the commissioners of the union, wherein I am, at this time, to signify unto you, that as I can bear witness to the aforesaid commissioners, that they have not agreed nor concluded therein any thing, wherein they have not foreseen as well the wealth and commodity of the one country, as of the other; so can they all bear me record, that I was so far from pressing them to agree to any thing which might bring with it any prejudice to this people; as, by the contrary, I did ever admonish them, never to conclude upon any such union, as might carry hurt or grudge with it to either of the said nations; for the leaving of any such thing could not but be the greatest hinderance that might be to such an action, which God, by the laws of nature, had provided to be in his own time, and hath now, in effect, perfected in my person; to which purpose, my lord chancellor hath better spoken, than I am able to relate.

And, as to the nature of this high court of parliament, it is nothing else but the king's great council, which the king doth assemble, either upon occasion of interpreting, or abrogating old laws, or making of new, according as ill manners shall deserve, or for the publick punish-

ment of notorious evil doers, or the praise and reward of the virtuous and well deservers, wherein these four things are to be considered :

First, Wherefore this court is composed.

Secondly, What matters are proper for it.

Thirdly, To what end it is ordained.

And, *Fourthly*, What are the means and ways, whereby this end should be brought to pass.

As for the thing itself, it is composed of a head and a body ; the head is the king, the body are the members of the parliament ; this body again is subdivided into two parts, the upper and lower house ; the upper compounded partly of nobility, temporal men, who are heritable counsellors to the high court of parliament, by the honour of their creation and lands, and partly of bishops, spiritual men, who are likewise, by the virtue of their place and dignity, counsellors, life-renters, or *ad vitam* of this court : the other house is composed of knights for the shires, and gentry and burgesses for the towns. But because the number would be infinite, for all the gentlemen and burgesses to be present at every parliament, therefore a certain number is selected, and chosen out of that great body, serving only for that parliament, where their persons are the representation of that body.

Now the matters, whereof they are to treat, ought therefore to be general, and rather of such matters, as cannot well be performed without the assembling of that general body, and no more of these generals neither, than necessity shall require ; for, as in *corruptissima re-publica sunt plurimæ leges*, so doth the life and strength of the law consist, not in heaping up infinite and confused numbers of laws, but in the right interpretation, and good execution of good and wholesome laws. If this be so then, neither is this a place, on the one side, for every rash and harebrained fellow to propose new laws of his own invention : nay, rather, I could wish these busy heads to remember that law of the Lacedemonians, that whosoever came to propose a new law to the people, behoved publickly to present himself with a rope about his neck, that, in case the law were not allowed, he should be hanged therewith ; so wary should men be of proposing novelties, but most of all, not to propose any bitter or seditious laws, which can produce nothing but grudges and discontentment between the prince and his people. Nor yet is it, on the other side, a convenient place for private men, under the colour of general laws, to propose nothing, but their own particular gain, either to the hurt of their private neighbours, or to the hurt of the whole state in general ; which, many times, under fair and pleasing titles, are smoothly passed over, and so, by stealth, procure without consideration, that the private meaning of them tendeth to nothing, but either to the wreck of a particular party, or else under the colour of a publick benefit to pill the poor people, and serve, as it were, for a general impost upon them, for filling the purses of some private persons.

And as to the end for which the parliament is ordained, being only for the advancement of God's glory, and the establishment and wealth

of the king and his people: it is no place then for particular men to utter there their private conceits, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and least of all to make shew of their eloquence by tyning the time with long studied and eloquent orations. No, the reverence of God, their king, and their country, being well settled in their hearts, will make them ashamed of such toys, and remember that they are there as sworn counsellors to their king, to give their best advice for the furtherance of his service, and the flourishing weal of his estate.

And lastly, if you will rightly consider the means and ways how to bring all your labours to a good end, you must remember, that you are here assembled by your lawful king, to give him your best advices, in the matters proposed by him unto you, being of that nature which I have already told; wherein you are gravely to deliberate, and, upon your consciences, plainly to determine how far those things propounded do agree with the weal, both of your king and of your country, whose weals cannot be separated. And as for myself, the world shall ever bear me witness, that I never shall propose any thing unto you, which shall not as well tend to the weal publick, as to any benefit for me: so shall I never oppose myself to that which may tend to the good of the commonwealth, for the which I am ordained, as I have often said. And as you are to give your advice in such things as shall by your king be proposed: so is it on your part your duties to propose any thing that you can, after mature deliberation, judge to be needful, either for these ends already spoken of, or otherwise, for the discovery of any latent evil in the kingdom, which, peradventure, may not have come to the king's ear. If this, then, ought to be your grave manner of proceeding in this place, men should be ashamed to make shew of the quickness of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting the prince or state in any point, or yet in breaking jests upon their fellows, for which the ordinaries, or alehouses, are fitter places, than this honourable and high court of parliament.

In conclusion, then, since you are to break up, for the reasons I have already told you, I wish such of you, as have any charges in your countries, to hasten you home for the repressing of the insolencies of these rebels, and apprehension of their persons; wherein, as I heartily pray to the Almighty for your prosperous success, so do I not doubt, but we shall shortly hear the good news of the same; and that you shall have an happy return, and meeting here to all our comforts.

Here the lord chancellor spoke touching the proroguing of the parliament. And having done, his Majesty rose again, and said:

Since it pleased God to grant me two such notable deliveries upon one day of the week, which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the month, which was the fifth; thereby to teach me, that as it was the same devil that still persecuted me: so it was one and the same God that still mightily delivered me; I thought it therefore not amiss, that the twenty-first day of January, which fell to be upon Tuesday, should be the day of meeting of this next session of parliament, hoping and assuring myself, that the same God, who hath now granted me and you all so notable and gracious a delivery, shall prosper all our affairs

at that next session, and bring them to an happy conclusion. And now I consider God hath well provided it, that the ending of this parliament hath been so long continued; for as for my own part, I never had any other intention, but only to seek so far my weal, and prosperity, as might conjunctly stand with the flourishing state of the whole commonwealth, as I have often told you: so on the other part I confess, if I had been in your places at the beginning of this parliament, which was so soon after my entry into this kingdom, wherein you could not possibly have so perfect a knowledge of my inclination, as experience since hath taught you, I could not but have suspected and misinterpreted divers things, in the trying whereof, now I hope, by your experience of my behaviour and form of government, you are well enough cleared and resolved.

(A Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of this late intended Treason, joyned with the Examination of some of the Prisoners.)

THERE is a time, when no man ought to keep silence. For it hath ever been held as a general rule, and undoubted maxim, in all well-governed common-wealths, whether Christian, and so guided by the divine light of God's word; or Ethnick, and so led by the glimmering twilight of nature; yet howsoever their profession was, upon this ground have they all agreed, that, when either their religion, their king, or their country was in any extreme hazard, no good countryman ought then to withhold either his tongue or his hand, according to his calling and faculty, from aiding to repel the injury, repress the violence, and avenge the guilt upon the authors thereof. But if ever any people had such an occasion ministered unto them, it is surely this people now, nay this whole isle, and all the rest belonging to this great and glorious monarchy. For if, in any heathenish republick, no private man could think his life more happily and gloriously bestowed than in the defence of any one of these three, that is, either *pro aris*, *pro focis*, or *pro patre patriæ*; and that the endangering of any one of these would at once stir the whole body of the commonwealth, not any more as divided members, but as a solid and individual lump: how much more ought we, the truly Christian people that inhabit this united and truly happy isle, under the wings of our gracious and religious Monarch? Nay, how infinitely greater cause have we to feel and resent ourselves of the smart of that wound, not only intended and execrated, nor consecrated, for the utter extinguishing of our true Christian profession, nor jointly therewith, only for the cutting off of our head and father politick, *sed ut nefas & sacrilegium parricidium omnibus modis absolutum reddi possit*? And, that nothing might be wanting for making this sacrilegious parricide a pattern of mischief, and a crime (nay, a mother or store-house of all crimes) without example, they should have joined the destruction of the body to the head, so as *græx cum rege, aræ cum focis, lares cum penatibus*, should all, at one thunder-clap, have been sent to Heaven together: the King, our head,

the Queen, our fertile mother, and those young and hopeful olive plants, not theirs, but ours : our reverend clergy, our honourable nobility, the faithful counsellors, the grave judges, the greatest part of the worthy knights and gentry, as well as of the wisest burgesses ; the whole clerks of the crown, council, signet, seals, or of any other principal judgment-seat ; all the learned lawyers, together with an infinite number of the common people ; nay, their furious rage should not only have lighted upon reasonable and sensible creatures without distinction either of degree, sex, or age ; but, even the insensible stocks and stones should not have been free of their fury : The hall of justice ; the house of parliament ; the church, used for the coronation of our kings ; the monuments of our former princes ; the crown, and other marks of royalty ; all the records, as well of parliament, as of every particular man's right, with a great number of charters and such like, should all have been comprehended under that fearful chaos. And so the earth, as it were opened, should have sent forth out of the bottom of the Stygian lake such sulphured smoke, furious flames, and fearful thunder, as should have, by their diabolical doomsday, destroyed and defaced, in the twinkling of an eye, not only our present living princes and people, but even our insensible monuments reserved for future ages : So as not only ourselves that are mortal, but the immortal monuments of our ancient princes and nobility, that have been so precious preserved from age to age, as the remaining trophies of their eternal glory, and have so long triumphed over envious time, should now have been all consumed together ; and so not only we, but the memory of us and ours, should have been thus extinguished in an instant. The true horror therefore of this detestable device hath stirred me up to bethink myself, wherein I may best discharge my conscience in a cause so general and common, if it were to bring but one stone to the building, or, rather with the widow, one mite to the common box. But, since to so hateful and unheard of invention, there can be no greater enemy than the self, the simple truth thereof being once publicly known and divulged ; and that there needs no stronger argument to bring such a plot in universal detestation, than the certainty that so monstrous a thing could once be devised, nay, concluded upon, wrought in, in full readiness, and within twelve hours of the execution. My threefold zeal to those blessings, whereof they would have so violently made us all widows, hath made me resolve to set down here the true narration of that monstrous and unnatural intended tragedy, having better occasion, by the means of my service, and continual attendance in court, to know the truth thereof, than others, that, peradventure, have it only by relation at the third or fourth hand : so that, whereas those worse than Catilines thought to have extirpated us and our memories, their infamous memory shall, by these means, remain to the end of the world, upon the one part ; and, upon the other, God's great and merciful deliverance of his anointed, and us all, shall remain in never-dying records ; and God grant that it may be in marble tables of thankfulness, engraven in our hearts.

While this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy

and plentiful peace, as well at home, as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main good pillars of all good government, piety and justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing: The King being upon his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the parliament-time, which had been twice prorogued already, partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the term: as the winds are ever stillest, immediately before a storm; and, as the sun bleaks often hottest to foretel a following shower; so, at that time of greatest calm, did this secretly-hatched thunder begin to cast forth the first flashes, and flaming lightnings of the approaching tempest. For, the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the King's return, which was upon a Thursday (being but ten days before the parliament) the Lord Monteagle, son and heir to the Lord Morley, being in his own lodging ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen (whom he had sent of an errand over the street) was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands; which my lord no sooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or superscription, did call one of his men unto him, for helping him to read it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised pasquil by some of his enemies to scare him from his attendance at the parliament) yet did he, as a most dutiful and loyal subject, conclude not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his Majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the same to the Earl of Salisbury, his Majesty's principal secretary. Whereupon, the said Earl of Salisbury having read the letter, and heard the manner of the coming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my lord for his discretion, telling him plainly, that, whatsoever the purport of the letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted, as well the King himself, as divers of his privy-counsellors, concerning some business the papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combination amongst them against this parliament-time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King some petition for toleration of religion, which should be delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the King should be loth to refuse their requests; like the sturdy beggars, craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the Earl of Salisbury conclude with the Lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the King's absence, impart the same letter to some more of his Majesty's council, whereof my lord Monteagle liked well, only adding this request, by way of protestation, that whatsoever the event thereof might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too

sudden an apprehension, that, he delivered this letter; being only moved thereunto for demonstration of his ready devotion, and care for preservation of his Majesty and the state. And this did the Earl of Salisbury presently acquaint the lord chamberlain with the said letter. Whereupon they two, in presence of the Lord Montegale, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this letter; the tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his Majesty's person, made them apprehend, that some perilous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same, which did the more nearly concern the said lord chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his office to oversee, as well all places of assembly where his Majesty is to repair, as his Highness's own private houses. And therefore did the said two counsellors conclude, that they should join unto themselves three more of the council, to wit, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident, who, having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the said letter, they did conclude, that, how slight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behoved them to have of the preservation of his Majesty's person: but yet resolved, for two reasons, first, to acquaint the King himself with the same, before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his Majesty's fortunate judgment, in clearing and solving obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries; as also, because the more time would, in the mean time, be given for the practice to ripen, if any was, whereby the discovery might be more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easy. And so, according to their determination, did the said Earl of Salisbury repair to the King in his gallery upon Friday, being Allhallow's-day, in the afternoon, which was the day after his Majesty's arrival, and none but himself being present with his Highness at that time, where, without any other speech, or judgment given of the letter, but only relating simply the form of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his Majesty. The contents whereof follow:

MY LORD,
 'OUT of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse, to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the letter; and I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you.

The King no sooner read the letter, but, after a little pause, and then reading it once again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the stile of it seemed to be more quick and pithy, than is usual to be in any pasquil or libel, the superfluities of idle brains. But the Earl of Salisbury, perceiving the King to apprehend it deeper than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him, that he thought, by one sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some fool, or madman, reading to him this sentence in it: 'For the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter;' which, he said, was likely to be the saying of a fool; for, if the danger was past, so soon as the letter was burnt, then the warning behoved to be of little avail, when the burning of the letter might make the danger to be eschewed. But the King, on the contrary, considering the former sentence in the letter, 'That they should receive a terrible blow at this parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them,' joining it to the sentence immediately following, already alledged, did thereupon conjecture, that the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder; for no other insurrection, rebellion, or whatsoever other private and desperate attempt could be committed, or attempted, in time of parliament, and the authors thereof unseen, except only if it were by a blowing up of powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a dark corner: whereupon he was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the letter, alledged by the Earl of Salisbury, against all ordinary sense and construction in grammar, as if by these words, 'For the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter,' should be closely understood the suddenness and quickness of the danger, which should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire; turning that word of, as soon, to the sense of, as quickly; and therefore wished, that, before his going to the parliament, the under-rooms of the parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched. But, the Earl of Salisbury wondering at this his Majesty's commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition, who did rather ever sin upon the other side, in not apprehending, nor trusting due advertisements of practices and perils, when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers; and interpreting rightly this extraordinary caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole state, more than of his own person, which could not but have all perish together, if this designment had succeeded, he thought good to dissemble still unto the King, that there had been any just cause of such apprehension; and, ending the purpose with some merry jest upon this subject, as his custom is, took his leave for that time. But, though he seemed so to neglect it to his Majesty, yet, his customable and watchful care of the King and the state still boiling within him, and having, with the blessed Virgin Mary, laid up in his heart the King's so strange judgment and construction of it, he could not be at rest, till he acquainted the aforesaid lords what had passed between the King and him in private. Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew again the memory

of the same purpose to his Majesty, that it was agreed, that he should the next day, being Saturday, repair to his Highness; which he did in the same privy gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the lord chamberlain then being present with the King. At which time it was determined, that the said lord chamberlain should, according to his custom and office, view all the parliament houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them; but yet, as well for staying of idle rumours, as for being the more able to discern any mystery, the nearer that things were in readiness, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before the sitting down of the parliament, which was upon the Monday following. At which time he (according to this conclusion) went to the parliament-house, accompanied with my Lord Monteagle, being, in zeal to the King's service, earnest and curious to see the event of that accident, whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer; where, having viewed all the lower rooms, he found, in the vault, under the upper house, great store and provision of billets, faggots, and coals; and, inquiring of Whyneard, keeper of the wardrobe, to what use he had put those lower rooms and cellars? He told him, that Thomas Percy had hired both the house, and part of the cellar, or vault, under the same; and the wood and coal therein were the said gentleman's own provision. Whereupon, the lord chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the said Percy's man, and keeper of that house for him, but indeed was Guido Fawkes, the owner of that hand, which should have acted that monstrous tragedy.

The lord chamberlain, looking upon all things with a heedful, indeed, yet, in outward appearance, with but a careless and rackless eye, as became so wise and diligent a minister, he presently addressed himself to the King in the said privy gallery; where, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, the Earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report what he had seen and observed there; noting, that Monteagle had told him, that he no sooner heard Thomas Percy named to be the possessor of that house, but, considering both his backwardness in religion, and the old dearness in friendship between himself and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the latter should come from him. The said lord chamberlain also told, that he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coal in that house, where Thomas Percy had so seldom occasion to remain; as likewise it gave him in his mind, that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not but increase the King's former apprehension and jealousy; whereupon, he insisted, as before, that the house was narrowly to be searched, and that those billets and coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious, that they were laid there only for covering of the powder. Of this same mind also were all the counsellors then present; but upon the fashion of making of the search was it long debated: For, upon the one side, they were all so jealous of the King's safety, that they all agreed, That there could not be too much caution used for the preventing his danger; and yet,

upon the other part, they were all extreme loth and dainty, that, in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the King and the state, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the Earl of Northumberland, one of his Majesty's greatest subjects and counsellors, this Thomas Percy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the King detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, though of the meanest degree; and therefore, though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the King's person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least din and occasion of slander. But, the King himself still persisting, that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudge no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved them, That either must all the parts of those rooms be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the parliament, and leave the success to fortune; which, he believed, they would be loth to take upon their conscience; for, in such a case as this, an half-doing was worse than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses; and yet, for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet, that, upon a pretence of Whynard's missing some of the King's stuff, or hangings, which he had in keeping, all those rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And, to this purpose, was Sir Thomas Knevet, (a gentleman of his Majesty's privy-chamber) employed, being a justice of peace in Westminster, and one, of whose ancient fidelity both the late Queen and our now sovereign have had large proof; who, according to the trust committed unto him, went, about the midnight next after, to the parliament-house, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand: But, before his entry in the house, finding Thomas Percy's alledged man standing without the doors, his clothes and boots on, at so dead a time of the night, he resolved to apprehend him; as he did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house, where, after he had caused to be overturned some of the billets and coals, he first found one of the small barrels of powder, and afterwards all the rest, to the number of (thirty-six barrels, great and small) and thereafter, searching the fellow, whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him; which made him instantly confess his own guiltiness; declaring also unto him, that, if he had happened to be within the house, when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the ending of his work) he would not have failed to have blown him up, house and all.

Thus, after Sir Thomas had caused the wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded by the company he had brought with him, he himself returned back to the King's palace, and gave warning of his

success to the lord chamberlain, and Earl of Salisbury, who immediately warned the rest of the council, that lay in the house; as soon as they could get themselves ready, came, with their fellow counsellors, to the King's bedchamber, being, at that time, near four of the clock in the morning. And at the first entry of the King's chamber-door, the lord chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his joy for the preventing of so great a danger, told the King, in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the traitor in hands and fast bound.

Then, order being first taken for sending for the rest of the council that lay in the town, the prisoner himself was brought into the house, where, in respect of the strangeness of the accident, no man was stayed from the sight, or speaking with him. And, within a while after, the council did examine him; who, seeming to put on a Roman resolution, did, both to the council, and to every other person that spoke with him that day, appear so constant and settled upon his grounds, as we all thought we had found some new Mutius Scaevola born in England. For, notwithstanding the horror of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprising, the terror which should have been struck in him, by coming into the presence of so grave a council, and the restless and confused questions, that every man, all that day, did vex him with; yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scaevola, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof, he said, the devil, and not God, was the discoverer; answering quickly to every man's objection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded unto him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day could the council get nothing out of him, touching his accomplices, refusing to answer to any such questions, which he thought might discover the plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; whereunto, he said, he was moved, only for religion and conscience sake, denying the King to be his lawful sovereign, or the anointed of God, in respect he was an heretick, and giving himself no other name, than John Johnson, servant to Thomas Percy. But, the next morning, being carried to the tower, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice, in that space, re-examined, and the rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face; and then did he begin to confess part of the truth, and, thereafter, to open the whole matter, as doth appear, by his depositions immediately following.

(The true Copy of the Deposition of Guido Fawkes, taken in the Presence of the Counsellors, whose Names are underwritten. ✓

I CONFESS, that a practice, in general, was first broken unto me, against his Majesty, for relief of the catholick cause, and not invented or propounded by myself. And this was first propounded unto me

about Easter last was twelve-month, beyond the seas, in the Low-countries, of the archduke's obeisance, by Thomas Winter, who came, thereupon, with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other gentlemen more, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright, who, all five, consulting together, of the means how to execute the same; and taking a vow among ourselves, for secrecy, Catesby propounded to have it performed by gunpowder, and by making a mine under the upper house of parliament; which place we made choice of, the rather, because, religion have been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there.

This being resolved amongst us, Thomas Percy hired an house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining to the parliament house, and there we began to make our mine, about the eleventh of December, 1604.

The five, that first entered into the work, were Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and myself, and, soon after, we took another unto us, Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the sacrament for secrecy.

When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the house, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another gentleman, Robert Winter, in like manner, with the oath and sacrament as aforesaid.

It was about Christmas, when we brought our mine unto the wall, and, about Candlemas, we had wrought the wall half through: and, whilst they were in working, I stood as sentinel, to descry any man that came near, whereof I gave them warning, and so they ceased, until I gave notice again to proceed.

All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we should yield or be taken.

As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar, of removing of coals; whereupon we feared we had been discovered; and they sent me to go to the cellar, who finding that the coals were a selling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent.

We had, before this, provided and brought into the house twenty barrels of powder, which we removed into the cellar, and covered the same with billets and faggots, which were provided for that purpose.

About Easter, the parliament being prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves, and I retired into the Low-countries, by advice and direction of the rest; as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as also, lest, by my longer stay, I might have grown suspicious, and so have come in question.

In the mean time, Percy, having the key of the cellar, laid in more powder and wood into it. I returned, about the beginning of September next, and, then, receiving the key again of Percy, we brought in more powder, and billets to cover the same again, and so I went, for a time, into the country, till the thirtieth of October.

It was further resolved amongst us, that, the same day, that this

act should have been performed, some other of our confederates should have surprised the person of the Lady Elisabeth, the King's eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire, at the Lord Harrington's house, and presently have proclaimed her Queen, having a project of a proclamation ready for that purpose; wherein we made no mention of altering religion, nor would have avowed the deed to be ours, until we should have had power enough to make our party good, and then we would have avowed both.

Concerning Duke Charles, the King's second son, we had sundry consultations, how to seize on his person: But, because we found no means how to compass it (the Duke being kept near London, where we had not force enough) we resolved to serve our turn with the Lady Elisabeth.

The names of other principal persons, that were made privy afterwards to this horrible conspiracy.

Everard Digby, Knt.
Ambrose Rookwood,
Francis Tresham,
John Grant.
Robert Keyes.

Commissioners.

Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, Devonshire, Northampton, Salisbury,
Marte, Dunbart, Popham.

Edward Coke.
W. Waad.

And in regard, that before this discourse could be ready to go to the press, Thomas Winter, being apprehended, and brought to the Tower, made a confession, in substance agreeing with this former of Fawkes, only larger in some circumstances: I have thought good to insert the same likewise in this place, for the further clearing of the matter, and greater benefit of the reader.

*(Thomas Winter's Confession, taken, the Twenty-third of November, 1605,
in the Presence of the Counsellors, whose Names are underwritten.)*

My most honourable Lords,

NOT out of hope to obtain pardon; for, speaking of my temporal part, I may say, the fault is greater than can be forgiven; nor affecting hereby the title of a good subject; for I must redeem my country from as great a danger, as I have hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchase any such opinion; only, at your honours command, I will briefly set down my own accusation, and how far I have proceeded in this business; which I shall the faithfuller do, since I see such

courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all, or the most material parts, have been already confessed.

I remained with my brother in the country from Allhallow's-tide, until the beginning of Lent, in the year of our Lord, 1603, the first year of the King's reign; about which time Mr. Catesby sent thither, intreating me to come to London, where he, and other my friends, would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me; for I found myself not very well disposed; and, which had happened never to me before; returned the messenger without my company. Shortly I received another letter, in any wise to come. At the second summons, I presently came up, and found him with Mr. John Wright, at Lambeth, where he broke with me, how necessary it was not to forsake our country, for he knew I had then a resolution to go over, but to deliver her from the servitude in which she remained, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavours. I answered, that I had often hazarded my life upon far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might do service to the catholick cause; but for myself, I knew no mean probable to succeed. He said that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliver us from all our bonds, and without any foreign help to replant again the catholick religion; and withal told me in a word, it was to blow up the parliament-house with gunpowder; for, said he, in that place have they done us all the mischief, and perchance God hath designed that place for their punishment. I wondered at the strangeness of the conceit, and told him that true it was, this struck at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations; but if it should not take effect, as most of this nature miscarried, the scandal would be so great which the catholick religion might hereby sustain, as not only our enemies, but our friends also would with good reason condemn us. He told me, the nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me, if I would give my consent. I told him, Yes, in this or what else soever, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, as want of an house, and of one to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, Let us give an attempt, and, where it faileth, pass no further. But first, quoth he, because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you shall go over and inform the constable of the state of the catholicks here in England, intreating him to solicit his Majesty, at his coming hither, that the penal laws may be recalled, and we admitted into the rank of his other subjects; withal, you may bring over some confident gentleman, such as you shall understand best able for this business, and named unto me Mr. Fawkes. Shortly after, I passed the sea, and found the constable at Bergon, near Dunkirk, where, by help of Mr. Owen, I delivered my message; whose was, that he had strict command from his master, to do all good offices for the catholicks, and for his own part, he thought himself bound in conscience so to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but spoke to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to Dunkirk with Mr. Owen, we had speech, whether he thought the constable would faithfully help us or no. He said he believed nothing less, and that they sought only their own ends, holding

small account of catholicks. I told him that there were many gentlemen in England, who would not forsake their country, until they had tried the uttermost, and rather venture their lives, than forsake her in this misery. And to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatsoever we should resolve, wished for Mr. Fawkes, whom I had heard good commendations of; he told me the gentleman deserved no less, but was at Brussels, and that, if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into England. I went soon after to Ostend, where Sir William Stanley, as then, was not, but came two days after. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him, if the catholicks in England should do any thing to help themselves, whether he thought the Archduke would second them? He answered, No, for all those parts were so desirous of peace with England, as they would endure no speech of other enterprise; neither were it fit, said he, to set any project a-foot, now the peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so fell to discourse of other matters, until I came to speak of Mr. Fawkes, whose company I wished over into England; I asked of his sufficiency in the wars, and told him, we should need such as he, if occasion required; he gave very good commendations of him. And as we were thus discoursing, and ready to depart for Newport, and taking my leave of Sir William, Mr. Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. This is the gentleman, said Sir William, that you wished for, and so we embraced again. I told him, some good friends of his wished his company in England, and that, if he pleased to come to Dunkirk, we would have further conference, whither I was then going; so taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days after came Mr. Fawkes to Dunkirk, where I told him that we were upon a resolution to do somewhat in England, if the peace with Spain helped us not, but as yet resolved upon nothing; such or the like talk we passed at Graveling, where I lay for a wind, and when it served, came both in one passage to Greenwich, near which place we took a pair of oars, and so came up to London, and came to Mr. Catesby, whom we found in his lodging; he welcomed us into England, and asked me what news from the constable. I told him, Good words, but I feared the deeds would not answer. This was the beginning of Easter Term; and, about the midst of the same term, whether sent for by Mr. Catesby, or upon some business of his own, up came Mr. Thomas Percy. The first word he spoke, after he came into our company, was, Shall we always, gentlemen, talk, and never do any thing? Mr. Catesby took him aside, and had speech about somewhat to be done, so as first we might all take an oath of secrecy, which we resolved within two or three days to do; so as there we met behind St. Clement's, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, Mr. Wright, Mr. Guy Fawkes, and myself; and having, upon a primer, given each other the oath of secrecy, in a chamber where no other body was, we went after into the next room and heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same. Then did Mr. Catesby disclose to Mr. Percy, and I, together with Jack Wright, tell to Mr. Fawkes, the business for which we took this oath, which they both approved. And

then was Mr. Percy sent to take the house, which Mr. Catesby, in my absence, had learned did belong to one Ferris, which, with some difficulty, in the end, he obtained, and became, as Ferris before was, tenant to Whinniard. Mr. Fawkes underwent the name of Mr. Percy's man, calling himself Johnson, because his face was the most unknown, and received the keys of the house, until we heard the parliament was adjourned to the seventh of February. At which time, we all departed several ways into the country to meet again at the beginning of Michaelmas Term. Before this time also, it was thought convenient to have a house that might answer to Mr. Percy's, where we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the house by the parliament, because we were loth to foil that with often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as Lambeth, where Mr. Catesby often lay, and to be keeper thereof, by Mr. Catesby's choice, we received into the number Keys, as a trusty honest man; this was about a month before Michaelmas.

Some fortnight after towards the beginning of the term, Mr. Fawkes and I came to Mr. Catesby at Morcrofts, where we agreed that now was time to begin and set things in order for the mine. So as Mr. Fawkes went to London, and the next day sent for me to come over to him; when I came, the cause was, for that the Scottish lords were appointed to sit in conference of the union in Mr. Percy's house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before Christmas, by which time both Mr. Percy and Mr. Wright were come to London, and we, against their coming, had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having provided ourselves of baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night, and we never saw, save only Mr. Percy's man, until Christmas-eve. In which time we wrought under a little entry to the wall of the parliament-house, and underpropped it, as we went, with wood.

Whilst we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was, how we might surprise the next heir; the prince haply would be at the parliament with the king his father, how should we then be able to seize on the duke? This burthen Mr. Percy undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another gentleman, would enter the chamber without suspicion, and having some dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the duke's chamber) to carry him safe away; for he supposed most of the court would be absent, and such as were there not suspecting, or unprovided for any such matter. For the Lady Elizabeth, it were easy to surprise her in the country, by drawing friends together at an hunting, near the Lord Harrington's, and Ashby, Mr. Catesby's house, being not far off, was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for money and horses, which, if we could provide in any reasonable measure, having the heir apparent, and the first knowledge by four or five days, was odds sufficient.

Then what lords we should save from the parliament, which was first agreed in general, as many as we could that were catholicks, or so disposed: But after we descended to speak of particulars.

Next, what foreign princes we should acquaint with this before, or join with after. For this point we agreed, that first we could not enjoin princes to that secrecy, nor oblige them by oath, so to be secure of their promise; besides, we knew not whether they will approve the project, or dislike it. And, if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget suspicion; and, not to provide until the business were acted, the same letter, that carried news of the thing done, might as well intreat their help and furtherance. Spain is too slow in his preparations, to hope any good from in the first extremities, and France too near and too dangerous, who, with the shipping of Holland, we feared of all the world, might make away with us.

But, while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the parliament should be a-new adjourned until after Michaelmas; upon which tidings, we broke off both discourse and working until after Christmas. About Candlemas, we brought over in a boat the powder which we had provided at Lambeth, and laid it in Mr. Percy's house, because we were willing to have all danger in one place.

We wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat thorough; at which time we called in Kit Wright, and near to Easter, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the cellar, in which we resolved to lay the powder, and leave the mine.

Now, by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the number of several houses, which, for several uses, had been hired, and buying of powder, &c. had lain heavy on Mr. Catesby alone to support, it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his charge; and to that end desired leave, that he, with Mr. Percy, and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business; for many, said he, may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the company should be acquainted with their names: To this we all agreed.

After this, Master Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand billets, and five hundred faggots, and with that covered the powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer any one to enter that would. Mr. Catesby wished us to consider, whether it were not now necessary to send Mr. Fawkes over, both to absent himself for a time, as also to acquaint Sir William Stanley and Mr. Owen with this matter. We agreed that he should, (provided that he gave it them with the same oath that we had taken before) viz. To keep it secret from all the world. The reason why we desired Sir William Stanley should be acquainted herewith, was, to have him with us as soon as he could: And for Mr. Owen, he might hold good correspondency after with foreign princes. So Mr. Fawkes departed about Easter for Flanders, and returned the latter end of August. He told me, that, when he arrived at Brussels, Sir William Stanley was not returned from Spain, so he uttered the matter only to Owen, who seemed well pleased with the business, but told him, that surely Sir William would not be

acquainted with any plot, as having business now a foot in the court of England; but he himself would be always ready to tell it him, and send him away as soon as it were done.

About this time did Mr. Percy and Mr. Catesby meet at the Bath, where they agreed, that, the company being yet but few, Mr. Catesby should have the others authority to call in whom he thought best; by which authority he called in after Sir Everard Digby, though at what time I know not, and last of all master Francis Tresham. The first promised, as I heard Mr. Catesby say, fifteen-hundred pounds; the second two-thousand pounds; Mr. Percy himself promised all that he could get out of the Earl of Northumberland's rents, which was about four-thousand pounds, and to provide many galloping horses, to the number of ten.

Mean while Mr. Fawkes, and myself alone, bought some new powder, as suspecting the first to be dank, and conveyed it into the cellar, and set it in order, as we resolved it should stand. Then was the parliament anew prorogued until the fifth of November, so as we all went down until some ten days before, when Mr. Catesby came up with Mr. Fawkes to an house by Enfield-chace, called White-Webbes, whither I came to them, and Mr. Catesby willed me to enquire, whether the young prince came to the parliament. I told him, that I heard that his grace thought not to be there. Then must we have our horses, said Mr. Catesby, beyond the water, and provision of more company to surprise the prince, and leave the duke alone.

Two days after, being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me, that a letter had been given to my Lord Montague, to this effect: That he wished his lordship's absence from the parliament, because a blow would there be given. Which letter he presently carried to my lord of Salisbury.

On the morrow I went to White-Webbes, and told it Mr. Catesby, assuring him withal, that the matter was disclosed; and wishing him in any case to forsake his country. He told me, he would see further yet, and resolved to send Mr. Fawkes to try the uttermost, protesting, if the part belonged to himself, he would try the same adventure.

On Wednesday master Fawkes went, and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

Thursday I came to London, and Friday Master Catesby, Master Tresham, and I met at Barnet, where we questioned how this letter should be sent to my Lord Montague, but could not conceive, for Master Tresham forswore it, whom we only suspected.

On Saturday night I met Mr. Tresham again in Lincoln's-Inn walks; wherein he told such speeches, that my Lord of Salisbury should use to the King, as I gave it lost the second time, and repeated the same to Mr. Catesby, who hereupon was resolved to be gone, but staid to have Master Percy come up, whose consent herein we wanted. On Sunday Mr. Percy, being dealt with to that end, would needs abide the uttermost trial.

The suspicion of all hands put us into such confusion, as master Catesby resolved to go down into the country, the Monday that master Percy went to Sion, and master Percy resolved to follow the same

night, or early the next morning. About five of the clock, being Tuesday, came the younger Wright to my chamber, and told me, of a nobleman, called the Lord Monteagle, saying, Arise, and come along to Essex House, for I am going to call up my Lord of Northumberland; saying withal, the matter is discovered. Go back, master Wright (quoth I) and learn what you can about Essex gate. Shortly he returned, and said, surely all is lost; for Lepton is got on horseback at Essex door, and, as he parted, he asked, if their lordships would have any more with him; and being answered, no, is rode fast up Fleetstreet as he can ride. Go you then (quoth I) to Mr. Percy, for sure it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone; I will stay and see the uttermost. Then I went to the court gates, and found them straightly guarded, so as no body could enter. From thence I went down towards the parliament house, and, in the middle of King-street, found the guard standing, that would not let me pass. And, as I returned, I heard one say, there is a treason discovered, in which the King and the lords should have been blown up. So then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the stable where my gelding stood, and rode into the country. Mr. Catesby had appointed our meeting at Dunchurch, but I could not overtake them until I came to my brother's, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday we took the armour at my Lord Windsor's, and went that night to one Stephen Littleton's house, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to discover, my man came to me, and said, that an heavy mischance had severed all the company, for that Mr. Catesby, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant were burnt with gunpowder, upon which sight the rest dispersed. Master Littleton wished me to fly, and so would he. I told him, I would first see the body of my friend, and bury him, whatsoever befel me. When I came, I found Mr. Catesby reasonable well, Master Percy, both the Wrights, Mr. Rookwood, and Master Grant. I asked them what they resolved to do. They answered, we mean here to die. I said again, I would take such part as they did. About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and, as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm; the next shot was the elder Wright struck dead; after him the younger Mr. Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr. Catesby to me, (standing before the door they were to enter) stand by me, Tom, and we will die together. Sir (quoth I) I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken. So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot, as far as I could guess, with one bullet, and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of both my arms. And so I remain

Yours, &c.

Commissioners.
*Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, Devonshire, Northampton, Salisbury,
 Marr, Dunbar, Popham.*
 EDW. COKE. W. WAAD.

✓ (The names of those that were first in the Treason, and laboured in the mine.

Robert Catesby, Robert Winter, Esqrs. Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, Christopher Wright, Guido Fawkes, Gentlemen. And Bates, Catesby's man.

Those that were made acquainted with it, though not personally labouring in the mine, nor in the cellar.

Everard Digby, Knt. Ambrose Rookwood, Francis Tresham, Esqrs. John Graunt, Gent. Robert Keyes.)

But here let us leave Fawkes in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to advise upon his conscience, and turn ourselves to that part of the history, which concerns the fortune of the rest of their partakers in that abominable treason. The news was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was upon a Tuesday, the fifth of November, and the first day designed for that session of parliament; the news, I say, of this so strange and unlooked-for accident was no sooner divulged, but some of those conspirators, namely, Winter, and the two brothers of Wrights, thought it high time for them to hasten out of the town (for Catesby was gone the night before, and Percy at four of the clock in the morning the same day of the discovery) and all of them held their course, with more haste than good speed, to Warwickshire towards Coventry, where the next day morning, being Wednesday, and about the same hour that Fawkes was taken in Westminster, one Graunt, a gentleman, having associated unto him some others of his opinion, all violent papists, and strong recusants, came to a stable of one Benocke, a rider of great horses, and, having violently broken up the same, carried along with them all the great horses that were therein, to the number of seven or eight, belonging to divers noblemen and gentlemen of that country, who had put them into the rider's hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company of them which fled out of London, as also Graunt, and his accomplices, met all together at Dunchurch, at Sir Everard Digby's lodging, the Tuesday at night, after the discovery of this treacherous attempt; the which Digby had likewise, for his part, appointed a match of hunting, to have been hunted the next day, which was Wednesday, though his mind was, Nimrod like, upon a far other manner of hunting, more bent upon the blood of reasonable men than brute beasts.

This company, and hellish society, thus convened, finding their purpose discovered, and their treachery prevented, did resolve to run a desperate course; and, since they could not prevail, by so private a blow, to practise, by a publick rebellion, either to attain to their intents, or, at least, to save themselves in the throng of others. And, therefore, gathering all the company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrel of religion, having intercepted such provision of armour, horses, and powder, as the time could permit, thought, by running up and down the county, both to augment piece and piece

their number (dreaming to themselves, that they had the virtue of a snow-ball, which, being little at the first, and tumbling down from a great hill, groweth to a great quantity, by increasing itself with the snow that it meeteth by the way) and also, that they, beginning first this brave shew, in one part of the country, should, by their sympathy and example, stir up and encourage the rest of their religion, in other parts of England, to rise, as they had done there. But, when they had gathered their force to the greatest, they came not to the number of fourscore; and yet were they troubled, all the hours of the day, to keep and contain their own servants from stealing from them; who, notwithstanding all their care, daily left them, being far inferior to Gideon's host in number, but far more, in faith or justness of quarrel.

And so, after that this catholick-troop had wandered a while through Warwickshire to Worcestershire, and from thence to the edge and borders of Staffordshire, this gallantly armed band had not the honour, at the last, to be beaten with a king's lieutenant, or extraordinary commissioner, sent down for the purpose, but only by the ordinary sheriff of Worcestershire were they all beaten, killed, taken, and dispersed. Wherein ye have to note this following circumstance so admirable, and so lively displaying the greatness of God's justice, as it could not be concealed, without betraying, in a manner, the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

Although divers of the King's proclamations were posted down after these traitors with all the speed possible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, the necessity to have had Percy preserved alive, if it had been possible, and the assembly together of that rightly damned crew, now no more darkened conspirators, but open and avowed rebels; yet the far distance of the way, which was above an hundred miles, together with the extreme deepness thereof, joined also with the shortness of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affections of the King's good subjects, in those parts, prevented the speed of his proclamations. For, upon the third day after the flying down of these rebels, which was upon the Friday next after the discovery of their plot, they were most of them all surprised by the sheriff of Worcestershire, at Holbeech, about the noon of the day, and that in manner following:

Graunt, of whom I have made mention before, for taking the great horses, who had not, all the preceding time, stirred from his own house till the next morning, after the attempt should have been put in execution; he then laying his accounts without his host, as the proverb is, that their plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped-for success, took or rather stole, out those horses, as I said before, for enabling him, and so many of that foulest society, that had still remained in the country near about him, to make a sudden surprise upon the King's elder daughter, the lady Elisabeth, having her residence near by that place, whom they thought to have used for the colour of their treacherous design (his Majesty, her father, her mother, and male-children being all destroyed above) and to this

purpose, also, had that Nimrod, Digby, provided his hunting-match against that same time, that, numbers of people being flocked together, upon the pretence thereof, they might the easilier have brought to pass the sudden surprise of her person.

Now the violent taking-away of those horses, long before day, did seem to be so great a riot, in the eyes of the common people, that knew of no greater mystery: And the bold attempting thereof did ingender such a suspicion of some following rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small began to stir and arm themselves, upon this unlooked-for accident. But, before twelve or sixteen hours past, Catesby, Percy, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood, and the rest, bringing then the assurance, that their main plot was failed, and bewrayed, whereupon they had built the golden mountain of their glorious hopes: They then took their last desperate resolution, to flock together in a troop, and wander, as they did, for the reasons aforetold. But as, upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God, and their sovereign, was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people (although then knowing of no further mystery, than such publick misbehaviours, as their own eyes taught them) as, notwithstanding of their fair shews and pretences of their catholick cause, no creature, man or woman, through all the country, would, once, so much as give them, willingly, a cup of drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but, with execrations, detested them: So, on the other part, the sheriffs of the shires, through which they wandered, conveying their people with all speed possible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilness of the way, and the unprovidedness of their people, upon that sudden, could permit them. And so at last, after Sir Richard Verney, Sheriff of Warwickshire, had carefully and straightly been in chace of them to the confines of his county, part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him; Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, did likewise dutifully and hotly pursue them through his shire: And, having gotten sure trial of their taking harbour at the house above named, he did send trumpeters and messengers to them, commanding them, in the King's name, to render unto him, his Majesty's minister; and knowing no more, at that time, of their guilt, than was publickly visible, did promise, upon their dutiful and obedient rendering unto him, to intercede, at the King's hands, for the sparing of their lives; who received only, from them, this scornful answer (they being better witnesses to themselves of their inward evil consciences) 'That he had need of better assistance, than of those few numbers that were with him, before he could be able to command or controul them.'

But here fell the wonderous work of God's justice, that, while this message passed between the sheriff and them, the sheriff's and his people's hearts being justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer; and so, they preparing themselves to give a furious assault, and the other party making themselves ready, within the house, to perform their promise by a defence as resolute; it pleased God, that, in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one small spark should fly out, and light among less than two pound-weight of powder, which was

drying a little from the chimney ; which being thereby blown up, so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of others of them (blowing up with it also a great bag full of powder, which, notwithstanding, never took fire) as they were not only disabled and discouraged hereby, from any further resistance, in respect Catesby* himself, Rookwood, Grant, and divers others of greatest account among them, were, thereby, made unable for defence, but, also, wonderfully struck with amazement in their guilty consciences, calling to memory, how God had justly punished them with that same instrument, which they should have used for the effectuating of so great a sin, according to the old Latin saying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur* ; as they presently (see the wonderful power of God's Justice upon guilty consciences) did all fall down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprise; and, thereafter, giving over any further debate, opened the gate, suffered the sheriff's people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their own present destruction : The three specials of them joining backs together, Catesby, Percy, and Winter, whereof two, with one shot, Catesby and Percy, were slain, and the third, Winter, taken and saved alive.

(And thus these resolute and high aspiring catholics, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of kings and kingdoms, and promised to themselves no lower estate, than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were miserably defeated, and quite overthrown in an instant, falling in the pit which they had prepared for others; and so fulfilling that sentence, which his Majesty did, in a manner, prophesy of them, in his oration to the parliament; some presently slain, others deadly wounded; stripped of their clothes, left lying miserably naked, and so dying, rather of cold, than of the danger of their wounds; and the rest, that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, to the jail, the ordinary place, even of the basest malefactors, where they remained till their sending up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them, as the rarest sort of monsters; fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity, in seeing the outward cases of so unheard of a villainy; and, generally, all sorts of people, to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom, in their hearts, they so far admired and detested; serving so for a fearful and publick spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation.)

What, hereafter, will be done with them, is to be left to the justice of his Majesty and the state; which, as no good subject needs to doubt, will be performed in its own due time, by a publick and exemplary punishment; so have we, all that are faithful and humble subjects, great cause to pray earnestly to the Almighty, that it will please him; who hath the hearts of all princes in his hands, to put it in

* Catesby, who was the first inventor of this treason in general, and of the manner of working the same by powder, in special, himself now first maimed with the blowing up of powder, and sent, he and Percy both killed with the shot proceeding from powder.

his Majesty's heart, to make such a conclusion of this tragedy to the traytors, but tragi-comedy to the King, and all his true subjects, as, thereby, the glory of God, and his true religion, may be advanced, the future security of the King, and his estate, procured and provided for, all hollow and dishonest hearts discovered and prevented, and this horrible attempt, lacking due epithets, to be so justly avenged; that whereas they thought, by one catholick indeed, and universal blow, to accomplish the wish of that Roman tyrant, who wished all the bodics, in Rome, to have but one neck, and so, by the violent force of powder, to break up, as with a petard, our triple-locked peaceful gates of Janus, which, God be thanked, they could not compass by any other means; they may justly be so recompensed, for their truly viperous intended parricide*, as the shame and infamy that, otherwise, would light upon this whole nation, for having unfortunately hatched such cockatrice-eggs, may be repaired, by the execution of famous and honourable justice upon the offenders, and so the kingdom purged of them may, hereafter, perpetually flourish in peace and prosperity, by the happy conjunction of the hearts of all honest and true subjects, with their just and religious sovereign.

✓ And thus, whereas they thought to have effaced our memories, the memory of them shall remain, but to their perpetual infamy; and we, as I said in the beginning, shall, with all thankfulness, eternally preserve the memory of so great a benefit. To which let every good subject say Amen.)



JOHN REYNARD'S DELIVERANCE

FROM

THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TURKS,

And his setting free of

TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX CHRISTIANS,

THAT WERE GALLEY SLAVES.



OF such honour (amongst all nations) hath the trade of merchandizing been ever accounted, that commerce (ever in the hottest flames of war against one another) could find no better, or fairer means to unite them in amity, and to join them, as it were in wedlock, than by commerce and negotiation. This is that chain which binds king-

* As Eneas Sylvius doth notably write concerning the murder of King James the First of Scotland, and the following punishment of the traytors, whereof himself was an eye witness. Europa, cap. xlv.

doms in leagues, begets love between princes far removed asunder, and teacheth nations, different in quality, in colour, in religion, to deal faithfully together as brethren. Traffick (to speak of our own country) hath increased and strengthened our navy, which is a second wall (besides that girdle of the sea that encompasseth her body) to defend our island. It is the breeder, and only bringer-up of good mariners, skilful pilots, and cunning navigators, who, to a state, are as necessary in peace, as husbandmen for the tillage; and in war, as serviceable as so many captains in the field. Traffick is the carrier abroad of our own home-spun commodities, and a bringer-in of the fruits of foreign kingdoms, by which means the merchant and citizen grow up to wealth, and the tradesman, that lives by the hardness of his hand, is still kept and maintained in good doings. There is no coast, be it never so dangerous, left unsought; no language, be it never so barbarous, or hard to learn, left unstudied; no people, never so wild, left unventured upon, nor any treasure of the earth, or curious work of man, left unpurchased, only for this end, to do honour to our country, and to heap riches to ourselves; both which benefits do only spring out of our trading to foreign shores.

For this cause, therefore (a peace being concluded between the two great and opulent kingdoms of England and Spain) an English ship, called the Three Half Moons, being manned with thirty-eight mariners, and bravely armed with ammunition, was rigged, victualled, and ready furnished to take her voyage to Spain. The gods of the sea, the winds, knowing her intent, prepared themselves to go along with her, and making the waves ready, it became this ship to hoist up sails and come on; so that with a merry gale she took her leave at Portsmouth, bending her course towards Sevil, the greatest city in Spain. Gallantly did she, for many days, hold up her head, and danced even on the top of the billows; her masts stood up stiffly, and went away like so many trees moved by enchantment, whilst the big-bellied sails made haste to fly after, blustering and puffing either in storm, or in anger, yet could never overtake them; or rather, as lovers roaming after young damsels at Barlibreak*, they took delight to see them make away before, and of purpose suffered them to use that advantage. But, alas! how soon does the happiness of this world alter? In this bravery she had not carried herself long, but, entering into the Straights, Neptune† grew angry with her, or else, envying her glory, sent eight galleys of the Turks to beset her round. Now, or never, was both the courage, and the cunning of the mariner to be shewed; for either he must, by the wings of his sails, fly away, and so save himself, or manfully stand to it, and preserve all from danger, or gloriously to suffer all to perish. Of flight was there was no hope, for the winds and waves, that before were their friends, and tempted them to set forth, grew now treacherous, and conspired their destruction. Nothing, therefore, but the miraculous power of heaven, and their own resolutions, is on their side; every man hereupon calls up his spirits, and, as the suddenness of the deadly storm would allow them, did comfort one another. It was a goodly sight to

* A sort of play used by young people in the country.

† The poetical god of the sea.

behold, how, to the very face of danger, they did defy danger; and how in the midst of an overthrow, which had round beset them, they wisely and stoutly laboured to work out safety; nothing could be heard but noise and confusion, and yet even in that wild disorder was there to be seen an excellent method of policy. Their roaming up and down shewed as if they had been all frantick, yet, like so many dancers, that sometimes are here, and anon antickly leap thither, fetching turnings and windings, with strange and busy action, they closed up every work with a sweet and musical preparation.

For after the close fights were made ready above, and that the devilish mouths of their ordnance were opening to spit hell-fire out of the belly of the ship: Up comes the master, whose name was Grove, armed with sword and target, waving his bright blade about his head in defiance of his barbarous and bloody enemies; his very looks were able to fright death from his company; and so well did his courage become him, that it served better than all their warlike musick to hearten up the rest: Close by his side, as avowed partners in all fortune, good or bad, whatsoever, stood the owner, the master's mate, boatswain, purser, and the rest of the mariners. All of them armed, all of them full of valour, all of them full of bravery; they shewed on the top of the hatches, like so many well-guarded battlements on the walls of a besieged city, every man encouraging his next neighbour, to fight valiantly, because they were Englishmen; and to die honourably, because they were Christians; rather than stoop to the base captivity of those that were Christ's professed and open enemies.

As the Englishmen were thus busy to defend themselves, on the one side, so were the Turks active in their gallics, on the other side; their scymeters glittered in the sun, their steel targets received the fire of his beams upon them, and beat it back to dazzle the eyes of them whom they assailed: Showers of musquets, with bullets charged, stood ready to be poured down; some were preparing to toss balls of wild fire, as if the sea had been their tennis-court; others, with bull's pizzles in their hands, walk up and down between the rowers, sometimes encouraging, sometimes threatening, sometimes striking the miserable galley-slaves, because they should be nimble at the oar, who, for fear of blows, more than of present death, tugged with their arms, till the sinews of them were ready to crack with swelling, and till their eye-balls, instead of bullets, did almost fly out of their heads.

At length, the drums, trumpets, and fifes, struck up their deadly concert on either side; presently does the demy cannon, and culverin, strive to drown that noise, whilst the sea roars on purpose, to drown the noise of both. In this conflict of three elements, air, water, and fire, John Reynard, the gunner, so lively, and so stoutly behaved himself, in discharging his ordnance of their great bellies, that, at length, fire seemed to have the mastery; for so thickly did his bullets fly abroad, and were wrapped up in such clouds of lightning, that the sea shewed as if it had been all in flames, whilst the gallies of the Turks, as well as the English ship, could hardly, but by the groans and shouts of men, be found out whereabout in the sea they hovered. Many Turks and many galley-slaves did, in this battle, lose their lives, and end their captivity;

But those who survived, doubling their spirits at the horror of the danger, with which they were environed, fell upon the English ship in such storms of hail-shot, which still (like hammers on an anvil) lay beating on the ribs of it, that, at length, the sea offered, in many places, to break into her and to get the conquest, of which glory the Turks being envious, came flying with the force of all those wooden wings that bore them up, and on purpose to board her. But, at this stirring feast, Neptune was made drunk with the blood, both of Christians and Turks, mingled together. Here came the gallies, and the ship, to grappling: Look, how a company of hounds hang upon a goodly stag, when, with their noise, they ring out his death, so hung these gallies upon the body of her; nothing of her could be seen for smoke and fire; she was half choaked with the flames, and half stifled in the waters. Yet, as you shall often see a bull, when his strength seemeth to be all spent, and that he is ready to faint, and fall on his knees, casts up on a sudden his curly head, and bravely renews a fresh and more fierce encounter: So did this ship break from the gallies, like a lusty bear from so many dogs, or rather like an invincible lion from so many bears. The Turks leaped out of their vessels, and, like rats, nimbly climbed up to the tacklings of the ship. But the English mariners so laid about them with swords, brown bills, halberts, and morrice-pikes, that, in so tragical an act, it was half a comedy, to behold what tumbling tricks the Turks made into the sea, backwards. Some of them, catching hold of the upper decks, had their hands struck off, and so for ever lost their feelings; others, clasping their arms about a cable, to fling their bodies into the ship, lost their heads, and so knew not which way to go, though it lay before them. In this terrible insurrection in Neptune's kingdom *, it was hard to tell, for a great while, who should be the winners, albeit, howsoever they sped, both were certain to be losers; for the Turks would not give over, and the English scorned to yield; the owner, master, and boatswain cried out bravely, and with loud lusty spirits, Let us all resolve to die, but not a man be so base as to yield to a Turk; especially did the boatswain shew the noble courage of a mariner, both in directing without fear, and in bestowing blows in scorn of danger; which hard alms, whilst he was dealing amongst the miscreants, a shot was sent from a galley as a messenger of his death, and thereby a spoiler, though not a conqueror, of his valour, for it brake, with the violent stroke it gave, his whistle in sunder, and left him on the hatches with these last words in his mouth, Fight it out, as you are Christians, and win honour by death.

His fall did not abate, but whetted their stomachs to a sharper revenge; only the master's mate shewed himself not worthy of that name, or to be mate to so noble a master as he was, for, cowardly, he cried, Yield, yield, pulling in his arm from striking in the hottest of the skirmish.

What city is not ove come by the tyranny of time, or the oppression of assaults? What shores, though never so high, can beat back the sea, when he swells up in fury? What castles of flint or marble are not

shaken with the continual thunder of the cannon; So was this poor English ship; whilst her ribs held out, and were unbroken, her mariners held out, and had their hearts sound: But when they felt her shrink under them, that should bear them up in all storms, and that such numbers of Turks did so oppress them with thronging in, and with beating them down, when they had scarce feet able to stand, then, even then, did they not yield, but yet then were they taken.

Glad was the Turk that (though in this storm it rained down blood so fast) he was wet no farther; he looked upon this ill-gotten commodity, with a dull and heavy eye, for the foot of his account shewed him, that his gain of this voyage would not answer the treble part of his losses: Enraged at which, emptying the weater-beaten and the mangled ship, both of men, and of such things as were worth the carriage: the one he took home with him, to enrich the number of his spoils, the other were condemned to the galleys.

Near to the city of Alexandria, (being a haven-town and under the Turk's dominion) is a road, defended by strong walls, where the galleys are drawn up on shore, every year, in the winter season, and are there trimmed and laid up against the spring. In this road stands a prison, where all those that serve in those galleys of Alexandria, are kept as captives, so long as the seas be rough, and not passable for their Turkish vessels: Hither were these Christians brought; the first villainy and indignity that was done unto them, was the shaving off all the hair both head and beard, thereby to rob them of those ornaments which all Christians make much of, because they best become them.

It is well known to all nations in Christendom (by the woful experience of those wretches that have felt it) what misery men endure in this thralldom under the Turk. Their lodging is the cold earth; their diet, coarse bread, and (sometimes) stinking water; for, if they should taste of the clear spring, their drink were as good as the Turks, who never taste wine; their apparel, thin and coarse canvas; their stockings and shoes, heavy bolts and cold irons; the exercise, to put life into them, or to catch them a heat, is at the pleasure of a proud and dogged Turk, for the least fault, nay, for none at all, but only to feed his humour, to receive a hundred bastinadoes, on the rim of the belly, with a bull's dried pizzle, at one time, and within a day after, two hundred stripes on the back.

In this most lamentable estate did these Christians continue, but it was not long before the master and owner, by the good means of friends, were redeemed from this slavery; the rest, lying by it, soon were starved to death; others with cold and blows, breathed out their last.

But John Reynard, the gunner, being enabled, by the providence and will of God, to endure this affliction with a stronger heart than others could, outlived most of his fellows, only to be, as it after fell out, a preservation of his own life, with many other Christians. For having some skill in the trade of a barber, he did by that means, shift now and then for victuals, and mended his hard diet; whereupon growing (after a long imprisonment) into favour with the keeper of the Christians, that were galley-slaves, he so behaved himself, that, at length, he got liberty to go in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certain stipend to

the keeper, and wearing a lock about his leg; and this liberty did six more likewise purchase, upon like sufferance, who, by reason of long imprisonment, were never suspected to start aside, or that they had in their bosoms ever any thought to work the Turks any mischief, with whom they had staid so long, that, in a manner, they were as brothers, familiar together.

But the wrath of winter driving all the gallies into harbour, by which means they lay there unrigged and disarmed of all their properties, which set them forth; the masters, captains, and officers of the gallies, retiring likewise either to their private affairs, or to some other employment of the state; behold there remained (at this season, and part of the year) in this prison of the road, two hundred and sixty-six Christian prisoners, who were of fifteen several nations, and all of them taken and made slaves to the Turk.

Amongst which there were, at this time, but only three Englishmen, and of them was this John Reynard one; who having worn out the misery of thirteen or fourteen years servitude under so barbarous a tyrant, began, as he full often had done before, to call to mind the happiness and freedom of his own country, which comparing to his present state, he wept to remember the one, and got up his manly courage, and cast in his thoughts, how to shake off the other.

Not far from the road, somewhat near to one side of the city, was a victualling-house, which one Peter Unticaro had hired, paying also a certain fee for his liberty, to the keeper of the road; this Peter Unticaro, being a Spaniard born, and a Christian, had been prisoner, under the Turks, by the space of thirty years, yet never (though many times the forelock of occasion was thrust into his hands) did he practise any means for his enlargement, but lived so quietly, and so contentedly, in outward appearance, as if he had forgotten that he was born amongst Christians, or that he ever desired to be buried amongst them. Notwithstanding which, did John Reynard open his intent to this Spaniard, who consented to put it in act, and within a few days after, a third person (of their fellow-prisoners) was drawn into the conspiracy; which there, so often as they could without suspicion, held conference together, laid several plots for their escape, and, at the end of seven weeks, or thereabouts, their councils had fully begot the means of their present delivery. Five more therefore are made acquainted with the business, to all whom liberty being sweet, especially out of so base and infamous a slavery, these eight resolved, in three nights following, to free not only themselves, but all the rest of the Christians that were in prison. In the prison do these eight meet, at a time convenient, and there did Reynard and Unticaro deliver to all the rest what was intended; every man was glad of the news, every man vowed to assist them, and in the action to win freedom, or to end their lives. Upon this confident trust put each upon other, Reynard and Peter secretly furnished them with files, which they had as secretly provided for the purpose, charging every person to bestir himself nimbly, and to have his heels at liberty from shackles, by such an hour of the following evening.

The night approaching, Reynard and Unticaro, with the other six, being at the Spaniard's house, spent their time merrily, to blind the eyes

of suspicion, till darkness had taken hold of the world; at which time, Peter Unticaro was sent to the master of the Road, in the name of one of the masters of the city, with whom the keeper of the Road was acquainted, and at whose request he would gladly come: who desired him to meet the other at Peter's house presently, promising to bring him back again to the Road.

The keeper, upon delivery of this message, agreed to go with Unticaro, commanding the warders not to bar the gate, because his return should be speedy.

In the mean season had the other seven, who staid in Peter's house, furnished themselves with such weapons as the time and place did afford them; amongst whom, John Reynard had gotten an old rusty sword-blade, without either hilt or pommel, which, notwithstanding, by bending the hand-end of the sword, instead of a pommel, served his turn; the other had spits, glaves, &c.

The keeper of the Road, being with Unticaro, entered into the house; the lights were of purpose put out, and no noise of any living creature to be heard: at which, the keeper of the Road being astonished, and suspecting some villainy, stepped back; but John Reynard, having hid himself in a corner next to the door, stepped forth unto him, and stopped his passage; who, perceiving it to be John Reynard, and that he was armed (as he might well fear) for mischief, said thus: 'O Reynard, what have I deserved at thy hands, that thou seekest my death?' 'Marry, this hast thou deserved' (quoth Reynard) and struck him on the head, that he clove his skull: 'Thou hast been a sucker of much Christian blood, and therefore die like a villain.' No sooner were his hands lifted up to give his fatal blow, but the rest (being at his elbow) came forward, and quickly dispatched him, cutting off his head, and so mangled him that he could not be known.

This prologue to the tragedy going off so well, Heaven was by this time hung all over with black, to add a grace to that which was to be acted; no time, therefore, do they lose, but steal softly, and yet resolutely to the Road, where entering, they found six warders only, who asked, 'Who is there?' 'All friends,' replied the other, and were let in, but, instead of welcomes, blows were given, and the six warders, in a short time, left dead on the floor.

Upon this, taking their enemies weapons to defend themselves, were the gates presently barred up strongly, and the mouth of a cannon planted full upon it, ready charged, and one appointed with a linstock, to give fire, if any assault were made upon them. Then entered they into the jailor's lodge, where they found the keys both of the fortress, and of the prison, by his bedside, and in his chamber, where they armed with better weapons. In this lodge of the keepers, found they likewise a chest, which Unticaro, and one or two more opening, found well lined with duckets; the Spaniard, and some others, neglecting the business in hand, stuffed their bosoms and pockets with this gold; but Reynard dissuaded them from that covetousness, which was likely to be the overthrow of them all, wishing them to provide for their liberty, which should return to the honour of God, and of their countries, rather than to sell their lives, yea, perhaps their souls, for the treasure

of infidels. But the Spaniard and his companions, liked the colour of the duckets better than John Reynard's doctrine, and therefore they hastened away to the prison, whose doors being opened, it appeared, that they with their files had plied their work as well within, as the other had with their weapons abroad, for every man's legs were delivered from his irons; whereupon, having first put certain warders (that were to look to the prison) to silence for ever speaking more, they all fell roundly to labour; some to ramming up the gates, some to launch out a certain gally, which was the best in all the Road, and was called the Captain of Alexandria; some carried masts, others fetched sails, others laid in oars, all of them were busy, all of them sweat hard, yet none of them were weary.

In killing those Turks that were warders about the prison, eight other Turks, hearing a noise, and suspecting mischief, got up to the top of the prison, between whom and the prisoners (who could not come near them but by ladder) was a hot skirmish. Some were wounded on both sides, some slain outright. John Reynard was thrice shot through his apparel, but not hurt; Peter Unticaro, and the rest, that shared in the duckets, being not able to carry their bodies in this danger, by reason of the gold about them, which wearied them with the weight, were there first mortally wounded, and after were stricken down dead.

Amongst the Turks was one thrust through, who, falling from the top of the prison wall, made so horrible a noise, that the Turks, who dwelt within, hearing (for here and there stood a house or two scattering) came to take him up, before he was full dead, and by him understood, how the galley-slaves were reckoning with the Turks about their ransom, without paying any thing, but cracked crowns towards it; hereupon, they raised both that part of Alexandria, which lay on the west side of the Road, and a castle, which was at the end of the city, next to the Road, also another fortress which lay on the other side of the Road.

The alarm thus, on every side, being given, danger and death did round about beset the poor Christians; there was but one only passage to escape forth, and that lay between the very jaws of destruction; yet, notwithstanding, no man's heart failed him; the nearer death came towards this company of wretches, the less seemed they to care for his threatenings, for the Road is still replenished with lusty soldiers, with stout labourers, and with tough mariners, all whose hands are full of helping one another in this great work of life and death; some to victual the galley that must save them; others to hang up the tacklings, others to line it with shot, for defence against enemies, but the most part were busy in keeping the Turks from the wall of the Road. In the end, all things being in a readiness, every man leaped into the galley joyfully, hoisted up sails lustily, and launched into the seas merrily, submitting their lives and fortunes to the mercy of him that commands both sea and land.

The vessel floats on the waves like a goodly pageant; she flies away by the help of oars, as if she had borrowed so many wings; and, in a moment, is she gotten safe out of the Road; but, having escaped one

danger, she encounters a greater, for now, on both sides of her, do the two castles send out their vengeance; the canons roar and shoot to sink them; the waves watch that advantage, and gape to devour them; forty and five bullets (dreadful as thunder) fell about these Christians ears, yet not one of them bruised their heads; they came out of the Road safely, and went from the danger of the castles securely; for joy whereof they gave a lusty shout, that echoed and rebounded back again between the clouds and the shore.

On they went, and, though the winds began to grow angry, and to threaten storms, yet, with chearful hearts, did they choose rather to perish in the eye of heaven, and by the hand of God, than to be fetched back again, and bear the yoke of infidels. For casting their eyes back, they might behold the Turks (for by this time the sun was a good way on his forenoon's journey) coming down to the sea-side in swarms like locusts to devour a country; all of them laying their hands to launch out galleys, and follow the Christians. But such a spirit of rage, madness, disorder, and fear fell upon them, that what one set forward, three hindered. And as in a city, fired in the night-time, men are so astonished, that they scarce can find the common ways by which they may save themselves, no more could the Turks, in this wild and giddy tumult, know how to further themselves. After much labour, therefore, and nothing prospering, after much crying out upon Mahomet, and more cursing the Christians, they quitted their spleens, and looked about them, how to make good what was in this battle and battery of the Christians defaced; whilst, in the mean time, the poor captives, were both out of their sight, and out of their jurisdiction.

For away went they roundly, one company still and anon leaping to the oar as another felt themselves weary: all their prayers being poured out, that the hand of Heaven would so guide them, that they might land upon some Christian shore. A long time did they thus wander in those uncertain paths of the sea, the winds sometimes blowing gently on their faces, and sometimes angrily: insomuch that, at length, victuals began to fail them, and then famine (a more cursed enemy than him from whom they escaped, yea, than death itself) opened her unwholesome jaws, and, with her stinking breath, blasted their cheeks; by which means, in twenty-eight days, wherein they were tossed up and down from billow to billow, there died, for want of bread, eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest, that looked still for their turn, and to be flung overboard after their fellows,

But, with a more merciful eye (when he beheld how patiently they endured his trials) did God look down upon them. And, on the twenty-ninth day after they set from Alexandria, they fell upon the island of Candy, and so put in at Gallipoli, where the abbot and monks of the place gave them good entertainment, warmed them, and gave them food, not suffering them to depart till they had refreshed their bodies, and had gathered strength to proceed on their journey. The sword, with which John Reynard had slain the Turkish jailor, did they hang up for a monument, in remembrance, that, by so weak an in-

strument, so many Christians were delivered from so barbarous a thralldom.

From hence they sailed along the coast till they arrived at Tarento, where they sold their galley, divided the money amongst themselves, every man having part of it to relieve them: for so hardly were they pursued by the Turkish gallies, that oftentimes they came to that place at night from whence the Christians went away but the morning before. So that it behoved them to use all the diligent speed they could, and not to tarry long in one country. From Tarento, therefore, do they travel by land to Naples, and there did they separate themselves, and break company, every man shaping his best course, to get to his own home.

John Reynard took his journey to Rome, where he found good and friendly entertainment, at the hands of an Englishman, by whose means the Pope gave him a liberal reward, and sent him, with commendatory letters, to the King of Spain, who, for that worthy exploit upon the Turks, gave him in fee twenty pence by the day. But the love of his own country calling him from thence, he forsook Spain, and his preferment there, and returned to England.

The Copy of the Certificate for John Reynard, and his Company, made by the Prior and Brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE, the prior and fathers of the convent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of preachers, do testify, that, upon the nineteenth of January, there came into the said city a certain galley from Alexandria; taken from the Turks, with two hundred fifty and eight Christians, whereof was principal, Master John Reynard, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great work, whereby so many Christians have recovered their liberty. In token and remembrance whereof, upon our earnest request to the same John Reynard, he hath left here an old sword, wherewith he slew the keeper of the prison: which sword we do, as a monument and memorial of so worthy a deed, hang up in the chief place of our convent-house. And, for because all things aforesaid are such as we will testify to be true, as they are orderly passed, and have therefore good credit, that so much as is above expressed is true, and, for the more faith thereof, we, the prior and fathers aforesaid, have ratified and subscribed these presents. Given in Gallipoli.

I Friar Vincent Barba, prior of the same place, confirm the premises, as they are above written,

I Friar Albert Damaro, of Gallipoli, sub-prior, confirm as much.

I Friar Anthony Celleler, of Gallipoli, confirm as aforesaid,

I Friar Bartholomew, of Gallipoli, confirm as abovesaid,

I Friar Francis, of Gallipoli, confirm as much.

The Bishop of Rome's Letters in Behalf of John Reynard.

BE it known unto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof, John Reynard, Englishman, a gunner, after he had served captive in the Turks gallies, by the space of fourteen years, at length, through God's help, taking good opportunity, the third of January, slew the keeper of the prison, whom he first struck on the face, together with four and twenty other Turks, by the assistance of his fellow-prisoners, and with two hundred sixty-six Christians (of whose liberty he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arrived first at Gallipoli, in Candy, and afterwards at Tarento, in Apulia: the written testimony and credit of these things, as also of others, the same John Reynard hath, in publick tables, from Naples.

Some few days since he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his journey to the Spanish court, hoping there to obtain some relief toward his living: wherefore, the poor distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we, in his behalf, do, in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that, taking compassion of his former captivity, and present penury, you do not only freely suffer him to pass throughout all your cities and towns, but also succour him with your charitable alms; the reward whereof you shall, hereafter, most assuredly receive; which, we hope you will afford to him, whom, with tender affection of pity, we commend unto you, At Rome.

Thomas Grolos, Englishman, bishop of Astraphan.

Richard Silleun, prior Angliæ.

Andreas Ludovicus, register to our sovereign lord the Pope; which, for the great credit of the premises, have set my seal to these presents, at Rome, the day and year above written.

Mauricius Clenotus, the governor and keeper of the English hospital in the city.

THE
ARRAIGNMENT AND EXECUTION
OF
THE LATE TRAITORS,

WITH A
RELATION OF THE OTHER TRAITORS,

*Which were executed at Worcester, the twenty-seventh of January
last past.*

London: Printed for Jeffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the
great north door of St. Paul's, 1606. Octavo, containing twenty-eight
pages.

The following tract contains a short narrative of the behaviour of these men at
the gallows, who were executed for the gun-powder plot, of which I know not
whether there is any other Protestant relation, and therefore have preserved
this, though not very valuable either for its elegance or decency, for it is writ-
ten in a strain of merriment and insult, which the religion, professed by the
Author, does not teach.

However, as one extreme is naturally opposed to another, this pamphlet, in
which the cause and sufferings of these wretches are treated with scoffs and de-
rision, may be justly placed in contrast against those writings of their own
church in which they are revered as martyrs. J.——.

*A brief Discourse upon the Arraignment and Execution of the eight
Traitors, Digby, the two Winters, Grant, Rockwood, Keyes, Bates,
and Johnson, alias Fawkes, four of which were executed in St. Paul's
Church-yard, in London, upon Thursday, being the thirtieth of Ja-
nuary; the other four in the old Palace in Westminster, over-against
the Parliament-house, upon Friday next following.*

NOT to aggravate the sorrow of the living in the shame of the
dead, but to dissuade the idolatrously blinded, from seeking
their own destruction in the way to damnation, I have here briefly set
down a discourse of the behaviour and carriage of the eight persons
before named, from the time of their imprisonment, to the instant of
their death; the nature of their offence, the little shew of their sor-
row, their usage in prison, and their obstinacy to their end. First, for
their offence, it is so odious in the ears of all human creatures, that
it could hardly be believed, that so many monsters in nature should
carry the shapes of men: murder, oh, it is the crying sin of the

world, and such an intended murther, as, had it taken effect, would have made a world to cry; and therefore the horror thereof must needs be hateful to the whole world to hear of it.

X Men, that saw them go to their execution, did in a sort grieve to see such proper men, in shape, go to so shameful an end; but the end was proper to men of so improper minds, who, to satisfy a blinded conceit, would forget their duties to God and their king, and unnaturally seek the ruin of their native country: they are said to be born unhappy, that are not someway profitable to their country; and then, how accursed are they born, that seek the destruction of the whole kingdom?

Papists will perhaps idly say, it was a bloody execution; but, in respect of their desert, in the blood they intended to have shed, it was a merciful punishment: for, if Jezabel, a Queen, for seeking the murther of one private man, was thrown out of a window, and fed upon by dogs: how can these people be thought to be cruelly used, that could intend and practise so horrible a villainy as the death of so gracious a king, queen, and prince, so noble peers, and the ruin of so flourishing a kingdom?

But since my intent is chiefly to make report of the manner of their demeanors; from the prison to the arraignment, and from thence to execution: I will truly set down what I have gathered, touching the same. After their apprehension in the country, and being brought up to London, upon the appearance of their foul treason, before his Majesty's most honourable council, they were, by their commandment, committed to his Majesty's Tower of London, where they wanted nothing, that, in the mercy of a Christian prince, was thought fit, and, indeed, too good for so unchristian offenders.

For in the time of their imprisonment they seemed to feel no part of fear, either of the wrath of God, the doom of justice, or the shame of sin; but, as it were, with seared consciences, senseless of grace, lived as not looking to die, or not feeling the sorrow of their sins; and now, that no subtle fox, or rather goose, that would fain seem a fox, shall have cause to say or think, that the justice of the law hath not been truly ministered, according to the rules of the Divine will, behold here a true report, as I said before, of their behaviour and carriage, from their apprehension, to their imprisonment, and from condemnation to their execution. In the time of their imprisonment they rather feasted with their sins, than fasted with sorrow for them; were richly apparelled, fared deliciously, and took tobacco out of measure, with a seeming carelessness of their crime, as it were daring the law to pass upon them; but the Almighty, and our most merciful good God, first revealed them. His Majesty's and his council's careful head apprehended them, the law plainly did decipher them, justice gave judgment on them, and death made an end of them; but, to come to their arraignment, and to deliver the manner of their behaviour, after they went from the Tower by water, and came to Westminster, before they came into the hall, they made some half hour's stay, or more, in the Star-chamber, whither being brought, and remaining till the court was all ready to hear them, and, according to the law, to give judgment on them, it was strange to note their carriage, even in their very counte-

nances: Some hanging down the head, as if their hearts were full of doggedness, and others forcing a stern look, as if they would * fear death with a frown, never seeming to pray, except it were by the dozen, upon their beads, and taking tobacco, as if that hanging were no trouble to them; saying little but in commendation of their conceited religion, craving mercy of neither God nor the King for their offences, and making their consciences, as it were, as wide as the world; and, to the very gates of hell, to be the cause of their hellish courses, to make a work meritorious.

Now being come into the hall, and upon the scaffold at the bar, standing to answer to their indictments, they all pleaded not guilty, but were all found guilty. Digby, without craving mercy, or favour, of either God or the King, made only five worldly requests, that his wife might have her jointure, his children the lands intailed by his father, his sisters their legacies in his hand unpaid, his debts paid, and for his death, to be beheaded, and not hanged.

Robert Winter, in like manner, thinking himself already half a saint for his whole villainy, said little to any purpose, that either made shew of sorrow, or sought mercy, but only made a request to the King for mercy towards his brother, in regard of his offence, as he said, through his only persuasion.

His brother said little, but, with a guilty conscience, swallowed up a concealed grief, with little shew of sorrow for that time.

Grant, stubborn in his idolatry, seemed nothing penitent for his villainy, asked little mercy, but, as it were, careless of grace, received the doom of his desert.

The younger Winter said little, but to excuse the foulness of his fact, in being drawn in by his brother, and not of his own plotting, with little talk to little purpose, troubled the time the lesser while.

Rockwood, out of a studied speech, would fain have made his bringing up, and breeding in idolatry, to have been some excuse to his villainy; but a fair talk could not help a foul deed, and therefore, being found guilty of the treason, had his judgment with the rest of the traitors.

Now, after their condemnation and judgment, being sent back to the Tower, there they remained till the Thursday following; upon sledges and hurdles they were drawn into St. Paul's Church-yard, four of them, viz. Everard Digby, the elder Winter, Grant, and Bates, of whom I forgot to speak, having no great matter to speak of, but only that, being a villain, and hoping for advancement by the same, he had the reward of a traitor.

Now these four being drawn to the scaffold, made on purpose for their execution: First went up Digby, a man of a goodly personage, and a manly aspect, yet might a wary eye, in the change of his countenance, behold an inward fear of death, for his colour grew pale and his eye heavy; notwithstanding that he inforced himself to speak, as stoutly as he could, his speech was not long, and to little good purpose, only, that his belied conscience, being, but indeed, a blinded conceit, had led him

* That is, fright.

into this offence, which, in respect of his religion, *alias*, indeed idolatry, he held no offence, but, in respect of the law, he held an offence, for which he asked forgiveness of God, of the King, and the whole kingdom; and so, with vain and superstitious crossing of himself, betook him to his Latin prayers, mumbling to himself, refusing to have any prayers of any, but of the Romish catholicks; went up the ladder, and, with the help of the hangman, made an end of his wicked days in this world.

After him went Winter up to the scaffold, where he used few words to any good effect, without asking mercy of either God, or the King, for his offence; went up the ladder, and, making a few prayers to himself, staid not long for his execution.

After him went Grant, who, abominably blinded with his horrible idolatry, though he confessed his offence to be heinous, yet, would fain have excused it by his conscience for religion; a bloody religion, to make so bloody a conscience; but better that his blood, and all such as he was, should be shed by the justice of law, than the blood of many thousands to have been shed by his villainy, without law or justice; but to the purpose, having used a few idle words to ill effect, he was, as his fellows before him, led the way to the halter; and so, after his crossing of himself, to the last part of his tragedy.

Last of them came Bates, who seemed sorry for his offence, and asked forgiveness of God, and the King, and of the whole kingdom; prayed to God for the preservation of them all, and, as he said, only for his love to his master, drawn to forget his duty to God, his king and country, and therefore was now drawn from the Tower to St. Paul's Church-yard, and there hanged and quartered for his treachery. Thus ended that day's business.

The next day, being Friday, were drawn from the Tower to the Old Palace in Westminster, over against the parliament house, Thomas Winter, the younger brother, Rockwood, Keyes, and Fawkes the minor, justly called, The Devil of the Vault; for, had he not been a devil incarnate, he had never conceived so villainous a thought, nor been employed in so damnable an action.

The same day, being Friday, were drawn from the Tower to the Old Palace in Westminster, Thomas Winter, Rockwood, Keyes, and Fawkes, where Winter, first being brought to the scaffold, made little speech, but seeming, after a sort, as it were sorry for his offence, and yet crossing himself, as though those were wards to put by the devil's stoccadoes, having already made a wound in his soul, of which he had not yet a full feeling, protesting to die a true Catholick, as he said; with a very pale and dead colour went up the ladder, and, after a swing or two with a halter, to the quartering-block was drawn, and there quickly dispatched.

Next him came Rockwood, who made a speech of some longer time, confessing his offence to God, in seeking to shed blood, and asking therefore mercy of his Divine Majesty; his offence to the King, of whose Majesty he likewise humbly asked forgiveness; his offence to the whole state, of whom in general he asked forgiveness, beseeching God to bless the King, the Queen, and all his royal progeny, and that they

might long live to reign in peace and happiness over this kingdom. But last of all, to mar all the pottage, with one filthy weed, to mar this good prayer with an ill conclusion, he prayed God to make the King a Catholick, otherwise a Papist, which God of his infinite mercy ever forbid; and so, beseeching the King to be good to his wife and children, protesting to die in his idolatry, a Romish Catholick, he went up the ladder, and, hanging till he was almost dead, was drawn to the block, where he gave his last gasp.

After him came Keys, who, like a desperate villain, using little speech, with small or no shew of repentance, went stoutly up the ladder; where, not staying the hangman's turn, he turned himself off with such a leap, that with the swing he brake the halter, but, after his fall, was quickly drawn to the block, and there was quickly divided into four parts.

Last of all came the great devil of all, Fawkes, alias Johnson, who should have put fire to the powder. His body being weak with torture and sickness, he was scarce able to go up the ladder, but yet with much ado, by the help of the hangman, went high enough to break his neck with the fall: Who made no long speech, but, after a sort, seeming to be sorry for his offence, asked a kind of forgiveness of the King and the state for his bloody intent; and, with his crosses and idle ceremonies, made his end upon the gallows and the block, to the great joy of the beholders, that the land was ended of so wicked a villainy.

Thus have I ended my discourse upon the arraignment and execution of these eight traitors, executed upon Thursday and Friday last past, in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Old Palace at Westminster.

Now there is certain report of the execution done on Monday, being the twenty-seventh of January, in the city of Worcester, upon one Perkins, and his man, for the receiving of traitors. God be blessed for it! And continue the justice of law to be executed upon all such rebellious and traitorous wretches, as either plot such villainies, conceal such treasons, or relieve such traitors! For, since the betraying the Lord of heaven and earth, was there ever such a hellish plot practised in the world? If the Pope were not a very devil, and these Jesuits, or rather Jibusites and Satanical Seminaries, very spirits of wickedness, that whisper in the ears of Evahs, to bring a world of Adams to destruction, how could nature be so senseless, or reason so graceless, as to subject wit so to will, as to run all headlong to confusion? Is this a rule of religion? Or rather of a legion? Where the synagogue of Satan sat in council for the world's destruction, for the satisfaction of a lousy humour, or bloody devotion, or hope of honour, or to make way to some mad fury to bring the most flourishing kingdom on the earth to the most desolation in the world; to kill at one blow, or with one blast, king, queen, prince, and peer; bishop, judge, and magistrate, to the ruin of the land, and utter shame to the whole world; and left naked to the invasion of any enemy: Is this a holy father, that begets such wicked children? Is this religion, where is no touch of charity? Or, is there any spark of grace in these priests, that so poison the souls, and break the necks of so many people?

Ignorance in the simple, and idolatry in the subtle, take ceremonies for certainties, superstition for religion, envy for zeal, and murder for charity: What can that church be, but hell, where the devil sings such masses? *Servus Servorum*, says he that would be *Dominus Dominorum*; servant of servants, that would be master of masters: Is not he a cunning herdsman, that can make one painted cow, or printed bull, give him more milk, than many a herd of better kine? Are not these sweet notes to be taken in the nature of the popish government? Kill princes, sow seditions, maintain bawdy-houses, blind the simple, abuse the honest, bereave the innocent, swear and forswear, so it be for the Pope's profit, the church will absolve you; and, if you miss the mark to hit the mischief you shoot at, you shall be a hanging saint, till you be taken down to the devil. Oh, fine persuasions! That infinite sins by numbered prayers, inward curses by outward crossings, an offence against God by a pardon from man, should be believed to be helped! A child cannot conceive it, a wise man cannot digest it, and surely none, but either blind women, or madmen, can believe it. If a man would but a little look into their idolatries, he should see a world of such mockeries, as would make him both laugh at their fooleries, and abhor their villainies. Their kissing of babies, their kneeling to wooden ladies, their calling to saints that cannot hear them, their praying by the dozen, their taking of penance, their pilgrimages to idols, their shavings and their washings, their confessions and their crossings, and their devilish devices to deceive the simple of their comfort: These, with a world of such tricks, as would make a jack-anapes a fine juggler. He, that could see them with that clear eye, that can judge betwixt light and darkness, would, if they were his friends, be sorry for them; if his enemies, laugh at them; and, howsoever, or whatsoever, leave them, and say, as he may say, that papistry is mere idolatry, the Pope an incarnate devil, his church a synagogue of Satan, and his priests the very locusts of the earth.

But let us leave them to their loathsome puddles, and let us be thankful to Almighty God for the clear water of life, that, in his holy word, we receive from the fountain of his gracious mercy; and let us a little look into the difference betwixt the traitorous papist, that dieth for his villainy, and the faithful protestant, that dieth for the truth of his conscience in the belief of the word of God.

The traitorous papist will pull down princes, and subvert kingdoms; murder and poison whom they cannot command: The faithful protestant prayeth for princes, and the peace of the people; and will endure banishment, but hate rebellion: The proud papist will shew intemperancy in passion, while the humble protestant will embrace affliction with patience: The protestant cries to God for mercy for his sins; the papist gives authority to sin, when, before the offence, the pardon is purchased.

I say, Was it not a strange speech of Digby, through the blindness of his bewitched wit, "That, to bring the kingdom into the Popish idolatry, he cared not to root out all his posterity?"

Oh the misery of these blinded people! Who forsake the true God of heaven and earth, to submit their service to the devil of the world;

be traitors to their gracious princes, to serve a proud, ungracious prelate; lose their lands and goods, beggar their wives and children, lose their own lives with an open shame, and leave an infamy to their name for ever, only to obey the command of a cunning fox, that, lying in his den, preyeth on all the geese that he can light on; and, in the proud belief to be made saints, will hazard their souls to go to the devil.

But how many millions hath this devil enchanted! And how many kingdoms hath he ruined! And how many massacres hath he plotted! And how many souls hath he sent to damnation! God for his mercy cut him off, or open the eyes of all them Christian princes, that they may agree together and pull him down: for, during his pride, princes, that are of his religion, will be but as copyholders to his countenance; soldiers, that fight not under his banner, shall be as shake-rags to his army; lawyers, except they plead in his right, shall have but curses for their fees; divines, if not of his opinion, shall be excommunicated out of his church; merchants that bring not him commodities, shall keep no shops in his sanctuary; nor beggars, that pray not for his monarchy, shall shall any alms in his basket. And therefore I hope that God will so wipe off the scales from the eyes of the blind, that both one and other, soldier and lawyer, divine and layman, rich and poor, will so lay their heads, their hearts and hands, and their purses together, that, whereas he hath been long in rising, and could not sit fast, when he was up, he shall take a fall of a sudden, and never rise again, when he is down: to which prayer, I hope, all true Christians will say, Amen.

A TRUE REPORT

OF THE

Arraignment, Tryall, Conuiction, and Condemnation,

OF

A POPISH PRIEST, NAMED ROBERT DREWRIE,

At the Sessions-house in the Old Baylie, on Friday and Wednesday, the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February;

The extraordinary great grace and mercie offered him, and his stubborn, traitorous, and willfull refusal.

ALSO, THE

TRIAL AND DEATH OF HUMPHREY LLOYD,

For maliciously Murdering one of the Guard.

AND, LASTLY,

THE EXECUTION OF THE SAID ROBERT DREWRIE,

Drawn in his Priestly Habit, and as he was a Benedictine Fryer, on Thursday following to Tiborne, where he was hanged and quartered

London, printed for Iefferie Chorlton, and are to be sold at his Shop adioyning to the great North door of Paales, MDCVII. Quarto, black letter, containing four sheets.

The following account of a Priest, who chose rather to die than to take the Oath of Allegiance to King James the First, an Oath, which many of the Secular Priests publicly defended, and which very few of the Laity refused, is in itself very remarkable; nor can it be doubted that his firmness will be applauded by some, and his bigotry severely censured by others.

But it will be thought by the Reader still more extraordinary, when he has been told, what the Author of this Narrative does not seem to have known, that this Priest was, in some degree, the Author of that Oath, which he died for refusing.

In the year 1603, a considerable number of the Secular Priests, who had for some time publicly opposed the principles, and condemned the practices of the Jesuits, resolved yet farther to distinguish themselves from them, by a solemn and authentick protestation of their fidelity and allegiance, and therefore drew up an instrument, by which they confessed: "That they were all liable by the laws of the land to death, by their coming into the kingdom, after their taking the order of priesthood since the first year of her Majesty's reign, but that, whereas it hath pleased their dread sovereign Lady to take some notice of the faith and loyalty of them, her natural born subjects, Secular Priests, and her princely clemency hath given a sufficient earnest of some merciful favour towards them, and only demanded of them a true profession of their allegiance, thereby to be assured of their fidelity to her Majesty's person, crown, estate, and dignity, they whose names are thereunder written, in most humble wise prostrate at her

THE ARRAIGNMENT, &c. OF A SEMINARY PRIEST. 53

Majesty's feet, do acknowledge themselves infinitely bound unto her Majesty therefore, and are most willing to give such assurance and satisfaction in this point, as any Catholick Priests can or ought to give unto their Sovereign."

They then proceed thus:

- I. Therefore we acknowledge and confess the Queen's Majesty to have as full authority, power, and sovereignty over us, and over all the subjects of this realm, as any her Highness's predecessors ever had.
- II. Whereas, for these many years past, divers conspirators against her Majesty's person and estate, and other forcible attempts for invading and conquering her dominions, have been made, we know not under what pretence, or intendments of restoring the Catholick Religion by the sword (a course most strange in the world, and undertaken solely and peculiarly against her Majesty and her kingdoms, amongst other princes departed from the religion and obedience of the See Apostolick no less than she) by reason of which violent enterprises, her Majesty, otherwise of singular clemency towards her subjects, hath been greatly moved to ordain and execute severer laws against Catholicks (which, by reason of their union with the Apostolick See, in faith and religion, were easily supposed to favour these conspiracies and invasions) than, perhaps, had ever been enacted or thought upon, if such hostility and wars had never been undertaken, we, to assure her Majesty of our most faithful loyalty, also in this particular cause, do sincerely protest, and by this our publick fact make known to all the Christian world, that in these cases of Conspiracies, of practising her Majesty's death, of invasion, &c.

They then declared their abhorrence of all such practices and all treasons, and made very solemn protestations of their fidelity and allegiance.

From this declaration, which was signed by Robert Drewry, and twelve others, was the Oath of Allegiance formed, by which the government intended not so much to distinguish Protestants from Papists, as one kind of Papists from another. But Robert Drewry, who had signed the declaration in 1603, chose, in 1607, rather to suffer death than to take the oath. — J*

A true Report of the Apprehension, Examination, Arraignment, Tryall, Conviction, and Condemnation, of Robert Drewrie, a Seminary Priest, and a Fryer, of the Order of Saint Benedict, at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey, on Friday and Wednesday, the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February. And, lastly, his Execution at Tyborne, on Thursday following, &c.

IN a case deservng so well to be spoken off, concerning iniury to God's glory, and apparant wrong of our countrey (ouer-run with too many men of such daungerous quality) I thought it the duty of an honest subject, to say somewhat, so farre as truth would warrant me, because slaunder and detraction are no meane enemies to such maner of proceedings.

Robert Drewrie being apprehended by his Maiesties messengers at the White-Fryers, and afterward brought before the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London; declared himselfe there, as Garnet, his maister, had done before, *multorum nominum*, to be a man of many names, but yet no one of them being good. For, as no lesse than sixe severall names would serve Garnets turne, so this man

had three to shadow him by, viz. Drewrie, Browne, and Hamden, but Drewrie was the last in his owne deliuering, and appearing to be his true name indeede.

His aunswers were equiuocall and very confused, denying his priest-hood, and seeming so cunning, as if no hold were to be taken of him. But he being better known to the state then himself imagined, and his many dangerous practises sufficiently discouered and scanned; after such priuate examinations as were thought convenient, time was appointed for his publike tryall, which followed as heereafter shall be declared.

On Friday, being the 20th day of February, in the forenoone, my lord mayor, maister recorder, and other of his Maiesties justices of the peace, sitting at the Sessions-house in the Old Baily, by vertue of his Highnesse commission of Oyer and Terminer, for goale deliuerie, for London, and the county of Middlesex: Robert Drewrie, priest, and a fryer of the Benedictine order, was brought before the bench. His enditement, according to forme of lawe in that case made and provided, was openly read vnto him; whereunto he pleaded, Not Guilty, but (for his tryall) did put himselfe vpon God and his country. Then was a verie sufficient iurie impannelled for him; to whom (in effect) these speeches were deliuered.

Robert Drewrie, the prisoner, standing at the barre, had traytously, wilfully, and in contempt of the statute made to the contrarie, departed out of this land, wherein he was borne, and at Valedolid in Spayne (where, by Parsons means, a seminary for English students was erected, as the like were at Rome and Rhemes) hadde bin made a prieste by the bishop of Leon, by authoritie deriued from the Pope. Sithence which time, he had returned back into this land, to reconcile, seduce, and withdraw his Maiesties subiectes from their naturall dutie, loue, and allegiance to a forraigne seruice and obedience.

Hauing libertie graunted to speake, and aunswere for himselfe what he could, Robert Drewrie very shallowly sought to insinuate, that, if it were treason in him to be a priest, then it was the like in Saint Augustine, Saint Bernard, and other reuerend fathers of the church, who receiued their priestthoode by authority from God; and so did he presume to haue doone the like, for the saluation of his owne soule, and many others beside; which purposely he came hether to do, according to his office and function. His sillie suggestion was presently reprooued, that, notwithstanding the great difference betweene his priestthoode and that of the fathers before named, yet priestthoode solie was not imputed to him for treason; for that profession (though neither liked, nor allowed by vs) he might vse and exercise in the parts beyond the seas, keeping himselfe there; but not heere within his Maiesties kingdome, where, both he and all other of his ranke, did very well know, and therefore could not plead any ignorance therein, that sundry good and sufficient lawes, heeretofore made, had enacted it to be treason, for any subiect borne to forsake his natie dutie, and, being made priest by authoritie deriued from the Pope, to com home again into this land, and (in meere contempt of the King and his lawes) to reconcile, seduce, and alienate loyale subiects harts from loue, iust regard, and dutie to

their soueraigne, and subiecting them in obedience to a forraigne gouernment. Drewrie made aunswere, he could not, neither would he deny, but that he came hether to exercise the office of a priest, according as he had alreadie doone, in winning of soules; but he would not admit, that he had seduced any, or in any sort diswaded them, but only for the good of their soules. Being afterward vrged with his Maiesties great mercy, who had, to him and all other of his coate, granted his generall pardon; and why he did not, according to the proclamation, depart the land, when it was so expresly commaunded? He made aunswere, That he wanted means: When it was prooued to him, that not only did the King allow such conuenient transporting, but also enabled them with money; and therefore his stay could not be otherwise, but meerely in traytorous contempt of the Kings lawes: whereto he could make no reply.

Then diuers traitorous and dangerous papers were shewen, which had bin taken in his custody, and whereof he would gladly haue acquitted himselfe, but that they were manifestly prooued to be his. One of them seemed to be Parsons opinion concerning the oath in the late made statute, which he vtterly disallowed any Catholique to take, appearing to haue vsed the Popes censure therein; wherevpon the bull, or breefe, to that purpose, seemeth to take effect.

The others were also of a traytorous nature, tending to the abuse and corrupting of poore simple soules, and stealing all duty and allegiance from them. There were likewise two letters openly read, the one from certaine priestes, prisoners sometimes in the Clinke, to the arch-priest, Maister Blackwell, requiring his iudgement in matters, when they laboured and hoped for tolleration in religion: The other was Maister Blackwells aunswere therto; both which though he would haue cunningly auoyded, yet it appeared what reckoning he made of them.

When he had answered for himselfe so much as he could, relying still vpon his priesthoode, and vrging that to be the cheefest matter of his offence, though many times the contrary was deliuered to him, the iurie passed vppon him, and founde him guilty of high-treason, wherevpon he was sent away til the time of iudgement; which because it was not til Wednesday following, it shall not be much differing from our purpose to handle, and say somewhat, in the mean while, concerning the tryall and conuiction of Humphrey Lloyd, endicted there vpon wilfull murder, hauing slaine master Thomas Morris, one of the ordinary yeomen of his Maiesties garde, not long before, in Chauncery-lane.

Upon Sunday in the Afternoone, being the eighteenth of January, the forenamed Humphrey Lloyd and Thomas Morris meeting together in Aldersgatee-street, in the companie of certaine other of theyr friendes, went into the Halfe Moone tauerne to drink, where they had no such plenty of wine, as to cause distemper, or otherwise (that way) to procure impatiencie.

But it was deliuered in euidence, that some speeches concerning religion passed betweene them; wherein Morris touched Lloyd to be a

dissembler, as neither hot nor cold, but, if any thing at all, it was (indeede) best affected to Popery, as afterwarde it plainly appeared. It hapned, that the lie was retorted between them, which vrged Morris to cast a cuppe of wine in Lloyds face, and Lloyd therevpon threw a rowle of bread at the head of Morris. A further and more dangerous strife had presently ensued, but that honest friendes on both sides, being present, did so discretely deale with them, that they grew friendes againe, drank to one another, and no hart-burning outwardly perceiued; till at length, Lloyd renewing remembrance of the former speeches, a more heauier falling out had thereon hapned, but that the friendes, as before, pacified them again; but yet menacing words passed from eyther, Morris threatning to bee euen with Lloydes bald pate, and Lloyde woulde try acquittance with the others cods-heads; so that they parted with tearmes of enmity.

On the Wednesday next ensuing, Lloyd and a gentleman, in a white coloured cloake, standing talking together at Lincolns Inn Gate, it hapned. Morris and a friende of hys with him to passe by; the friende saluted Lloyd, as Lloyd did the like by him; and very soone after, the gentleman in the white cloake, that had stooode talking with Lloyd being sent by him, as it appeared, followed Morris, as Lloyd likewise, and, rounding him in the eare, which the friende then with Morris could not heare, hee perceiued an alteration in the countenance of Morris, and the like in Lloyd, who by this time was come to them; which he being desirous to remooue, as standing an equall friende to them both, desired them, if any thinge were amisse betweene them, to let him perswade a friendly agreement, and not to grow into any vnciuill behauiour in the open street, to the wounding of their credite and reputation, as also, what danger might otherwise ensue, was doubtful to be gathered. Lloyd made aunswere, that he was good friendes with his cozen Morris, and loued him as deerly as any in England. Whereto Morris instantly replied, Wilt thou neuer leaue thy dissembling? dost thou pretend to loue me so deerely, and hast euen now sent me a challenge by this man? Lloyd immediately returned him this aunswere: That, if he hadde sent him a challenge, he was come in person to aunswere it, and would performe it there, or any where els. Thus his malicious intent very plainly appeared. What other words passed betweene them, I know not, neither could they bee heard by any standers by; but forthwith they drewe out both theyr weapons, notwithstanding all intreaty to the contrary: and indeede Lloyd did drawe to soone, to expresse his bloody and vnquencheable malice; for he soon gaue to Morris his deaths wound, wherevpon he fell downe presently, not speaking one word.

And, to witnesse the more his cruell and bloodie hatred, he strake twice or thrice at him, when he was downe, cutting him ouer the head, and otherwise wounding him; yet he pleaded, that he did all this but in hys owne defence.

All this, which hath bin bresie reported, being much more circumstantially deliuered in euidence, and by oath approued to his face, he sought to extenuate his offence by verie shallow speeches, vtterly

impertinent, and most against himselfe, in due consideration of his friuolous allegations: For he had bin a man of more dangerous quality, then was conceiued in his present tryall, hauing tasted the Kings most gracious mercy, and had becne borne withall beyond his deservng.

It was also told him, how farre he had waded in Watsons treason, and was also a partaker in the Gunne-powder Plotte, sending shot, and powder also, to them in Wales; in all which the mercie of his Maicesty had looked more mildly vpon him, then himselfe coulde desire, or any way deserue. But the iustice of heauen very manifestly appeared, that so false and hollow a hart, sullied with the detested guilt of treason, must now, in a wilful and malicious act of blood and murder, declare it selfe to the whole worlde, and the vpriight censure of lawe this way depriue him of life, that had felte mercie before, in a heauier offence. Here is also to be noted, that, as the quarel first hapned on talk of the Popish religion, so now Lloyd discouers him in his colours. For, though it was told him, that he had very confidently deliuered himselfe to be otherwise, and which himselfe was not able to denye; yet nowe Drewrie the prieste (after his iudgement) passing away by him in the docket, gaue him a publicke noted absolution, with his hand crossing him, and vsing some close speches; whereupon, thinking this sufficient to wash off his stayne of murder, he forthwith openly confest, that he is a Catholicke, so he had bin alwayes, and so he woulde die; as if that very name should gve fame to his foul fact, and, where he died a murderer, his owne ydle supposition of Popish absolution shoulde make him nowe to die in the case of a martyr, and for his conscience.

When he was drawne in the carte (with others) toward execution, and all the cartes beeing stayed before Saint Sepulchers church, where the most christian and charitable deed of Master Dooue, at euery such time, is worthily performed, to moue prayer and compassion in mens harts, for such so distressed: All the while that the man spake, Lloyd stopte his eares, not willing to heare any thing; but, if any Romaine Catholickes were neere, he desired such to pray for him. And so at Tyborne he did in like manner, calling to Romaine Catholickes to praye with him and for him, but no other prayers would he accept of. But, the lawe hauing censured him, and justice likewise beeing past vpon him, what else remains to be thought, or said of him, let it be so charitably, as such a case requireth, and as becommeth all honest Christians, euermore remembring, that flesh and blood is subiect to frailty, and he, that boasteth most of strength, maye soonest fall and be deceiued: Therefore let vs measure other mens infirmities by a considerate care of what our owne maye be, and, committing all to him, that is the onely iudge of all, desire his heauenly help and assistance neuer to suffer vs to be led into the like temptations. Let vs nowe remember where we lefte before, and returne to the matter concerning the priest.

In this time of respite since his condemnation, bethinking himselfe, belike, of his present dangerous condition, he solicited sundry great persons by his letters, entreating all possible fauour to bee allowed him.

Among the rest, he wrote to Sir Henry Mountague, recorder of London, requiring to haue some priuate speech with him. The gentleman, being of a milde and mercifull inclination, willing to do good to any, but much more to one at the point of such perill, vpon Monday morning, sent for Drewrie downe into the sessions-house garden to him; where, vrting to know what fauour he requested, and alleaging the Kings great and gracious mercy to any that expressed themselves to be his louing subiects, and would take the oath of duty and obedience to him, Drewrie made voluntary tender of himselfe, that he would take the oath, acknowledging the greatnes of his Maiesties mercy; and humbly required, that the like grace might bee afforded to his brother William Dauies, the other priest, that was condemned with him: Maister recorder conceiued very well of this his submission, and was in his minde perswaded, that, if he had put him to the oath presently, without any refusall he would haue taken it. But he, as an vpriight iusticer, very wisely considering, that, his fact being openly knowne; and the people acquainted with his dangerous practises, his publicke submission, and taking the oath, would the better wnesse his obedience and submission, and proue much more pleasing then any thing done in priuate, deferred it till the time of more conueniency; so Drewrie departed vppe to his chamber again, being vsed with all kind and gentle respect.

The extraordinary great Grace and Mercy, offered at the Sessions-house to Robert Drewrie and William Dauies, Priestse, on Wednesday, the Twenty-fifth of February; and, lastly, the sentence of death pronounced against them.

ACCORDING to the custome in such cases obserued, the tryall and condemnation of Robert Drewrie passing, as hath beene already declared, on the Fryday before; on Wednesday following, being the fise and twentieth day of February, the prisoner was brought to the barre againe; where it being tolde him, that he had been already arraigned vpon high-treason, and had pleaded thereto, *Not guilty*, but, for his tryall, had put himselfe vpon God and his countrey, the countrey had found and deliuered him vppe guilty; it now remained to hear what he could say for himselfe, why iudgement of death should not be pronounced against him.

He replied, as he had done before, that he took himselfe not to be conuicted of treason, but onely for his priest-hood; which if the law made treason, he had nothing to say, but appealed to the Kinges grace and mercy.

Heereupon, his voluntarie offer, to take oath on the Monday before, was rehearsed to him. And it was further tolde him, that now it was apparantly perceiued, how collorably he cloaked his priuate and pernicious dealing, answering by equiuocation, and setting downe one thing vnder his owne hand, then afterward speaking dyrectly against

the same. For prooffe whereof his owne letter, written since the time of his condemnation, to a person of great honor, was there read; and as much thereof, as concerned the present occasion then in hand, was the more insisted vpon. Wherin (if my memory faile me not) it appeared, that he had bin requyred to set downe his censure and opinion, according as himselfe did best gather and conceiue therof, concerning the oath of legalty and allegiance mentioned in the late statute; whereunto (as I remember) his answer was thus: 'I freelye confesse, that, in my opinion, every honest and good Catholicke may lawfully and safely take it.' Immediately, because he had made such a free confession of the oathes lawfulness, and safety in taking, himselfe was willed to take the oath, which he had thus censured, to let the world perceiue now publickly, whether his hand and hart held true correspondence together, and whether he were so honest and good a Catholicke, as but to expresse the loyalty of a subiect, and give Cæsar his due. Now plainly appeared, both what he and such of his profession inwardly are, for he plainly refused to take the oath: Having the booke deliuered into his owne hands, and willed to take and alledge what exceptions he colde against any part or particle of the oath, his answer was, That he did but deliuer his opinion of the oath, what any good or honest Catholicke might do, excluding himselfe out of any such titles. 'Neither (quoth he) can it be any waye aduantageable to me, being condemned as I am, and therefore I haue no reason to take it.' But then, to meet iustly with such cunning dissembling and equiuocating, and to discouer such apparant falshood, that no lesse admired, then most worthy gentleman, Sir Henry Mountague, knight, recorder of the cittie of London, as he had many times before, so still he continued, in displaying the subtil slights of so dangerous a person, and what hurt ensued to the state by such as he was. To driue him nowe from these ydle suggestions, and to lay open the Kings most royall mercy, though not so much as in truth it deserued, yet sufficiently able to conuince such impudence, he told him, That he was a poore minister of iustice vnder his Maiesty, and hadde such true acquaintance with his euer-royall and mercifull inclination, that hartly sorrow, or repentance, in an offender, no sooner colde be discerned, but he was euen as readie to giue pardon and forgiuenes, and rather did superabound in grace, then seeke after blood; and therefore willed him to let all the people there perceiue, whether he would accept of this proffered grace, or no. Nay, more; because every one was not acquainted with the oath contained in the statute, and, perchance, might conceite otherwise thereof, then in equity it deserued, the clearke was commaunded to read it there publickly, and himselfe to except against it whatsoever he could alledge. The clearke accordingly began, as followeth, reading it distinctly, as it is in the booke.

The Oath of every true and honest Subiect.

I. A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie, and declare in my conscience, before God and the worlde, that our soueraigne Lorde King Iames is lawfull and rightfull king of this realme;

and of all other his Maiesties dominions and countries: and that the Pope, neither of himselfe, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other meanes, with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Maiesties kingdomes or dominions; or to authorize any furraigne prince to inuade or any him, or his countries; or to discharge any of his subiectes of their allegiance and obedience to his Maiesty; or to giue license, or leaue, to any of them to beare armes, raise tumult, or to offer violence or hurte to his Maiesties royall person, state, or gouernment, or to any of his Maiesties subiectes within his Maiesties dominions.

Also, I do sweare from my hart, that, notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority deriued, or pretended to bee deriued, from him or his see, againste the said King, his heires or successors; or any absolution of the saide subiectes from their obedience. I will beare faith and true allegiance to his Maiestie, his heires, and successors; and him and them will defende, to the vttermost of my power, against al conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shal be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of anie such sentence or declaration, or otherwise; and will doe my best indeuour to disclose and make knowne vnto his Maiesty, his heires and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know, or hear of, to be against him, or any of them.

And I doe further sweare, that I doe from my hart abhorre, detest, and abiure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes, which be excommunicated or depriued by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subiects, or anie other whatsoeuer.

And I do beleue, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolue me of this oath, or any parte thereof, which I acknowledge by good and faithfull authority to be lawfully ministred to me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And al these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to these expresse wordes by me spoken, and according to the plaine and common sence, and understanding to the same words, without equiuocation, or mental euasion, or secret reseruatiō whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly, and truly, vpon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God.

This oath, which no good subiect will refuse to take, hauing beene very audibly read, well neare in the perfect hearing of euery one there present, he was required to alleadge or inferre against any part thereof what he colde. But he insisting vainely, as he had done before, that he had but giuen his opinion thereof for others, and refusing vtterly to take it himselfe, gaue euident and manitest testimony, that such priestes, as himselfe was, were not included in the ranke of honest or good Catholickes, but apparant traytors to the King and state, in saying one thing, and dooing the contrary; in making an outward

shew of duty and obedience under hand-writing, and reseruing a traytorous intention in their close bosome; wherein the grosse deceiuing and abusing of too many ouer-credulous soules (being falsely perswaded of such men, otherwise then they are indeede) is very much to be pitied and lamented: For they do but iudge by the exterior habit of smooth sanctitie and holines, and not by the close seducing of them and their soules. Religion is the cloake cast ouer intended treason, and holy protestations hide hollow-harted practises, more deuillish then (in plaine meaning) can easily be doubted, and far more dangerous, then weake capacities are able to discouer, as, very excellently and elegantly, was there plainly approued.

Another allegation also, as impertinent, did Drewrie make, in saying: That a French priest, or Spanish priest, conming into this land, to exercise their function at either of their lord ambassadours, or otherwise, they might, in like manner, be tearmed traytors; whereas all the bystanders were euen ready to hisse him, knowing very well, and, as it was with good discretion, answered him, that such priestes neither were, or colde be reckoned subjects to this state, nor were they enabled to deal in such dangerous manner with our people, wanting our language and credit, in such a case to countenance them, as, by their slye insinuating, they being borne subjects, and credited more than beseept, did too much preuaile by. And as freely might such ambassadours haue men of spiritual office about them, being of their owne countrey, as ours are allowed the like, within their maister dominions. So that still he wolde haue maintained that priesthoode, and not the treacherous complotting and practises of priestes, in his understanding, was to bee held for treason. The same grace and fauour, which had been before extended to Drewrie, in as ample manner was offered to Dauies, the other priest, and he was demaunded whether he would take the oath or no. Hee replyed, that he was a poor simple ignorant man, and could hardly censure what thereto belonged. For there were many learned priestes, whose iudgements, in this case, he would first know, and then, perhaps, he might be otherwise altered. Wherein appeareth, that one only Romish rule and obseruation is a lesson or direction to them all, and the bulls or breues of the Pope are more regarded and respected by them, than the natiue loyalty and obedience, they owe to their king and countrey. But mercy hath been ouer-mild too long, and won no such grace from, as iustly was expected, but rather hath armed them with more boldnesse and insolence, than either is fit in them to offer, or standes with the wisdom of so great a state to endure: For,

Nunquid colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus?

Doo men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

When no further good, either by testimonie of their owne shame, or euen father-like and most kinde perswasions, could be wrought vpon either of them; first a most graue, learned, and iudicious admonition was made unto them, containing breiefely the many and extraordinarie

great graces of the Kings Maiestie towarde menne of their condition, and howe, after graunting them first his free and generall pardon, hee neuer left off, but pursued them still with all fauours that could be deuised, as not desiring the death of any one; but rather to live quietly, like a godly, peacefull, and religious king; not enacting any new or seuerer lawes against such daungerous persons, but ratifieng and confirming them that he found at his comming, which Queen Elizabeth (of euer happy memory) compulsiuely was compelled and enforced to make against them. And yet the iustice of those lawes, which had been of seauen and twenty yeers continuance before, his Maiestie did forbear to execute; and finding manye, whose liues lay vnder the forfeit of the law, not onely did he remitte them in grace, but likewise gave his free pardon to all; sending so manie as were in durance away at his own cost and charge, and publishing the like offer to all other, that wolde except of so kind a benefit; as loath to meddle with their blood, that were enemies to his life, and desirous to win them by mercy, if they were not too monstrous. Nor hath he sentenced any priest with death since his comming to the crowne, but such as were men of most daungerous qualitie, and had their hands ouer deep in most barbarous and inhumaine treasons. But when neither perswasions, sufferances, nor proclamations will serue, to keep such daungerous men out of the land, but euen, in spight of the King and his lawes, they will needs come over, and put in practice their treacherous deuyses; mercy, of necessity, must giue way to iustice, and pittie preuaile no longer, when grace is dispised.

The many and excelent parts, contained in maister recorders learned and elegant speech, I am not able to set downe, and, therefore, do humbly craue fauour, for but glauncing at these few; which though they come farre short of their iust merite, yet let my good will excuse al imperfections. Being come to the very iumpe of giuing iudgement, Drewrie demanded, if, as yet, he might have fauour to speak, and, most honorably, it was answered that he might, for the King's mercy was neuer too late; therefore he was willed, not to trifle the time in friuolous speeches, but, if he wolde yet take the oath, do it, and afterwards speak what further he woulde; which made all the standers by euen confounded with amazement, that grace should be so abundantly offered vnto such froward and wilfull refusers. Drewrie wolde not yeeld to take the oath, whereupon the sentence of death was pronounced against them both. To bee conueyed thence to the place from whence they came, and there to be laid vpon an hurddle, and so drawne to the place of execution, where they shoulde hang till they were half deade; then to haue their secrets cut off, and with their intrailles throwne into the fire before their faces, their heads to be seuered from their bodies, which seuerally should be deuided into four quarters, and afterward disposed at his Maiesties pleasure, in mean while, the Lorde to take mercie vpon their soules; and so they were sent backe to prison againe.

A brefe Report of the Execution of Robert Drewrie, drawne on a Hurdle in his Fryer-Benedictine Habbet to Tyborne, on Thursday the the Twenty-sixth of Februarie.

ON the next morning, being Thursday, an hurdle being brought to Newgate, Robert Drewrie, hoping yet for life, and not thinking to die, as by the sequell it plainly appeared, hauing put on, after the maner of the Benedictine fryers beyond the seas, a newe suit of apparrell, being made of black stuffe, new shooes, stockings, and garters, and a black new stuffe priests gown, or cassock, being buttoned downe before by loops and buttons, two and two together, to the verye foote, a new cornered cap on his heade, and vnder it a fair wrought night-cap; was, in this manner, drawne along to Tyborne, where being by the executioner prepared for death, he was brought vp into the cart, and vsing such ydle speeches, as he had don often before, that he dyed not for treason, but for his priesthoode, hee was willed to deal more iustly, and not to abuse the world nowe at his death, in vttering that which was a manifest lie and untruth. He made answere, that, in all his life-time, he had not told a lie, and then, after a short pause, added, not willingly. There were certain papers shewed at Tyborne, which had bin found about him, of very daungerous and traitorous nature. And amonge them also was his Benedictine faculty vnder seale, expressing what power and authority he had from the Pope, to make men, women, and children heere, of his order; what indulgences and pardons he colde graunt them, both in this life, and for multitude of yeares after their death, preseruing them both from purgatory, and warranting their entrance (by the Popes keyes) into heauen. He confessed himselfe to be a Romaine Catholick, and a priest, and desired all Romaine Catholickes to praye with him, and for him. And often looking about him, as hopinge there was some mercie for him, for feare appeared very plainly in him, when he felt the cart go away under him, and his expectation to be deceiued, he caught fast holde with his left hande on the halter about his head, and very hardly was inforced to let it goe, but held so for a pretty while. If this were not an apparent hope of life, I refer it to better judgments than mine own. He hung till he was quite dead, and afterwards his body was quartered.

GODS WARNING

TO

HIS PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

BY THE

GREAT OVERFLOWING OF THE WATERS OR FLOUDES,

Lately hapned in South Wales, and many other Places.

Wherein is described the great losses and wonderfull damages, that hapned thereby,

BY THE

DROWNING OF MANY TOWNES AND VILLAGES,

To the vtter vtndooing of many thousandes of people.

Printed at London for W. Barley, and Io. Bayly, and are to be solde in Gratiours Street 1607. Quarto, black letter, containing twelve pages.

This tract, which is the nineteenth in the order of the catalogue of pamphlets published in this collection, being requested by N. P. as a great curiosity, and containing several particulars, not to be found in the English history, and serving to illustrate and account for several things, that are, or may be published in the Natural Histories of those parts, where this dreadful inundation happened; we have taken this first opportunity to oblige him and the publick with so extraordinary a relation, which otherwise, in a very short time, might perchance have been intirely lost.

MANY are the dombe warninges of distruction, which the Almighty God hath lately scourged this our kingdome with; and many more are the threatning tokens of his heauy wrath extended towards vs: all which, in bleeding hearts, may inforce vs to put on the true garment of repentance, and, like vnto the Niniuits, vnfaignedly sollicite the sweet mercies of our most louing God: therefore, let vs now call to remembraunce the late grievous and most lamentable plague of pestilence, wherein the wrath of God tooke from vs so many thousandes of our friendes, kindred, and acquaintance: let us also call to remembraunce the most wicked and pretended malice of the late papisticall conspiracie of traytors, that, with powder, practised the subuersion of this beautifull kingdome: and, lastly, let vs fix our eyes vpon these late swellings of the outragious waters, which, of late, now hapned in diuers partes of this realme, together with the ouerflowing of the seas in diuers and sundry places thereof; whose fruitfull valcys, being now *ouerwhelmed* and drowned with these most vnfortunat and vnseason-

able salt waters, doe fore-shew great barrennes and famin to ensue after it, vnlesse the Almighty God, of his great infinit mercy and goodnesse, doe preuent it. But now, oh England! be not ouercome with thine owne folly, be not blinded with the ouermuch securitie of thy selfe, neyther sinke thou thy selfe in thine own sinte; for, since the generall dissolution of the whole world by water, in the time of Noah, neuer the like inundation or watry punishment then hapned, now here related, to the great grieve of all Christian hearers, as, by this sequell, it shall heare appeare.

Upon Tuesday, being the twentieth of Ianuary last past, 1607, in diuers places, aswell in the westerne partes of England, as also in diuers other places of this realme, there hapned such an overflowing of waters, such a violent swelling of the seas, and such forcible breaches made into the firme land, namely, into the bosomes of these countries following, that is to say, in the counties of Glocester, Sommerset, together with the countries of Munmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and diuers and sundry other places of South Wales; the like neuer, in the memory of man, hath euer bin scene or heard of: the suddayne terror whereof strooke such an amazed feare into the hearts of al the inhabitants of those partes, that euery one prepared him selfe ready to enterayne the last period of his liues distruction, deeming it altogether to be a second deluge, or an vniuersal punishment by water.

For upon the Tuesday, being the twentieth of Ianuary last, as aforesaid, about nine of the clocke in the morning, the sunne being most fayrely and brightly spred, many of the inhabitantes of those countreys before mencioned, prepared themselues to their affayres, some to one busines, some to an other, euery man according to his calling. As the plowmen setting forth their cattle to their labours; theshpheardes feeding of their flockes; the farmers over-seeing of their grounds, and looking to their cattle feeding therein; and so every one imployed in his busines, as occasion required: then they might see and perceiue a far of, as it were in the element, huge and mighty hilles of water, tumbling one ouer another, in such sort, as if the greatest mountaines in the world had ouerwhelmed the lowe valeyets or marshy grounds. Sometimes it so dazled the eyes of many of the spectators, that they imagined it had bin some fogge or miste, comming with great swiftness towards them, and with such a smoke, as if mountaynes were all on fire; and, to the view of some, it seemed as if myllyons of thousandes of arrows had bin shot forth all at one time, which came in such swiftness, as, it was verily thought, that the fowls of the ayre could scarce fly so fast, such was the threatening furies thereof.

But assoone as the people of those countries perceiued that it was the violence of the waters of the raging seas, and that they began to exceede the compasse of their accustomed boundes, and making so furiously towards them: happy were they that could make the best and most speed away, many of them leauing all their goods and substance to the merciles waters, being glad to escape away with life themselues: but so violent and swift were the outrageous waues, that pursued one another with such vehemencie, and the waters multiplying so much in so

short a time, that, in less then five hours space, most part of those countreys (and especially the places which lay lowe) were all ouerflowen, and many hundreds of people, both men, women, and children, were then quite deuoured by these outrageous waters; such was the furie of the waues of the seas, the one of them dryuing the other forwardes, with such force and swiftness, that it is almost incredible for any to beleuee the same, except such as tasted of the smart thereof, and such as behelde the same with their eyes: nay more, the farmers, husbandmen, and shepherds might beholde their goodly flockes of sheepe swimming vpon the waters dead, which could by no meanes be recouered.

Many gentlemen, yeomen, and others, had great losses of cattle, as oxen, kine, bullockes, horses, colts, sheepe, swine; nay, not so much as their poultry about their houses, but all were ouerwhelmed and drowned by these merciles waters. Many men, that were rich in the morning, when they rose out of their beds, were made poore before noone the same day: such are the judgements of the Almighty God, who is the geuer of all good things; who can, and will dispose of them agayne at all times, according to his good will and pleasure, whensoever it shall seeme best vnto him. Many others, likewise, had their habitations or dwelling-houses all carryed away in a short time, and had not a place left them, so much as to shrowde themselves in.

Moreouer, many that had great store of corne and grayne in their barnes and garners in the morning, had not, within five houres space afterwarde, so much as one grayne to make them bread withall; neither had they so much left as a Locke of hay or straw to feede their cattell which were left; such was the great misery they susteyned by the fury of this watry element; from which like, good Lord, I beseech him, of his infinite mercy and goodness, to deliuer vs al.

The names of some of the townes and villages, which suffered great harmes and losses hereby, were these, viz.

Bristoll and Aust; this Aust is a village or town some eight miles distant from Bristoll, vpon the Seauerne side, where all people are ferryed ouer, that come out of Wales into those partes of Gloucester and Sommersetshire.

All the countreys along on both the sides of the river of Seauerne, from Gloucester to Bristoll, which is about some twenty miles, was all ouerflowne, in some places six miles ouer, in some places more, in some lesse.

Moreouer, al or the most parte of the bridges, betweene Gloucester and Bristoll, were all forcibly carryed away with the waters; besides many goodly buildings there abouts much defaced, and many of them carryed quite away; besides many other great losses of al kinde of corne, and grayne, and cattle, that were then lost.

At Aust, many passengers that are ferryed ouer there now, are faine to be guided by guides all along the causes, where the water still remaineth, for the space of three or four miles, or else they wil be in great daunger of drowning, the water lyeth, as yet, so deepe there.

Many dead carkasses, both there, and in many other places of the

country, are dayly found floating vpon the waters, and, as yet, cannot be knowne who they are, or what number of persons are drowned, by reason of the same waters, which as yet, in many places, remaine very deepe; so great was the spoyle that theise mercilesse elementes there wrought and made.

In Bristoll was much harme done, by the overflowing of the waters, but not so much as in other places; many cellars and warehouses, where great store of merchandize was in (as wine, salt, hops, spices, and other such like ware) were all spoyled. And the people of the towne were inforced to be carryed in boates, vp and downe the said citie, about their busines in the fayre time there.

Upon the other side of the riuer of Seauerne, towards a town called Chepstow, vpon the lower groundes, was much harme done, by the vyolence of the water.

There was, in Chepstow, a woman drowned in her bed, and also a gyrl, by the like misfortune.

Also, all along the same coastes, vp to Gold-cliff, Matherne, Calicot-Moores, Redrift, Newport, Cardiffe, Cowbridge, Swansey, Laugherne, Llanstephan, and diuers other places of Glamorgan-shire, Munmouthshire, Carmarthen-shire, and Cardigan-shire; many great harmes were there done, and the waters raged so furiously, and with such great vehemencie, that it is supposed that, in those partes, there cannot be so few persons drowned as five hundred, both men, women, and children; besides the losse of abundance of all kinde of corne and grayne, together with their hay, and other prouision which they had made for their cattle.

Moreouer, there were, in the places afore mentioned, many thousandes of cattle, which were feeding in the lowe valeys, drowned and ouerwhelmed with the violence of the furious waters; as oxen, kine, young beastes, horses, sheepe, swine, and such like; the number is deemed infinit; yea, and not so much as turkies, hens, geese, duckes, and other poultry about their houses could once escape away, the waues of the sea so ouerwhelmed them.

And that which is more straunge, there are not now founde onely floating, vpon the waters still remayning, the dead carkasses of many men, women, and children, but also an abundance of all kinde of wild beastes, as foxes, hares, connies, rats, moules, and such like; some of them swimming one vpon anothers backe, thinking to haue saued themselves thereby; but all was in vaine, such was the force of the waters that ouerpressed them.

In a place in Munmouthshire, there was a maide went to milke her kine in the morning, but, before she had fully ended her busines, the vehemencie of the waters increased, and so suddenly enuironed her about, that she could not escape thence, but was enforced to make shift vp to the top of an high banke to saue her selfe, which she did with much adoe, where she was constrained to abide all that day and night, vntill eight of the clocke in the next morning, in great distresse; what with the coldnes of the ayre and waters, and what with other accidents that there hapned vnto her, she had bin like there to haue pe-

rished, had not the Almighty God, of his infinit mercy and goodnes, preserued her from such great perills and daungers, which were likely there to ensue vnto her.

But there placing herselfe for saueguard of her life, as aforesaid, having none other refuge to fly vnto; the waters in such violent sort had pursued her, that there was but a small distance of ground left unconquered with waters, for her to abide vpon: there she remayned most pittifully lamenting the great daunger of life that she was then in, expecting, euery minute of an houre, to be ouerwhelmed with those mercylesse waters: but the Almighty God, who is the creator of al good things, when he thought meete, sent his holy angell to commaund the waters to cease their fury, and returne into their accustomed bounds againe, wherby, according to his most blessed will and pleasure, she was then preserued.

In the meane space, during the continuance of her abode there, diuers of her friends practised al the means they could to recouer her, but could not, the waters were of such a deepnes about her, and boates they had none, in all those partes, to succour her; such was their want in this distresse, that many perished through the want thereof.

There was a gentleman of worth, dwelling neere vnto the place where she was, who caused a goodly gelding to be saddled, and set a man vpon the backe of him, thinking to have fetcht her away; but such were the deepnes of the waters, that he durst not adventure the same, but retire.

At last, some of her friends deuised a deuise, and tyed two broad troughes the one to the other (such as, in these countreys, they vse to salt bacon in) and put therein two lustie strong men, who, with long powles (stirring these troughes together, as if they had bin boates) made great shift to come to her, and so, by this meanes through God's good helpe, she was then saued.

But now, gentle reader, marke what befell at this time, of the straungeness of other creatures; whom the waters had violently oppressed: for the two men, which tooke vpon them to fetch away the maide from the top of the banke, can truly witness the same, as well as herselfe, to be true, for they beheld the same with their eyes.

The hill or bank, where the maid abode al that space, was al so couered ouer with wild beastes and vermin, that came thither to seeke for succour, that she had much adoe to save herselfe from taking of hurt by them; and much adoe she had to keepe them from creeping vpon and about her; she was not so much in daunger of the water, on the one side, as she was troubled with these vermin, on the other side.

The beastes and vermin that were there were these, viz.

Dogs, cats, moulcs, foxes, hares, conyes, yea, and not so much as mice and rats, but were there in abundance: and that which is more strange, the one of them neuer once offred to annoy the other; although they were deadly enemies by nature the one to an other. Yet, in this daunger of life, they not once offred to expresse their naturall enuie; but, in a gentle sort, they freely inioyed the liberty of life, which, in mine opinion, was a most wonderful worke in nature.

But now let vs leave this matter, touching this maide, besides the other accidentes before rehearsed, and let us returne againe to these watry miseries. The counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and Cardigan, and many other places in South Wales, haue likewise borne the heauy burden of Gods wrath herein; and many were the liues of them that were lost through this watery destruction.

Many there were which fled into the tops of high trees, and there were enforced to abide some three daies, some more, and some lesse, without any victuals at al, there suffering much colde, besides many other calamities; and some of them in such sort, that, through overmuch hunger and cold, some of them fell down againe out of the trees, and so were like to perish for want of succour; other some, sate in the tops of high trees, as aforesaid, beholding their wiues, children, and seruants swimming (remediles of al succour) in the waters.

Other some, sitting in the tops of trees, might behold their houses ouerflowne with the waters; some their houses carryed quite away; and no signe or token left there of them.

Many of them might see, as they stood vpon the tops of high hilles, their cattle perish, and could not tell how to succour them, and their barnes, with all their store of corne and graine, quite consumed, which was no small grieue vnto them.

Many people and cattle, in diuers places of these countreys, might haue bene saued in time, if that the countreys had bene any thing like furnished with boates, or other prouision fit for such a sudden accident as this was, which, as God himselfe knoweth, was little expected of them to haue fallen so suddenly vpon them.

But, seeing the countreys were so vnfurnished with boates, much harme was done, to the utter undooing of many thousandes.

Some fled into the tops of churches and steeples to saue themselves, from whence they might beholde themselves deprived aswell of al their substance, as also of al their ioyes, which they had before receiued in their wiues and children, beware; whole reekes of pease, beanes, oates, and other graine were seene a far of, to float vpon the water too and fro, in the countreys, as if they had bin ships vpon the seas.

The foundations of many churches and houses were, in a manner, decayed, and some carried quite away, as in Cardiffe, in the countie of Glamorgan, there was a great part of the church next the water-side beaten downe, with the water; many houses and gardens there, which were neere the water-side, were all ouerflowne, and much harme done.

Diuers other churches lie hidden in the waters, and some of them the tops are to be seene; and other some, nothing at al to be seene, but the very tops of the steeples, and of some of them nothing at al, neyther steeple nor nothing else. Also many schooles of young schollers, in many places of those countreys, stood in great perplexitie; some of them, adventuring home to their parents, were drowned by the way; other some, staying behinde in the churches, did climbe vp to the tops of steeples, where they were very neere starued to death for want of foode and fire: many, by the help of boards and planks of wood, swam to dry land, and so were preserved from vntimely death. Many

had boates brought them, some ten miles, some fifteen, some twenty, where there was neuer seene any boates before.

Thus God suffred many of them to escape his yrefull wrath, in hope of their amendment of life: some men, that were riding on the highways, were ouertaken with these mercilesse waters, and were drowned.

And againe, many have bin most straungely preserved.

As for example: there was, in the countie of Glamorgan, a man both blind, and did ride, and one which had not bin able to stand vpon his legs in ten yeares before; he had his poore cottage broken downe by the force of the waters, and himselfe, bed and al, carryed into the open fields, where, being readie to sinke, and at the point to seeke a resting-place, two fathoms deepe vnder the waters, his hand by chaunce catcht holde of the rafter of an house, swimming by the fiercenesse of the windes, then blowing easternely, he was driuen safely to the land, and so escaped.

Also in an other place, there was a man child, of the age of five or six yeares, which was kept swimming for the space of two houres, aboute the waters, by reason that his long coates lay spread vpon the tops of the waters; and beeing at last at the very poynt to sinke, there came by chaunce by (floating vpon the tops of the waters) a fat weather that was dead, very full of wooll: the poore distressed child, perceiuing this good meanes of recouerie, caught fast hold on the weathers wool, and likewise with the winde he was driuet to dry land, and so saued.

There was also, in the countie of Carmarthen, a young woman, who had foure small children, and not one of them able to helpe it selfe; and the mother then seeing the furies of the waters to be so violent to ceaze vpon her, threatening the destruction of her selfe and her small children (and as a womans wit is euer ready in extremities) she tooke a long trough, wherein she was wont to make her bread in, and therein placed her selfe and her foure children; and so, putting themselves to the mercies of the waters, they were al, by that meanes, driuen to the dry land, and by Gods good prouidence thereby they were al saued.

Many more there were that, through the handy-workes of God, were preserved from this violent death of drowning, some on the backes of dead cattle, some vpon wooden planks; some by clyming of trees, some by remaining in the tops of high steeples and churches; other some, by making of speed away with swift horses, and some by the meanes of boates, sent out by their friendes to succour them; but there were not so many so straungely saued, but their were as many in number as straungely drowned.

The lowe marshes and fenny groundes neere Barnstable, in the countie of Deuon, were ouerflowne so farre out, and in such outrageous sort, that the countrey all along to Bridgewater was greatly distressed thereby, and much hurt there done; it is a most pittifull sight to beholde what numbers of fat oxen there were drowned; what flockes of sheepe, what heades of kine haue their bin lost, and drowned in these outrageous waters: there is little now remaining there to be seene, but huge waters, like to the maine ocean: the tops of churches and steeples like to the tops of rockes in the sea; great reekes of fodder for cattle

are floating like ships upon the waters, and dead beastes swimming thereon, now past feeding on the same, through the rigour of this element of water: The tops of trees a man may beholde remaining about the waters, upon whose braunches multitudes of al kinde of turkies, hens, and other such like poultry, were faine to fly vp into the trees to saue their liues, where many of them perished to death, for want of reliefe, not being able to fly to dry land for succour, by reason of their weaknes.

This mercylesse water, breaking into the bosome of the firme land, hath proued a fearefull punishment, as well to al other liuing creatures, as also to al mankinde; which, if it had not bin for the mercifull promise of God, at the last dissolution of the world, by water, by the signe of the rainebowe, which is still shewed vs: We might haue verily beleeeved, this time had bin the very houre of Christ his comming: From which element of water, extended towardes vs in this fearefull manner, good Lord deliuer vs al. *Amen.*

THE PENNYLESS PARLIAMENT

OF

THREAD-BARE POETS:

OR,

ALL MIRTH AND WITTY CONCEITS.

Printed at London, for William Barley, and are to be sold at his Shop in Grace-Church-street, near Leaden-hall-gate. 1608.

The witty conceits of the following tract, seem to carry with them an air of rebuke against the vices and follies of those times, in which they were composed; and, so far as the same subject of rebuke subsisteth, they may still be serviceable to the same end: A jocose reproof is frequently known to take place of a serious admonition.

1. **F**IRST of all, for the increase of every fool in his humour, we think it necessary and convenient, that all such as buys this Book, and laughs not at it, before he has read it over, shall be condemned of melancholy, and be adjudged to walk over Moor-fields, twice a week, in a foul shirt, and a pair of boots, but no stockings.

2. It is also agreed upon, that long-bearded men shall seldom prove the wisest; and that a niggard's purse shall scarce bequeath his master a good dinner; and, because water is like to prove so weak an element in the world, that men and women will want tears, to bewail their sins, we charge and command all gardeners, to sow more store of onions, for fear widows should want moisture, to bewail their husbands' funerals.

3. In like manner we think it fit, that red-wine should be drank with oysters; and that some maidens shall blush more for shame, than for shame-facedness; But men must have care, lest, conversing too much with red petticoats, they banish their hair from their heads*, and, by that means, make the poor barbers beggars, for want of work.

4. Furthermore, it is lawful for those women, that, every morning, taste a pint of muscadine with eggs, to chide, as well as they that drink small beer all the winter; and those that clip, that they should not, shall have a horse night-cap, for their labour; gentlemen, that sell land for paper, shall buy penury with repentance; and those, that have most gold, shall have least grace; some that mean well, shall fare worse; and he, that hath no credit, shall have less commodity.

5. It is also ordered and agreed upon, that such as are cholerick, shall never want woe and sorrow; and they, that lack money, may fast upon Fridays, by the statute†; and it shall be lawful for them, that want shoes, to wear boots all the year; and he, that hath never a cloke, may, without offence, put on his best gown at Midsummer; witness old Prime, the keeper of Bethlem dicing-house.

6. In like manner it is agreed upon, that what day soever St. Paul's church hath not, in the middle isle of it, either a broker, masterless man, or a pennyless companion, the usurers of London shall be sworn by oath, to bestow a new steeple upon it; and it shall be lawful, for cony-catchers to fall together by the ears, about the four knaves at cards, which of them may claim superiority; and whether false dicé, or true, be of the most antiquity.

7. Furthermore, we think it necessary and lawful for the husband and wife to fall at square, for superiority, in such sort, as the wife shall sit playing above in the chamber, while the husband stands painting below in the kitchen: likewise, we mark all brokers to be knaves, by letters patents; and usurers, for five marks a piece‡, shall lawfully be buried in the chancel, though they have bequeathed their souls and bodies to the devil in hell.

8. In like manner, it is thought good, that it shall be lawful for muscadines, in vintners cellars, to indict their masters of commixtion||, and serjeants shall be contented to arrest any man for his fees: Alewives shall sell flesh on Fridays, without license, and such as sell beer, in half-penny pots, shall utter bread and cheese for money,

* i. e. be poked.

† of Queen Elizabeth, which commands us to fast all the Fridays in the year, except Christmas day.

‡ Alluding to the table of fees for burials.

|| i. e. Mixing their neat wines with cyder, perry, water, spirits, &c.

through the whole year; and those, that are past honesty and shame, shall smile at sin; and they, that care not for God, prefer money before conscience.

9. Furthermore, it shall be lawful for foot-stools (by the help of women's hands) to fly about without wings; and poor men shall be accounted knaves without occasions; those, that flatter least, shall speed worst; and pigs, by the statute, shall dance the anticks, with bells about their necks, to the wonder and amazement of all swineherds.

10. In like manner it is convenient, that many men shall wear hoods, that have little learning; and some surfeit so much upon wit, and strive so long against the stream, as their necks shall fail them; some shall build fair houses by bribes, gather much wealth by contention, and, before they be aware, heap up riches for another, and wretchedness for themselves.

11. Furthermore, it shall be established, for the benefit of increase, that some shall have a tympany in their bellies, which will cost them a child-bearing; and, though the father bear all the charges, it shall be a wise child, that shall know his own father.

12. It shall be lawful for some to have a palsy in their teeth, in such sort, as they shall eat more than ever they will be able to pay for: Some such a megrim in their eyes, as they shall hardly know another man's wife from their own; some such a stopping in their hearts, as they shall be utter obstinate, to receive grace; some such a buzzing in their ears, as they shall be enemies to good counsel; some such a smell in their noses, as no feast shall escape, without their companies; and some shall be so needy, as neither young heirs shall get their own, nor poor orphans their patrimony.

13. Also, it is enacted and decreed, that some shall be so humorous in their walks, as they cannot step one foot from a fool; some so consumed in mind, as they shall keep never a good thought to bless themselves, some so disguised in purse, as they count it fatal to have one penny, to buy their dinners on Sundays; some so burdened in conscience, as they account wrongful dealing the best badge of their occupation.

14. But, amongst other laws and statutes, by us here established, we think it most necessary and convenient, that poulterers shall kill more innocent poultry, by custom, than their wives and maids can sell, with a good conscience; also it is ordered and agreed upon, that bakers, woodmongers, butchers, and brewers, shall fall to a mighty conspiracy, so that no man shall either have bread, fire, meat, or drink, without credit, or ready money.

15. Sycophants by the statute shall have great gifts, and good and godly labours shall scarce be worth thanks; it is also thought necessary, that maidens, about midnight, shall see wonderous visions, to the great heart-grief of their mothers.

16. Furthermore it is marked and set down, that, if lawyers plead poor men's causes without money, Westminster-hall shall grow out of custom, to the great impoverishing of all nimmers, lifters, and cutpurses. Those, that sing bass, shall love good drink by authority; and trumpeters, that sound trebles, shall stare by custom. Women, that wear long gowns, may lawfully raise dust in March; and they, that keep a temperate diet, shall never die on surfeits.

17. In like manner, it shall be lawful for sailors and soldiers to spend, at their pleasures, what pay they get by their sword; and if the treasurer pay them any thing beyond account and reckoning, if they build not an hospital therewith, they may bestow it in apparel by the statute.

18. It is farther established and agreed upon, that they that drink too much Spanish sack shall, about July, be served with a fiery-faces*; but oh! you ale knights, you that devour the marrow of the malt, and drink whole ale-tubs into consumptions; that sing Queen Dido over a cup, and tell strange news over an ale-pot; how unfortunate are you, who shall piss out that which you have swallowed down so sweetly; you are under the law, and shall be awarded with this punishment, that the rot shall infect your purses, and eat out the bottoms, before you be aware.

19. It is also agreed upon and thought necessary, that some women's lips shall swell so big, as they shall long to kiss other men beside their husbands; others cheeks shall be so monstrously out of frame, as they cannot speak in a just cause without large fees; some with long tongues shall tell all things which they hear; some with no brains shall meddle much and know little; and those, that have no feet, may by the statute go on crutches.

20. Furthermore, it is convenient and thought meet, that ale shall exceed so far beyond its bounds as many stomachs shall be drowned in liquor, and thereupon will follow the dropsy, to the great benefit of all physicians; it is lawful for some to take such purgative drugs, that, if nature help not, the worms, in the churches of London, shall keep their Christmas at Midsummer in their bellies; but taylors, by this means, shall have more conscience; for, where they were wont to steal but one quarter of a cloke, they shall have due commission to nick their customers in the lace, and, beside their old fee, take more than enough for new fashion's sake. But now, touching these following articles, we are to advise old men to look with spectacles, lest, in finding over many wise lines, they wax blind with reading.

21. But now, touching the benefit of private houses, by our rare and exquisite judgments, we think it very commodious, that those married men of weakest wit, and worse courage, should provide themselves with good weapons, to defend themselves from assaults, which shall assail them about midnight; and it shall be lawful for all wives to have a masculine courage, in such sort, that they, who have had their wills to this hour, shall have the mastery all the year after; and those husbands, which do not valiantly resist them, shall be awarded to pay a sheep's head to their next neighbour, in penance for their folly.

22. As by our provident judgments we have seen into lamentable miseries, incident in these parts of the world; so, for the reformation thereof, we do ordain and enact, that the oil of holly shall prove a present remedy for a shrewd housewife, accounting Socrates for a flat fool, that suffered his wife to crown him with a piss-pot; ordaining,

* A burlesque on the writ fieri facias; for drinking much wine will not only give a man a red or fiery face, but also bring him into poverty, debt, and so to be arrested.

that all those, that give their wives their own wills, be fools by act of parliament.

23. Also, it is farther established and agreed upon, that Essex calves shall indict butchers knives of wilful murder; and whosoever will prove a partial juryman, shall have a hot sheep's skin for his labour. Bow bell in Cheapside, if it break not, shall be warranted by letters patents to ring well; and, if the conduit heads want no water, the tankard-bearers shall have one custard more to their solemn dinners, than their usual custom.

24. Moreover, it is thought good, that it shall be lawful for all tripewives to be exquisite physicians, for in one offal they shall find more simples, than ever Galen gathered since he was christened; besides, if dancers keep not tide and time in their measures, they shall forfeit a fat goose to their teacher, for their slender judgment. The French Morbus*, by commission, shall be worth three weeks diet, and they, who have but one shirt to shift them withal, may, by the law, strain courtesy to wear a foul one upon the Sunday; also our commission shall be sent forth for the increase of hemp, as not only upland-ground shall be plentifully stored therewith, but also it shall so prosper in the highways†, as the stalks thereof shall touch the top of Tyburn.

25. In like manner, we think it necessary and convenient, that there shall be great noise of wars in taverns, and wine shall make some so venturous, as they will destroy Tyrone‡ and all his power at one draught; also we think it meet, that there be craft in all occupations, and those, that are penitent in this world, shall have comfort in a better; silk-weavers by the statute, shall prosper well, if they wash their hands clean on fasting-days, for otherwise, in soiling their work, they shall lose their work-masters; daws, by authority, shall leave building in steeples, and dwell in cities; and such, as are cunning in musick, shall know a crotchet from a quaver; but let such men, as instruct youth, be very circumspect; for, if they learn more than their masters can teach them, they shall forfeit their wits to those that bring them up.

26. Furthermore, we think it most necessary and convenient, that the generation of Judas should walk about the world, in these our latter days, and sell their neighbour for commodity to any man; but the usurers shall be otherwise disposed, for, having monthly taken but a penny in the shilling, ever since they first began their occupation, shall now, with a good conscience, venture upon three pence with the advantage; besides, many men shall prove themselves apparently knavish, and yet, in their own opinions, will not be so; and many women shall imagine that there are none fairer than themselves.

27. Moreover, for the further increase of foolish humours, we do establish and set down, that fantastick devices shall prove most excellent; and some shall so long devise for other men, that they will become barren themselves; some shall devise novelties to their own shames, and some snares to intrap themselves with.

* Disease.

† viz. By the increase of highway-men.

‡ The Irish rebel.

28. In like manner, we think it most necessary, that those, who be fortune-tellers, shall shut a knave in a circle, and, looking about for a devil, shall find him locked in their own bosoms; atheists, by the law, shall be as odious as they are carles; and those that depend on destiny, and not on God, may chance look through a narrow lattice at Footmen's Inn*: But, my dear friends, the grocers are plentifully blessed, for their figs and raisins may allure fair lasses by authority; yea, many men, by the statute, shall be so kind-hearted, that a kiss and an apple shall serve to make them innocents.

29. It is further agreed upon and established, that many strange events shall happen in those houses, where the maid is predominant with her master, and wants a mistress to look narrowly unto her.

30. Also, we think it convenient, that some shall take their neighbour's bed for their own; some the servant for their master; and if candles could tell tales, some will take a familiar for a flea. Also, we think it meet, that there should be many fowlers, who, instead of larks, will catch lobcocks; and many, for want of wit, shall sell their freehold for tobacco-pipes and red petticoats†. Likewise, we think it convenient, that there should be many takers; some would be taken for wise men, who, indeed, are very fools; for some will take cracked angels‡ of your debtors, and a quart of malmsy when they cannot get a pottle.

31. But, stay a while, whither are we carried, leaving the greatest laws unpublished, and establishing the less? Therefore, we enact and ordain, as a necessary statute, that there shall great contentions fall between soldiers and archers, and, if the fray be not decided over a pot of ale and a black pudding, great bloodshed is like to ensue; for some shall maintain, that a Turk can be hit at twelve score pricks in Finsbury Fields, *Ergo*, the bow and shafts won Bullen; others shall say that a pot-gun is a dangerous weapon against a mud-wall, and an enemy to the painters work§; amongst these controversies we will send forth our commission to god Cupid, being an archer, who shall decide the doubt, and prove that archery is heavenly, for, in meditation thereof, he hath lost his eyes.

32. O gentle fellow-soldiers, then leave your controversies, if you love a woman, for I will prove it, that a mince-pie is better than a musquet; and he that dare gainsay me, let him meet me at the Dagger in Cheap, with a case of pewter spoons, and I will answer it; and, if I prove not that a mince-pie is the better weapon, let me dine twice a week at Duke Humphry's table||.

33. It is furthermore established, that the four knaves at the cards shall suddenly leap from out the bunch¶, and desperately prank about the new play-house, to seek out their old master, Captain Crop-ear; also it is thought meet, that some men, in these days, shall be politick beyond reason, and write more in one line, than they can prove in an age.

34. Furthermore, it shall be lawful for some to study which way they may walk to get them a stomach to their meat, whilst others are

* Bridewell.

† i. e. Will drink and whore away all their estate.

‡ On sigus.

§ Pack.

|| Or, let me go twice a week

‡ A piece of

had money; an angel was half a mark.

¶ Or, let me go twice a week

is careful to get meat to put into their bellies; likewise there shall be great persecution in the commonwealth of kitchen fees, so that some desperate woman shall boil, try, and see the poor tallow to the general commodity of all the whole company of tallow-chandlers.

35. Alas! alas! how are we troubled to think on these dangerous times; for taylors, by act of parliament, may lawfully invent new fashions; and he that takes Irish Aquavitæ by the pint*, may by the law stumble without offence, and break his face; and it shall be thought convenient, that some be so desperately bent, as they shall go into my Lord Mayor's buttery, when all the barrels be full, without either sword or dagger about them; many men shall be so venturously given, as they shall go into Petty-coat Lane, and yet come out again as honestly as they went first in.

36. In like manner, it shall be lawful for Thames water to cleanse as much as ever it did in times past; and, if the brewers at London buy store of good malt, poor bargemen at Queenhithe shall have a whole quart for a penny; St. Thomas's onions shall be sold by the rope at Billingsgate by the statute, and sempsters in the Exchange shall become so conscionable, that a man, without offence, may buy a falling † band for twelve pence.

37. It shall be lawful for smiths to love good ale, and, if it be possible, to have a frost of three weeks long in July, men shall not be afraid of a good fire at Midsummer. Porters baskets shall have authority to hold more than they can honestly carry away; and such a drought shall come amongst cans ‡ at Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield, that they shall never continue long filled.

38. The images in the Temple Church, if they rise again, shall have a commission to dig down Charing-cross with their fauchions; and millers, by custom, shall have small mind to morning-prayers, if the wind serve them in any corner on Sunday. Those that go to wars, and can get nothing, may come home poor by authority; and those, that play fast and loose with women's apron-strings, may chance make a journey for a Winchester pigeon; for prevention thereof, drink every morning a draught of *Noli me tangere*, and, by that means, thou shalt be sure to escape the physician's purgatory §.

39. Furthermore, it shall be lawful for bakers to thrive by two things; that is, scores well paid, and millers that are honest.

40. Physicians, by other men's harms, and church-yards by often burials.

41. Also, we think it necessary for the commonwealth, that the salmon shall be better sold in Fish-street, than the beer shall be at Billingsgate.

42. And heart's ease among the company of herb-wives, shall be worth as much money as they can get for it by the statute.

43. It is further enacted and agreed upon, that those that run four-score miles a foot, on a winter's day, shall have a sore thirst about seven of the clock in the evening.

* Instead of gin, now drank by the common people.
‡ viz. A salivation.

† Long.

§ Ale-house Pots.

44. And such as are inclined to the dropsy, may be lawfully cured, if the physicians know how.

45. Also, we ordain and appoint, that, if there be no great store of tempests, two half-penny loaves shall be sold for a penny in Whitechappel.

46. Chaucer's books, by act of parliament, shall in these days prove more witty than ever they were before; for there shall so many sudden, or rather sodden wits, step abroad, that a flea shall not frisk forth unless they comment upon her.

47. O what a detestable trouble shall be among women about fourscore and ten years old, for such as have more teeth about them, than they can well use, shall die for age, if they live not by miracle.

48. Moreover, we think it necessary, that those that have two eyes in their head, shall sometimes stumble; and they, that can neither write nor read, may as boldly forswear themselves, as they that can.

49. And it shall be lawful for almanack makers, to tell more lyes than true tales.

50. And they that go to sea, without victuals, may suffer penury by the statute

51. In like manner it shall be lawful for any man to carry about him more gold than iron, if he can get it.

52. But they that are given to sullen complexions, if they be females, must be more circumspect; for, if they repent their hidden sins too much, they may by chance catch heaven for their labour.

53. Therefore, let maidens take heed how they fall on their backs, lest they catch a forty weeks favour*.

54. And he that hath once married a shrew †, and, by good chance, buried her, beware how he come into the stocks again.

55. Further, it shall be lawful for those that be rich, to have many friends; and they that be poor, may, by authority, keep money, if they can get it honestly.

56. Also, we command and charge all such as have no conscience, to do their worst, lest they die in the devil's debt. As for the rest, they that have more money than they need, may help their poor neighbours, if they will.

57. In like manner, it shall be lawful for such as are subject to hot rheums, to drink cold drink: And those that have a mind to enrich physicians, to be never without diseases.

58. Also, soldiers, that have no means to thrive by plain dealing, may by the statute swallow down an ounce of the syrup of subtlety every morning; and if they cannot thrive that way, we think it necessary, that, four times in the year, they go a fishing ‡ on Salisbury Plain.

59. Furthermore, for the benefit and increase of foolish humours, we think it necessary, that those our dear friends, who are sworn true servitors to women's pantables, should have this order set down, that you suit yourselves handsomely against goose-feast §; and if you meet

* A woman goes forty weeks with child.

† A scold or ill bred woman.

‡ i. e. Collecting or thieving.

§ Or, Green-goose Fair, kept at Stratford Bow, two miles London, on Thursday in Whitsun Week.

not a fair lass betwixt St. Paul's and Stratford, that day, we will bestow a new suit of sattin upon you, so you will bear all the charges.

60. But, as for your dear friends and scholars, thus much we favour you, for you shall dine upon wit by authority; and, if you pay your hostess well, it is no matter, though you score it up till it come to a good round sum.

61. In like manner, it shall be lawful for maid's milk to be good physick for kibed heals; and a cup of sack to bed-ward, a present remedy for the rheum.

62. Such as are sick, in the spring, may take physick by the statute; and those that are cold may wear more clothes without offence.

63. It is best to ride in long journeys, lest a man be weary with going a-foot; and more comely to go in broken stockings than bare-legged.

64. Further, it shall be lawful for some to be lean, because they cannot be fat.

65. Some, by statute, shall love beef passing well, because they can come by no other meat; and other some simper it with an egg at dinner, that dare manfully set upon a shoulder of veal in the afternoon.

66. Some shall be sad when they want money, and in love with widows rather for their wealth than their honesty.

67. It is also thought necessary, that some shall suspect their wives at home, because they themselves play false abroad.

68. And some love bowling-allies* better than a sermon.

69. But, above all other things, spirits with aprons shall much disturb your sleep about midnight.

70. Furthermore, it shall be lawful for him that marries without money, to find four bare legs in his bed; and he, that is too prodigal in spending, shall die a beggar by the statute.

71. In like manner we think it necessary, that he, that is plagued with a cursed wife, have his pate broke quarterly, as he pays his rent.

72. Likewise, he, who delights in subtlety, may play the knave by custom; and he, who hath his complexion and courage spent, may cat mutton on fasting-days by the law.

73. And to conclude, since there are ten precepts to be observed in the art of scolding, we humbly take our leave of Duke Humphry's ordinary, and betake us to the chapel of ill counsel, where a quart or two of fine Trimdado shall arm us against the gun-shot of tongue-metal, and keep us safe from the assaults of Sir John Find-fault. Vale, my dear friends, till my next return,

* Nine-pins, or skittles, at ale-houses.

INSTRVCTIONS
FOR THE
INCREASING AND PLANTING OF MULBERRIE-TREES,
AND
THE BREEDING OF SILK-WORMES;

For the making of Silke in this Kingdome.

Whereunto is annexed his Maiesties Letters to the Lords Lieftenants of
the seuerall Shiers of England, tending to that Purpose.

Newly printed, MDCIX. Quarto, containing two Sheets.

It is more than probable, that the fine mulberry trees, which abound in some parts of England, and grow as high and extensive as any in France or Italy, are the monuments of this laudable scheme, and royal encouragement to promote the growth and making of silk, within ourselves: But how so advantageous and profitable an undertaking should be now dwindled to nothing, in a nation, of all others, the most industrious, and able to improve every branch of trade, is a matter of the greatest speculation and amazement; for by experience both the animal and its food-propagate and thrive in our soil and climate, and both the rich and poor must have found their advantage in conducting so large a manufacture: Besides the national interest, which must have not only saved immense sums of money sent abroad to purchase silks, but have been able to draw the riches of more northern nations into its own bank, by this new mart of silken goods. This certainly was the intention of those times, in which those instructions were written, and was so explained in his Majesty's letters-patent hereunto annexed.

To the Reader.

AS one desirous of nothing more then the publike good, I here most willingly impart vnto thee, gentle reader, that which by my owne experience I finde, in regard of the benefit it affoards, worthy thy paines and obseruation. It hath pleased his Maiestic, out of his deepe discerning iudgement, to giue my purpose a speciall approbation, and withall to expresse a willingnesse in himselfe to further so good a businesse, as by his gracious letters hereunto annexed most manifestly appeares. Accept therefore of these my brieve directions, and approoue of them as they prooue: I could haue extended them to a farther length, but oratorie needs not where the thing itselfe perswades: Yet some peraduenture, that haue laboured in the like before, will take occasion to countenance themselues, and make my

breuitie an argument of vnsufficiencie, although I hope, they will consider that a king's picture may be as perfect in a pennie, as in the largest coine.

And whatsoever hath beene by them published, interpreting other mens workes, according to the practise thereof in forraigne parts, where the same as yet is generally better vnderstood, I doubt not but future triall will verifie this my booke to be euery way here more correspondent to the creature whereof it treats: And for such I commend it to each vnpartial vnderstanding. Remaining alwaies

Thine for the publike weale.

JAMES Rex.

Right trustie and welbeloued, we greete you well.

IT is a principall part of that Christian care which appertaineth to souereigntie, to endeauour, by all meanes possible, as well to beget as to increase, among their people, the knowledge and practise of all artes and trades, whereby they may be both wained from idlenesse and the enormities thereof, which are infinite, and exercised in such industries and labours, as are accompanied with euident hopes, not only of preserving people from the shame and grieve of penury, but also of raising and encreasing them in wealth and abundance, the scope which euery free-borne spirit aimeth at, not in regard of himselfe onely and the ease which a plentiful estate bringeth to euery one in his particular, but also in regard of the honour of their natieue countrey, whose commendation is no way more set forth then in the peoples actiuenes and industry. The consideration whereof hauing of late occupied our minde, who alwayes esteeme our peoples good our necessary contemplations, we haue conceiued as well by the discourse of our owne reason, as by information gathered from others, that the making of silke might as well be effected here, as it is in the kingdome of France, where the same hath of late years been put in practise: For neither is the clymate of this isle so far distinct or different in condition from that countrey, especially from the hither parts therof, but that it is to be hoped that those things, which by industrie prosper there, may, by like industrie used here, haue like successe; and many private persons, who, for their pleasure, haue bred of those worms, haue found no experience to the contrarie, but that they may be nourished and maintained here, if prouision were made for planting mulberrie trees, whose leaues are the food of the wormes. And, therefore, we haue thought good hereby to let you vnderstand, that although, in suffering this inuention to take place, we doe shew our selues somewhat an aduersarie to our profit, which, in the matter of our customes for silke brought from beyond the seas, will receiue deminution: Neuerthelesse, when there is question of so great and publike vtilitie to come to our kingdome and subiectes in generall, and whereby (besides multitudes of people of both sexes

and all ages) such, as in regard of impotencie are vnfit for other labour, may be set on worke, comforted, and releued, we are content that our priuate benefit shall giue way to our publike; and therefore beeing perswaded that no well-affected subject will refuse to put his helping hand to such a worke, as can haue no other priuate ende in vs, but the desire of the wel-fare of our people, we haue thought good in this forme onely to require you * (as a person of greatest authoritie within that countie) and from whome the generalitie may receiue notice of our pleasure, with more conueniencie then otherwise, to take occasion either at the quarter-sessions, or at some other publike place of meeting, to perswade and require such as are of abilitie (without descending to trouble the poore, for whom we seeke to provide) to buie and distribute, in that countie, the number of ten thousand mulberrie plants, which shall be deliuered vnto them at our citie of, &c. at the rate of three farthings the plant, or at six shillings the hundred, containing five score plants. And because the buying of the said plants, at this rate, may at first seem chargeable to our said subiectes, whom we would be loath to burthen, we haue taken order, that, in March or April next, there shall be deliuered at the said place a good quantitie of mulberrie seedes, there to be sold to such as will buie them, by meanes whereof the said plants will be deliuered at a smaller rate then they can be afforded beeing carried from hence; hauing resolued also in the meane time, that there shall be published, in print, a plaine instruction and direction, both for the increasing of the said mulberrie trees, the breeding of the silk wormes, and all other thinges needfull to be vnderstood, for the perfecting of a worke every way so commendable and profitable, as well to the planter as to those that shall vse the trade. Hauing now made knowne vnto you the motiues as they stand, with the publike good, wherein euery man is interested, because, we know, how much the example of our owne deputie-lieutenants and iustices will further this cause, if you, and other your neighbours, will be content to take some good quantities hereof, to distribute vpon your own lands; we are content to acknowledge thus much more in this direction of ours, that all things of this nature tending to plantations, increase of science, and workes of industrie, are things so naturally pleasing to our owne disposition, as we shall take it for an argument of extraordinarie affection towards our person; besides, the iudgement we shall make of the good dispositions in all those that shall expresse in any kinde their readie minds, to further the same, and shall esteeme that, in furthering the same, they seeke to further our honour and contentment, who hauing seene in few yeares space past, that our brother, the French King, hath, since his coming to that crowne, both begunne and brought to perfection the making of silkes in his country, whereby he hath wonne to himself honour, and to his subiectes a meruailous increase of wealth, would account it no little happinesse to vs, if the same worke, which we begun among our people with no lesse zeale to their good, than any prince can haue to the good of theirs, might, in our time, produce the fruits which there it hath done; whereof we nothing doubt, if ours will be found as

* The Lord Lieutenant of the county.

tractable and apt to further their own good, now the way is shewed them by vs their Soureigne, as these of France haue beene to conformance themselves to the directions of their King.

Giuen vnder our signet at our pallace of Westminster, the nineteenth of Ianuary, in the sixth yeare of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the two and fortieth.

What Ground is fit for the Mulberrie Seedes, how the same is to be ordered, and in what Sort the Seedes are to be sowed therein.

THE ground which ought to be appointed for this purpose, besides the naturall goodnesse of it, must be reasonably well dunged, and withall so scituated, as that the heate of the sunne may cherish it, and the nipping blasts of either the North winde, or the East, may not annoy it: The choise thereof thus made, that the seedes may the better prosper, and come vp after they be sowne, you shall digge it two feete deepe, breaking the clods as small as may be, and afterward you shall deuide the same into seuerall beds of not aboue five feete in breadth; so that you shall not neede to indanger the plants by treading vpon them, when either you water or weede them.

The mulberrie seedes you shall lay in water for the space of twenty-two hours, and after that you shall drie them againe halfe drie, or somewhat more, that when you sowe them they may not cleaue together: Thus done, you must cast them vpon the forsaide beds, not altogether so thicke as you vse to doe other garden seedes, and then couer them with some fine earth (past through a sieue) about halfe an inch thicke: In dry weather you shall water them euery two dayes at the farthest, as likewise the plants that shall come of them; and keepe them as cleane from weedes as possibly you can.

The time, in which you ought to sowe them for your best aduantage, is either in March, Aprill, or May, when frostes are either altogether past, or at the least not so sharpe, or of so long continuance, as to indanger their vpspring.

There is yet another way to sowe them, and that is as followeth: You shall (beeing directed by a strait line) make certaine furrowes in the beds aboue mentioned of some foure fingers deepe, and about a foote in distance the one from the other: after this, you shall open the earth with your hands, on either side of the aforesaid furrowes, some two fingers from the bottome, and, where you haue so opened it, shall you sowe your seedes; and then couer them halfe a finger thicke with the earth which before you opened.

When the Plants, that are sprung up of the Seedes, are to be remooued, and how they are to be planted the first time.

IN the moneths of September, October, Nouember, December, March, or April, the next yeare after the seedes are sowne, you may remooue their plants (or in the moneth of Januarie, if it be not in frostie weather) and set them in the like beds as before, but first you must cut off their rootes, leauing them about eight inches in length, and their tops about halfe a foote aboue their rootes, more or lesse, according to the strength of the said plants, for, the weaker they be, the lesse tops you shall leaue them. In this sort you may suffer them to remaine, weeding and watering them as neede shall require, till they be grown sixe feete in length aboue their rootes, whereunto when once they haue attained, you may cut their tops, and suffer them to spread, alwaies hauing a care to take away the many branches or succours, that may any way hinder their growth, vntill they be come to their full length of sixe feete, as aforesaid.

When, and how the Plants are to be remooued the second time, and in what Manner they are to be planted where they shall remaine.

IN the moneths aforesaide (according as your plants are waxen strong) you may remooue them either into the hedges of your fields, or into any other grounds. If in hedges, you must set them sixtene feete the one from the other; if in other ground, intending to make a wood of them, eightene feete at the least. But, a moneth before you doe remooue them, you must make the holes, wherein you purpose to set them, about foure feete, in bredth, and so deepe as that their rootes may be well couered, and some halfe a foote of loose earth left vnder them, hauing alwaies a specia'll care so to place them, that they may receiue the benefit of the sunne, and not to be shadowed or ouerspread by any neighbouring trees.

When, and how the Egges of the Silke-wormes are to be hatched, and how to order the Wormes that shall come of them.

WHEN the leaues of mulberrie trees begin a little to bud forth, take the egges of your silke-wormes, and lay them in a peece of say, or such like stufte, and in the day-time carrie them in some warme place about you, in a little safe boxe, but, in the night, either lay them in your bed, or betweene two warme pillowes, vntill such time as the wormes begin to come forth: Then take a peece of paper of the

widenesse of the saide boxe, and hauing cut it full of small holes lay it within the same vpon the egges, and vpon that againe some fewe mulberrie leaues, to which the wormes, as they are hatched, will continually come. These leaues, with the wormes vpon them, you must still remooue into other boxes, laying fresh leaues as well on those that are remooued, as on the paper where the egges are; and this is the course, which must be duly kept and obserued, vntill such times as all the wormes be come forth of their shells, still keeping their boxes warme as aforesaid, but no longer about you, but vntill the wormes begin to come forth; out of which boxes, you may safely take them, when once they haue past their second sicknesse, and feede them vpon shclues of two feete in breadth, and eightene inches one about the other.

The said shclues are not to be placed in any ground roome, nor yet next vnto the tyles, but in some middle roome of your house, which openeth vpon the North and South, that you may the more conueniently giue them either heate or aire, according as the time and season shall require. Besides you must not make them close vnto the walles, but so as you must passe about them, the better to looke vnto the wormes, and keep them from rats and mice, which otherwise might deuoure them. You must obserue the times of their comming forth, and keepe euerye one or two daies hatching by themselves, that you may the better vnderstand their seuerall sicknesses or sleepings, which are foure in the time of their feeding. The first commonly some twelue daies after they are hatched, and from that time at the end of euery eight daies, according to the weather, and their good or ill vsage; during which time of euery sicknesse, which lasteth two or three daies, you must feede them but verie little, as onely to releuee such of them, as shall haue past their sicknesse before the rest, and those that shall not fall into their sicknesse so soone.

The whole time, that the wormes doe feede, is about nine weekes, whereof, vntill they come vnto their first sickenes, giue them young mulberrie leaues twice euery day, but fewe at a time; from thence vntill their second sicknesse, twice euery day in greater quantitie: and so from their second to their third sicknesse, increasing the quantitie of the leaues, according as you perceiue the wormes to grow in strength, and cleare of sicknesse: From the third vntill their fourth sicknesse, you may giue them leaues thrice euery day, and, the fourth beeing past, you may let them haue so many as they will eate, alwaies hauing a care that you giue them none, but such as are drie, and well ayred vpon a table or cloath before they be laid vpon them, and withall gathered so neere as may be, at such times as either the sunne or wind hath cleared them of the deawe that falleth vpon them.

For the feeding of wormes you neede observe no other order than this, Lay the mulberrie leaues vpon them, and euery two or three dayes remooue them, and make clean their boxes, or shclues, unlesse in times of their sicknesse, for then they are not to be touched: The leaues which you take from them, when you giue them fresh to feede vpon, you must lay in some conuenient place, and vpon them, a fewe newe leaues, to which the wormes, that lay hidden in the olde, will come,

and then you may passe them with the said new leaues to the rest of the wormes: And now, least any thing should be omitted, which serues to perfect the discouerie of so excellent a benefit, I will aduise you to be very diligent in keeping cleane their boxes, or shelues, as beeing a speciall meanes whereby to preserue them; wherefore, when you intend to doe it, you shall remooue them together with the vppermoste leaues whereon they lie, vnto other boxes or shelues, for with your hands you may not touch them, till they haue thoroughly vndergone their third sicknesse, and then you may passe them gently with cleane hands, without doing them any harme: Provided that the partie that commeth neere them smell not of garlick, onyons, or the like. The first five weekes of their age, you must be very carefull to keepe them warme, and, in time of raine or cold weather, to set, in the roome where they remaine, a pan with coales, burning in it now and then some iuniper, Benjamin, and such like, that yeeldeth sweete smells. But afterwards, vnlesse in time of extraordinarie cold, giue them ayre, and take heede of keeping them too hot, being alwaies mindefull to store the roome with hearbes and flowers which are delightfull and pleasing to the smell. As the wormes increase in bignesse, you shall disperse them abroad vpon more boards, or shelves, and not suffer them to lie too thicke together; and if you finde any of them broken, or of a yellowe glistering colour inclining to sicknesse, cast them away, least they infect the rest, and sort such as are not sicke, the greatest and strongest by themselues, for so the lesser will prosper the better.

When, and how to make fit Roomes for the Wormes to worke their Bottomes of Silke in, and in what sort the said Bottomes are to be used.

AS soone as, by the cleare amber-coloured bodies of your wormes, you shall perceiue them ready to giue their silk, you must (with heath made very cleane, or with the branches of rosemarie, the stalkes of laucnder, or such like) make arches betweene the foresaid shelues.

Vpon the branches and sprigs whereof the wormes will fasten themselues, and make their bottomes, which, in fourteene daies after the worme beginneth to worke them, you may take away; and those, which you are minded to vse for the best silke, you must either presently winde, or kill the wormes which are within them, by laying the said bottomes two or three dayes in the sunne, or in some ouen after the bread baked therein is taken out, and the fiercenesse of the heat is alaide. The other bottomes, which you intend to keep for seede, you must lay in some conuenient warme place, vntill the wormes come forth, which is commonly some sixteene or twenty daies, from the beginning of their worke: And, as they doe come forth, you must put them together vpon some peece of old sey, grogeran, the backside of old veluet, or the like, made fast against some wall or hangings in your house.

There they will ingender, and the male, hauing spent himselfe, falleth downe, and in short time after dieth, as also doth the female, when she hath laide her egges; which egges, when you perceiue them vpon the sey, or grogeran, &c. to be of a graish colour, you may take them off gently, with a knife, and hauing put them in a peece of sey, or such-like, keepe them in a couered box. amongst your woollen cloathes, or the like, till the yeare following: But not in any moist roome, for it is hurtfull for them, neither where there is too much heate, least the wormes should be hatched before you can haue any foode for them.

SIR ROBERT SHERLEY,

SENT AMBASSADOUR,

IN THE NAME OF THE KING OF PERSIA,

TO SIGISMOND THE THIRD,

KING OF POLAND AND SWECIA,

And to other Princes of Europe.

His Royall Entertainment into Cracovia, the chiefe Citie of Poland

With his pretended Comming into England.

Also, the honorable praises of the same Sir Robert Sherley, giuen vnto him in that Kingdom, are here likewise inserted.

London: Printed by I. Windet, for Iohn Budge, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great South Doore of Pauls, 1609. (In Black Letter.) Quarto, containing twenty-two Pages.

To the Worthie and Noble affected Gentleman, Sir Thomas Sherley, Father to that Illustrious Sparke of Honor and Vertue, Sir Robert Sherley.

SIR,

NOT long since it was my happinesse to meete with a little poem in Latine, as full fraughted with the prayses of your worthie renowned sonne, as is his brest with vertues; which no sooner mine eie had visited, but the generall fame of his noblenesse inuited me to make his

prayes as generall, and, because it had beene a great iniurie to his worthinesse, that but one tongue should sound forth his encomiums, who in so many tongues hath purchased glory, thought it a part of humanitie, and the office of a native countriman, since his honors were so spacious and generall, to make his prayes speake more tongues then one; and, amongst all, especially, I chose the voice of his owne country, as the fittest trumpet of his fame, for whose honor he hath chiefly aduentured his life and fortunes: To you therefore, the happie father of so worthy a son, I dedicate both my loue and labour, knowing the vniversall taste of his noblenesse cannot come to the deere thirst of his country more pleasing, then to your soule ioyfull.



TO THE READER.

READER,

THIS Persian robe, so richly wouen with the prayes onely of Sir Robert Sherley, thy countriman, comes to thee at a lowe price, though it cost him deere that weares it, to purchase so much fame, as hath made it so excellent. It is now his for euer; thine so long as it is his; for every good man, as I hope thou art, doth participate in the renoune of those that are good and vertuous.

He hath beene a traueller a long time, giue him now a welcome home; the armes of his owne country embracing him, will bee more ioyfull to him, then all those of so many forraine kingdomes, with which he hath so often beene honored.

If a man, that hath ventured through the world, may deserue thy loue, thou canst not chose, but bestow as much of it vpon him, as vpon any. Looke vpon him truely, and thou shalt find a large generall chronicle of time writ in a little volume.

He comes laden with the trophyes of warre, and the honors of peace. The Turke hath felt the sharpenesse of his sword, and against the Turke is he now whetting the swords of Christian princes. Much more could I speake of him, but that I should doe wrong to the common lawes of ciuilitie, by taking away that reuerence from strangers, whome, from countryes afarre of, you shall presently heare giuing ample testimonies of his noblenesse.

Vale.



ALBEIT that man can receiue is birth but from one place, yet is he borne a freeman of all the cities of the world. The whole earth is his country, and he that dwelleth fardest off is, by the lawes of nature, as neer to him in loue, as his kindred and acquaintance. This general charter being giuen by the King of this uniuersall crowne, to all nations, hath caused men, from time to time, by the vertue of that priuiledge, to forsake the places of their first being, and to trauell into other countries. The benefits, that kingdomes haue gotten by this

meanes, cannot, in so small a volume, as this in hand, be comprehended. Trauell is the golden mine that enricheth the poorest country, and filleth the barrenest with abundant plenty. It is the chaine that at first tyed kingdomes together, and the muscalle string that still maintaines them in concord, in leagues, and in unity. The Portugalls haue hereby crowned themselues, and there posterity, with garlands of neuer dying honor. The Spaniards haue their names, for this, so deeply ingrauen in the chronicles of fame, that they can neuer be forgotten. The French likewise, and the Dutch, haue raised their glories to a nobler height, onely by these aduentures. In imitation of all whose labors, or rather, in emulation of all their fames, our Englishmen haue not onely stept as farre as any of them all, but gone beyond the most, and the best of them. And not to reckon those men of worth, in this kinde, of our owne nation, whose voyages and trauels, by sea and land, to set down, were able to fil whole volumes: I will onely, at this time (not with a loud and shrill trumpet, as they deserue, but, as it were, uppon an instrument, tuned and directed by another) give onely a soft touch at the praises of this worthy gentleman, Sir Robert Sherley, of whose aduentures, dangers, and various fortunes, both good and bad, to draw a true picture in the right and liuely colors, would as easily feed mens eies with gazing admiration, as the large pictured tables of others haue filled them with wonder.

Being therefore contented, at this time, to swim but in a shallow streame, of his fame, sithence greater sayles are likely heercafter, and that very shortly, to swell with the true report of his actions: You shall vnderstand, that Sir Robert Sherley, after a long, a chargeable, and a dangerous progresse through most, if not all, the kingdomes in Europe, receiuing entertainment from the princes of those dominions, fitting to such a ghest, desire of glorie still more and more burning within him; at the length, he left Europe, and trauelled into Asia, receiuing noble entertainment at the hands of the King of Persia, in whose court he so well and so wisely bore himselfe in all his actions, that the Persian, with much of his loue, of which he tasted most plenteously, heaped on his head many honorable fauours.

That common enemy of Christ and Christians, the Turke, lifting vp his sword continually, for the most part, not onely against the Polack, the Hungarian, Bohemian, and other princes of Christendome, but also thirsting after the rich empire of Persia, and, shewing a mortall hatred to that kingdome by being euer vp in armes against it; it was thought fit, that (the Persian himselfe confessing and worshipping Christ) ayde should be required at the hands of Christian princes in the Persians behalfe, against so barbarous, so ambitious, and so generall an enemy. Hereupon the honour of such an ambassy was conferred, by the King of Persia, vpon Sir Robert Sherley, as a man worthy and apt to treat with Christian princes, in so weighty a businesse; he himselfe being a christian born, and a gentleman that had trauelled, and, by experience, knew the conditions, state, and pollicies of most of their kingdomes.

First therefore was he employed into Poland, where, by Sigismond, the King of Poland and of Suecia, he was receiued with great mag-

nificence and applause, both of the Polack himselfe, and of his people.

And because it is not fit, that euery common aud popular eare should stand listning to the priuate businesse of princes, in a desaignement that concerns the uniuersall state of Christendome, we will not therefore, at this time, be intérpreters of the Persians ambassy, but rather waite his expected comming, who hath in charge to deliuer it vp by word of mouth himselfe.

In the meane time, notwithstanding, forbearing to reckon vp the rich presents giuen by the Poland King to Sir Robert, the honors done to him by the Polish Lords, and the fauors throwne vpon him by the common people, you shall be witnesses onely to those, not vnworthy, praises of him, by which his fame, amongst schollers by those of the better sort, was lifted vp, at the time of his staying in Poland.

A Fourefold Anagram vpon Sir Robert Sherleys Name.

ROBERTVS SHERLÆIVS.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 <i>HEUS Labor, Tueris Res.</i> | 3 <i>Libertas, ero Serrus.</i> |
| 2 <i>Serrus, ast Hero Liber.</i> | 4 <i>Virtus, Labores sere.</i> |
-

Encomiops, or Praises, as well vpon the name, as the negotiation of Sir Robert Sherley, an English Knight, sent ambassadour frm the King of the Persians, to the Princes of Europe.

MERCURIUS, seeing the ambassadour ready to take his iourney, resigneth vnto him his office, as beeing messenger or herald to the gods, according to that fiction of poets, and with that office bestoweth the gift of eloquence vpon him, because he may haue power to perswade the princes to whom he is sent; and, withal, addes a wish, that those Christian kings, whom he is to sollicite, may not be cold in ioyning their forces together, but that they may enter into an honorable, a pious, and inuiolable league against that common enemy, the Turke.

Mercuries Speech..

THOU, O Sherley, beeing borne an Englishman, art sent from the Persian empire, to the kingdomes that lye in Europe; thy place is full of honor, thy message of waight; discharge thou therefore boldly those things, which the greate lord of Persia commands thee to doe. It is not chance that throwes this high office vpon thee, but a full synode, or parliament, of all the gods, doe appoint thee to be their

messenger to the great kinges of the earth. For this cause, I that am heauens winged messenger, seeing thee ready to depart, present my selfe thus before thee, and vttering only so much, as in the letters of thy name lyes mystically hidden, and that is this,

*Heus Labor, — tu Res hoc ore tueris.
Persarum. — —*

O exceeding labor! yet thou art the man, that must defend the state of the Persians, euen by the force of my eloquence. Go on therefore, be thou Mercurius in the courts of kinges: I giue thee my place, I giue it to thee, that art more worthy of it than my selfe. O that the princes of Europe would knit an indissoluble league together, with thy master, the Persian monarch, and tye all their sinewes to one arme, that a noble warre may be begotten. Let Bellona, the goddess of battailes, breath courage into the breasts of souldiers; and let no countrey be dishonored by bearing men, that haue no hearts to come into the field. O let not that couetous dragon, which once watched the golden firmament, sleepe in the bosomes of Kings, and, with his poison, infect them with that couetous disease of hoording vp gold. Cast off, O you princes, your sensuall pleasures, and let it be your ambition to weare garlands of oake, which are the crownes of conquerors. Prefer immortal fame before all those dangers, over which you must of necessity passe, be they neuer so inuincible in the shew of vndertaking; and aspire onely to that life which shall remaine, when your bodies lye dead. Heauen, in your doing so, shall smile vpon your enterprises. Hell shall be conquered, and that hell-hownde broode of Mahomet be vtterly confounded. Vniuersall peace shall crown the world, and the barbarous Turks, feeble the sinewes and puissant arms of Europe.

To the Nations (vnto whome the Ambassadour is sent, on great and serious affaires, as rightly may be coniectured) a desire and wish is made, that all Kinges in Christendome may entertaine this holy Warre, with the same Courage, Constancie, and Zeale, that the Persian doeth.

HEARKEN, O you Polanders, Italians, French, and you Germanes; enrich your chronicles, with an act of a wonder neuer heard of in the world before: For, beholde a Brittaines sent on a royall message, from the King of the Persians. A Brittaines sent, but who is it? Such a one he is, as by his name, being before anagramatizde, he may apparently be deciphered,

Ast Liber, Seruus Hero.

Free-borne, and a seruant onely vnto his soueraigne.

He, even he, is sent to you, O you nations of Europe, from the confines of the Persians, bringing along with him the name of his lord, and, with that name, the sound of an approaching warre.

The destinies begin to promise some great matter: The God of battailes, heereupon, speakes cheerefully. God himselfe prepares the armour; muster yourselues together therefore, O you Kinges, and, with a religious defence, draw your swordes against the Turkes.

A congratulatory compendious Speech, to Sir Robert Sherley, commending both his Vertue, and present Fortune.

O SHERLEY! thou that art an honor to the Persians, aswell as to the Brittaines, within whose head dwelleth experience and wisdom, and vpon whose tongue eloquence writeth her charmes: Whatsouer he was, that at first durst say, that Fortune was blind, and that she bestowed extraordinary benefits vpon yndeseruing men, let him know, that all this while he hath bin in an error; for Fortune had more eyes then Argus, when she crowned this Englishman with so many Persian honors and offices. That monarch, O thou renowned Brittain, whose sword is dreadfull to the Thracian tyrant, makes thee a partner in the cares and burdens of his empyre; for he hath seene, yea, he hath euer seene, and found thee constant in execution of all his iust and royall commandes.

The Empire of the Persian is here commended: The Kinges and Princes of Europe being called to giue Witnesse, how much Glory the Dexterity of Sir Robert Sherley hath added to the Persian Monarchie: Vpon which, he appeares to the Persians a Gentleman of such Merit, as that England may very iustly accuse Persia of wrong, for detaining him from her.

THE fame of the Persian empyre doth not grow vp onely in a meane souldier, for their cities are full of renowned and worthy captains: from the ancient discipline and stratagems of warre, are the glories of the Persians sprung vp and continue famous. But, O thou honoured Englishman, she deriued her first principles from thy practis and knowledge. Farre be my words from the base seruitude of flattery; for, within a short time, kings shall rise vp as witnesses of what I speake. Let thine owne countrey enuy the kingdome of Persia for enioying this honor, which by thee is giuen her; yet, let her challenge thee to be deliuered backe againe as her owne, yet let her clayme be made in such manner, that England and Persia may not grow into quarrell about thee, but rather thus let them both share thee. Let rich

Persia enioy thy presence, and reckon thee in the number of her citizens, and be proud in the possession of a man, so worthy. Let England glorie, that she alone is happy in thy birth, and that she beares the honor of giuing thee thy name. But howsoeuer, O thou, the dignitie and luster of two renowned kingdomes, goe thou on, in thine intended ambassage, and performe those beaſts, which the great Persian, thy Lord, hath imposed vpon thy integrity.

A short Speech, uttered, as it were, by the whole Body of the Polish Court, to Robert Sherley, Ambassadour from the inuincible King of the Persians.

IT is not thy rich garments embroydered so thicke with gold, and wouen by Grecian workemen, that drawes our eyes into admiration by beholding thee. It is not thy sparkling iewels, nor those costly pretious stones that adorne thy robe, which dazle our sight. It is not thy comely ryding, nor skilfull managing of that Thracian courser, vpon whose back thou sittest, whilst the proud beast it selfe champs on the glistering bit, in disdaine to be so curbed, that makes vs to looke after thee. It is not that victorious semyter of thine, wherewith thou hast made the earth drunke so often with so much bloud of those, that are enemies to the Persians, that causeth vs to stand gazing at thy presence: no, it is the beauty of thy minde wherewith our eyes are enchanted. It is the excellent musicke of thy tongue, that so ties our eares to thy charmes, thou being able to speake and to answere so many seuerall nations, in their owne proper languages.

Englands Complaint to Persia for her Sherley.

O PERSIA! thou glorious kingdome, thou chiefe of empires; the palace sometimes where wisdom onely kept her court, the land that was gouerned by none but by wise-men: yet must I tell thee, and with grieve dost thou inforce me to tell thee, that, against all law of nations, thou robbest me of my subiect. Why should the right of another bee thine? It is iustice for euery one to keepe their owne; but thou makest vp thy gaine by my losse. Is this equitie? Is this tollerable? Cease to doe it; and send home, O Persia, that sonne of mine to me that am his mother, for to me onely is he due. But, aye me, the honors of his owne countrey, and the palaces of my kingdome, are by him, belike, neglected, and seeme not worth the looking on: and though, to the eye of the world, I may, perhaps, appeare beautifull and great; yet, in his eye, I shew no bigger then a small corner of the worlde. I doe enuy thee therefore, O Persia, onely for him: yet, sithence I cannot enioy him, fare thou well, O thou my darling, and, with that farewell, beare along with thee the praises which I giue thee.

I rob Persia, Persia robs not me: my losse is to me more honour; for the Persian empire borrowes her brightness from the beames of one of the sonnes of England.

Sherley to his Native Country.

O THOU, my country, if I should pay back into thy hands so much as by bond is due vnto thee from me, I should then lay downe my life at thy feete. But my thoughts ayme at greater matters; it is not breath I would pay thee, but fame: take thou from me so much honor, as may make me liue for euer. Liberty is the goale to which I run, but such a liberty it is, as may free me from the common basenesse of the multitude, and make me worthy to be respected by the eye of a king.

Seruus hero, I am a seruant to that greates maister, to whose feete all the Persians bow and doe reuerence: I am his seruant, that I may bee his messenger, and beare the treatyces of such a king, to other kings in Christendome. I am destin'de out, to deliuer his minde in their owne languages, to forraine princes, and to the monarches of the earth. Let them, therefore, come together, and quicklie shall the Turkish fury be calmed; and, being weakened in her owne strengths, shall be glad to kneele to the power and mercy of others. And thou, O my native country, if thou wouldest be pleased to knit thy forces in this iust and vniuersall warre, to what dignities mayst thou aduance thy selfe? Whatsoeuer is dishonorable, hath a base descention, and sincks beneath hell: but whatsoeuer is good and honest, lifts up an vnblemished brow on high, and makes it leuell with the front of heauen.

The Authors Wish and Request to Vertue, that she would giue vnto Sherley such a fruitfull Haruest of his Labours, that, hauing conquered the Hardnesse of them, his Name may aspire to the full Height of his Desert.

O VERTUE! the noblest and boldest guide, thou that giuest to men the due crowne of praises, prosper thou the honored enterprises of Sherley: but, touching those paths which must leade him to titles of fame and honour, make them euen and certaine before him: he hath no desire to haue his name eaten out by the rust of idlenesse; no, he will neuer vnworthily sinck beneath his owne proposed fortune.

Another of the same Author, touching Sir Robert Sherley being called, as it were, by Fate, to manage the Affaires of Forraine Princes.

WHAT is the cause that Shirley hath not all this while liued in the same country, that first lent him breath? This is the reason, a spirit

so greate was not to be contained within so small a circle, as his country. Besides,

He is the child of fate, and highly sings
Of kingly Ambassies to none but Kings.

Crownde with these prayes, as you heare in Poland, and leauing the fame of his memorable actions behind him, bending his course to other princes of Christendome with the same royall ambassage of honorable and Christian confederacie against Mahomet, and his adherents, it shal not bee amisse here to speake of the kingdome of Persia, where Sir Robert receiued such honorable entertainment, sutable to his noble actions, and the vertues of his minde, as also the maners, fashions, rites, and customes, that are and haue bene obserued by the Persians; and first, for their religion which they have obserued of old, doing worship and reuerence in their vpright zeale to the sunne, moone, Venus, fire, earth, water, and winds, erecting neyther altars nor statues, but in open fields offering their sacrifices, which sacrifices were superstitious, and full of idle ceremonies, too tedious to be here rehearsed: for their kinges, the golden line of them is drawn out of one family, that custome amongst the Persians neuer as yet suffred change or alteration, and so seuer their lawes are in effect, to the punishing of all rebellious, treasonable, and disobedient people, that, whosoever hee be that is found repugnant in the least demeanor to the will and affection of the king, hee is ceazde vpon by the tormentors, his head and armes chopt off, and, with his detested body, throwne into some common field, without eyther grave or couering: and for their palaces and royall mansions, this hath euer bene the continued custome amongst them, that every King hath had his seate royall erected on some high hill or mountaine, the bowels of which hee makes his safe treasure-house, where all his riches, jewels, and tribute moneyes are, with exceeding carefulnesse, kepte hid and secret: and so much they do detest sterility and barrennesse, that from the highest to the lowest they take many wiues in marriage, counting the fruitfull propagation of the empire, the onely happinesse they can rayse to it; and so much they thirst after humane fruitfulnessse, that the kinges themselues propound great gifts and rewards, to those that in one yeare bring forth the greatest haruest of mankinde: from five yeare olde to foure-and-twenty, the male children practise to ride great horses, to throw the vulnerable and ineuitable darte, to shoote in arbalists or long steele bowes, and all such manly exercises; which shames many other Christian countries, and may iustly vpbraide them of effeminacie and lazynesse.

Their victuals, for the most part, by which the common sort of people are fed and do liue by, are acorns and hedge-peares; their breade course and hard, their drinke the running springs: for their apparel, the princes, and those that liue in greatest respect amongst them, adorne their bodies with a riple robe, and another garment in the fashion of a cloake hanging downe to their knees, the inward linings all of white silks, and the outward facing like poudred ermins; in somer, for the most part, they walke in purple; the winter refuses

AMBASSY OF, &c

o color; about their temples they weare a great tyara, being a s...
ornament high and round, with a cone at the top, from which
ascends a rich faire pendant of some costly embroidered stuffe,
tissue, &c.

Attird in some of which ordinary Persian habits, his agent, Me
Moore, is lately arriued in England, bringing happy tidings of this
mous English Persian, as also of his comming to England, to the
ceeding great joy of his natiue country, laden with honours thro
every kingdome, as the deserving ornaments of his vertue and lab
And thus, ingenuous reader, haue I set down by true and most cred
information, a brieft epitome of Sir Robert Sherleys entertain
into Cracouia, the chiefe cittye of Poland, together with all those s
rall speeches deliuered to him by the schollers of that countrye, wh
although they may seeme to the nice ear of our times, not altogethe
pure and polished as the refined labours of many English wits,
therein they striued to express both their fashion and affection to
worthy vertues of Sir Robert; for a tast of their stile and manne
writing, it shall not be amiss, if you cast your eye vpon these v
following, composed by a scholler worthily reputed in that cour
one Andraas Locæchius, and those are they which of his I borrov
shut vp the honorable praises of our famous English traueller.

*Ad illustrissimum & maximū ingenij tum animi virum, Dom. Robe
Sherlæum, equitem Anglum, Regis Persarum nomine ad Europæ
legatum.*

AEMULE honos animo proauis, lux alta, Britannæ

Qui gentis pessum non sinis ire decus;

Non vni dat cuncta polis, sed carmina Apollo,

Mars vires, arcas nuncius ingenium.

Hæc cuncta vnus habes, est vis, sunt ora diserta,

Numina auara aliis, prodiga facta tibi;

Persia se iactat gemino in te munere, Martis

Pectore belligeri; Palladis ingenio,

Tantus honore licet, te Scoti haud subtrahe vena,

At venam excedit pondere vatis amor.

Immo censendum satis est cecinisse poetam

Quod tibi se fassus carmine & ore rudem;

Parua loquor, ne te venturis subtrahe sæclis:

At fidei, ut famæ, suesce parare modum.

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY'S OBSERVATIONS*

IN HIS TRAVELS,

Upon the

STATE OF THE SEVENTEEN PROVINCES,

As they stood Anno Domini, 1609.

The Treaty of Peace being then on Foot.

Printed in 1626. Quarto, containing thirty Pages.

And, first, of the Provinces United.

ALL things concurred for the rising and maintenance of this state, the disposition of the people being, as mutinous, so industrious and frugal; the nature of the country, every where fortifiable with water; the situation of it having behind them the Baltick Sea, which yields them all materials for ships, and many other commodities; and for men, hard before them France and England, both fearing the Spanish greatness, and therefore both concurring for their aid; the remoteness of their master from them; the change of religion falling out about the time of their revolt, and now the Marquis of Brandenburg, a protestant, like to become Duke of Cleves. The discontentments of the Low Countries did first appear soon after the going away of the Kings of Spain, while the Duchess of Parma governed; to suppress which beginnings the Duke of Alva, being sent, inflamed them more, upon attempting to bring in the inquisition and Spanish decimation, upon the beheading Count Horne and Count Egmont, persecuting those of the religion, and undertaking to build citadels upon all their towns; which he effected at Antwerp; but, enterprising the like at Flushing, that town revolted first, and under it began the war.

But the more general revolt of the provinces happened after the death of Don Lewis de Requesens, and upon the coming down of Don John of Austria, when all the provinces, excepting Luxemburgh, upon the sacking of Antwerp, and other insolencies, proclaimed the Spaniards rebels and enemies to the King; yet the abjuring of their obedience from the crown of Spain was not till a year or two after.

Holland and Zealand, upon their first standing out, offered the sovereignty of themselves to the Queen, then the protection (both which she neglected) and that, while the French sent greater aid, and more men of quality, than we; but, after the civil war began in France, that kept

* See the 536th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

them busy at home, and then the Queen, seeing the necessity of their being supported, upon the pawning of Brill and Flushing, sent money and men: And, since that, most part of the great exploits there have been done by the English, who were commonly the third part of the army, being four regiments, besides eleven hundred in Flushing and the Ramckins, and five hundred in the Brill; but of late, the King of France appearing more for them than ours, and paying himself the French that are there, they give equal, if not more countenance to that nation: But upon these two Kings they make their whole dependance; and, though with more respect to him that is stronger, for the time, yet so, as it may give no distaste unto the other.

For the manner of their government: They have, upon occasion, an assembly of the general states, like our parliament, being composed of those which are sent from every province upon summons; and what these enact stands for law. Then is there, besides, a council of state, residing for the most part at the Hague, which attends daily occasions, being rather employed upon affairs of state, than of particular justice. The most potent in this council was Barnavelt, by reason of his advocates of Holland. And, besides both these, every province and great town have particular councils of their own: To all which assemblies, as well of the general states as the rest, the gentry is called for order's sake, but the state indeed is democratical, the merchant and the tradesman being predominant, the gentry now but few and poor; and even at the beginning, the Prince of Orange saw it safer to rely upon the towns, than them: Neither are the gentry so much engaged in the cause, the people having more advantages in a free state, they in a monarchy. Their care in government is very exact and particular, by reason that every one hath an immediate interest in the state: Such is the equality of justice, that it renders every man satisfied; such the publick regularity, that a man may see their laws were made to guide, not to intrap; such their exactness in casting the expence of an army, as that it shall be equally far from superfluity and want, and as much order and certainty in their acts of war, as in ours of peace, teaching it to be both civil and rich. And they still retain that sign of a commonwealth yet uncorrupted, Private poverty and publick wealth; for no one private man there is exceeding rich, and few very poor, and no state more sumptuous in all publick things. But the question is, Whether this, being a free state, will as well subsist in peace, as it hath done hitherto in war? Peace leaving every one to attend his particular wealth, when fear, while the war lasts, makes them concur for their common safety: And Zealand, upon the least security, hath ever been envious at the predominancy of Holland and Utrecht, ready to mutiny for religion; and besides, it is a doubt, whether the same care and sincerity would continue, if they were at their consistence, as appears yet, while they are but in rising. The revenue of this state ariseth chiefly from the Earl of Holland's demesnes, and confiscated church-livings; the rising and falling of money, which they use with much advantage; their fishing upon our coasts and those of Norway; contribution out of the enemies country; taxes upon all things at home, and impositions upon all merchandises from abroad; their expences upon their ambassadors,

their shippings, their ditches, their rampires, and ammunition; and commonly they have in pay, by sea and land, sixty thousand men.

For the strength: The nature of the country makes them able to defend themselves long by land; neither could any thing have endangered them so much as the last great frost, had not the treaty been then on foot; because, the enemy being then master of the field, that rendered their ditches, marshes, and rivers as firm ground.

There belong to that state, twenty thousand vessels of all sorts; so that, if the Spaniards were entirely beaten out of those parts, the Kings of France and England would take as much pains to suppress, as ever they did to raise them; for, being our enemies, they are able to give us the law at sea, and eat us out of all trade, much more the French, having at this time three ships to our one, though none so good as our best.

Now that, whereupon the most part of their revenue and strength depends, is their traffick, in which mystery of state they are at this day the wisest; for all the commodities that this part of the world wants, and the Indies have, as, spice, silk, jewels, and gold, they are become the conveyers of them for the rest of Christendom, except us, as the Venetians were of old; and all those commodities, that those northern countries abound with, and these southern stand in need of, they likewise convey thither; which was the ancient trade of the Easterlings: And this they do, having little to export of their own, by buying of their neighbour countries the former, and selling them again what they bring back, at their own prices; and so, consequently, live upon the idleness of others. And to this purpose, the situation serves fitly: for the rivers of the Rhine, the Maese, and Schelde end all in their dominions, and the Baltick Sea lies not far from them; all which afford them whatever the great continent of Germany, Russia, and Poland yields; then they, again, lying between Germany and the sea, do furnish it back with all commodities foreign.

To remember some pieces of their discipline, as patterns of the rest: The watches at night are never all of one nation, so that they can hardly concur to give up any one town. The commissaries are nowhere so strict upon musters, and, where he finds a company, thither he reduceth them; so that, when an army marcheth, the list and the poll are never far disagreeing. Their army is ever well clothed and well armed, and had never yet occasion to mutiny for pay or victuals. The soldiers commit no where fewer insolencies upon the burghers, or fewer robberies upon the country; nor the officers fewer deceits upon the soldiers: And, lastly, they provide well, that their general shall have small means to invade their liberties. For, first, their army is composed of many nations, which have their several commanders, and the commands are disposed by the states themselves, not by the general. And, secondly, he hath never an implicit commission left to discretion, but, by reason their country hath no great bounds, receives daily commands what to do.

Their territory contains six intire provinces, Holland, Zealand; Utrecht, Groningen, Overysell, and Friesland, besides three parts of Guelderland, and certain towns in Brabant and Flanders; the ground

of which is for the most part fruitful; the towns no where so equally beautiful, strong, and rich; which equality grows, by reason that they appropriate some one staple commodity to every town of note: Only Amsterdam not only passeth them all, but even Seville, Lisbon, or any other mart-town in Christendom; and to it is appropriated the trade of the East-Indies, where they maintain commonly forty ships, besides which there go twice a year, from it and the adjoining towns, a great fleet to the Baltick Sea. Upon the fall of Antwerp, that rose rather than Middleburgh, though it stands at the same river's mouth, and is their second mart-town, to which is appropriated our English cloth.

Concerning the people: They are neither much devout, nor much wicked; given all to drink, and eminently to no other vice; hard in bargaining, but just; surly and disrespectful, as in all democracies; thirsty, industrious, and cleanly; disheartened upon the least ill success, and insolent upon good; inventive in manufactures, and cunning in traffick: And generally, for matter of action, that natural slowness of theirs suits better, by reason of the advisedness and perseverance it brings with it, than the rashness and changeableness of the French and Florentine wits; and the equality of spirits, which is among them and Switzers, renders them so fit for a democracy: Which kind of government nations of more stable wits, being once come to a consistent greatness, have seldom long endured.

Observations upon the State of the Archduke's Country, 1609, by Sir Thomas Overbury.

AS soon as I entered into the Archduke's country, which begins after Lillo, presently, I beheld works of a province, and those of a province distressed with war; the people heartless, and rather repining against their governors, than revengeful against their enemies; the bravery of that gentry which was left, and the industry of the merchant, quite decayed; the husbandman labouring only to live, without desire to be rich to another's use; the towns (whatsoever concerned not the strength of them) ruinous: And to conclude, the people here growing poor with less taxes, than they flourish with on the states side.

This war hath kept the King of Spain busy ever since it began, which was thirty-eight years ago, and spending all the money that the Indies, and all the men that Spain and Italy could afford, hath withdrawn him from persevering in any other enterprise; neither could he give over this, without foregoing the means to undertake any thing hereafter upon France or England, and consequently the hope of the western monarchy. For, without that handle, the mines of Peru had done little hurt in these parts, in comparison of what they have. The cause of the expencefulness of it is the remoteness of those provinces from Spain, by reason of which, every soldier of Spain or Italy, before *he can arrive* there, costs the King an hundred crowns, and not above *one of ten that arrives* proves good; besides, by reason of the distance,

a great part of the money is drunk up, betwixt the officers that convey it and pay it. The cause of the continuance of it is, not only the strength of the enemy, but partly, by reason that the commanders themselves are content the war shall last, so to maintain and render themselves necessities, and partly, because the people of those countries are not so eager to have the other reduced, as willing to be in the like state themselves.

The usual revenue of those provinces which the archduke hath amounts to twelve hundred thousand crowns a year; besides which, there come from Spain every month, to maintain the war, a hundred and fifty thousand crowns. It was, at the first, three hundred thousand crowns a month, but it fell by fifties to this, at the time when the treaty began; Flanders pays more toward the war, than all the rest, as Holland doth with the states. There is no Spaniard of the council of state, nor governor of any province, but of the council of war, which is only active: There they only are, and have in their hands all the strong towns and castles of those provinces, of which the governors have but only the title.

The nations, of which their army consists, are chiefly Spaniards and Italians, emulous one of another there, as on the other side the French and English; and of the country, chiefly Burgundians and Walloons. The Pope's letters and Spinola's inclination keep the Italians there almost in equality of command with the Spaniard himself.

The governors for the King of Spain there successively have been the Duke of Alva, Don Lewis de Requesens, Don John d'Austria, the Prince of Parma, the Archduke Ernestus, the Cardinal Andrew of Austrich, and the Cardinal Albert, till he married the Infanta.

Where the dominion of the archduke and the states part, there also changeth the nature of the country, that is, about Antwerp: For, all below being flat, and betwixt meadow and marsh, thence it begins to rise and become champion, and, consequently, the people are more quick and spiritfui, as the Brabanters, Flemings, and Walloons.

The most remarkable place, in that side, is Antwerp, which rose upon the fall of Bruges, equally strong and beautiful, remaining yet so, upon the strength of its former greatness; twice spoiled by the Spaniards, and the like attempted by the French. The citadel was built there by the Duke of Alva, but renewed by the Prince of Parma, after his eighteen months besieging it; the town accepting a castle rather than a garison, to mingle among them. There are yet in the town of citizens thirty thousand fighting men, six hundred of which kept watch nightly, but they allowed neither cannon upon the rampire, nor magazines of powder. In the castle are two hundred pieces of ordnance, and commonly seven or eight hundred soldiers. Flanders is the best of the seventeen provinces, but the havens thereof are naught.

*Observations on the State of France, 1609, under Henry the Fourth,
by Sir Thomas Overbury.*

HAVING seen the form of a commonwealth and a province, with the different effects of war in them; I entered France, flourishing with peace, and of monarchies the most absolute, because the King there not only makes peace and wars, calls and dissolves parliaments, pardoneth, naturaliseth, innobleth, names the value of money, presseth to the war, but even makes laws, and imposes taxes at his pleasure: And all this he doth alone, for as for that form, that his edicts must be authorised by the next court of parliament, that is, the next court of sovereign justice: First, the presidents thereof are to be chosen by him, and to be put out by him: And, secondly, when they concur not with the King, he passeth any thing without them, as he did the last edict for the protestants: And, for the assembly of the three estates, it is grown now almost as extraordinary as a general council; with the loss of which, their liberty fell, and, when occasion urgeth, it is possible for the King to procure, that all those, that shall be sent thither, shall be his instruments; for the Duke of Guise effected as much at the assembly of Bloys.

The occasion that first procured the King that supremacy, that his edicts should be laws, was the last invasion of the English; for, at that time, they possessing two parts of France, the three estates could not assemble, whereupon they did then grant that power unto Charles the Seventh, during the war; and that which made it easy for Lewis the Eleventh, and his successors, to continue the same, the occasion ceasing, was, that the clergy and gentry did not run the same fortune with the people there, as in England; for, most of the taxes falling only upon the people, the clergy and gentry, being forborne, were easily induced to leave them to the King's mercy. But the King, having got strength upon the peasants, hath been since the bolder to invade part of both their liberties.

For the succession of this monarchy, it hath subsisted, without intermission, these twelve hundred years, under three races of Kings. No nation hath heretofore done greater things abroad, in Palestine and Egypt, besides all parts of Europe; but, for these last four hundred years, they have only made sallies into Italy, and often suffered at home.

Three hundred years the English afflicted them, making two firm invasions upon them, and taking their king prisoner; the second greatness of Christendom, next the Emperor, being then in competition betwixt us and them; and to secure themselves against us, rather than the house of Austria, as it then stood, they chose to marry the heir of Bretagne, before that of Burgundy. And, for this last hundred years, the Spaniard, undertaking them, hath eaten them out of all but France, and endangered that too. But, for this present, France had never, as France, a more intire greatness, though it hath often been richer. For, since the war, the King is only got afore-hand, the country is but yet

in recovering, the war having lasted, by spaces, thirty two years, and so generally, that no man, but had an enemy within three miles; and so the country became frontier all over. Now, that which hath made them, at this time, so largely great at home, is their adopting into themselves the lesser adjoining nations, without destruction, or leaving any mark of strangeness upon them, as the Bretons, Gascoigns, Provencials, and others, which are not French; towards the which unions, their nature, which is easy and harborous to strangers, hath done more than any laws could have effected, but with long time.

The King, as I said, enjoying what Lewis the Eleventh did gain, hath the intire sovereignty in himself, because he can make the parliament do what he please, or else do what he please without them. For the other three estates, the church is there very rich, being estimated to enjoy the third part of the revenue of France, but otherwise nothing so potent as elsewhere, partly, because the inquisition is not admitted in France, but principally, because, the Pope's ordinary power is much restrained there, by the liberties which the French church claimeth; which liberties do not so much enfranchise the church itself, as confer the authority the Pope loseth upon the King, as first-fruits, and the disposing of all spiritual preferments. And, by reason of this neutrality of authority, the churchmen suffer more there, than either in England, where they wholly depend upon the King, or in Spain and Italy, where they wholly subsist by the Pope; because the Pope is not able totally to support them, and the King takes occasion ever to suppress them, as being not intirely his subjects; and to him they pay yearly both the tenth of all their tythe, and of all their temporal land.

The gentry are the only intire body there, which participate with the prerogatives of the crown; for from it they receive privileges above all other men, and a kind of limited regality upon their tenants, besides real supply to their estates, by governments and pensions, and freedom from tallies upon their own lands; that is, upon their demesns, and whatsoever else they manure by their servants; but so much, as they let to tenants, is presently talliable, which causeth proportionable abatement in the rent; and, in recompence of this, they owe to the King the Ban and the Arriereban, that is, to serve him and his lieutenant three months within the land, at their own charges. And, as in war they undergo the greatest part of the danger, so then is their power most peremptory above the rest; whereas, in time of peace, the King is ready to support inferior persons against them, and is glad to see them to waste one another by contention in law, for fear they grow rich, because he foresees, that, as the nobility only can do him service, so they only misapplied can do him harm.

The ancient gentry of France was most of it consumed in the wars of Godfrey of Bulloign, and some in those of St. Lewis, because, upon their setting out, they pawned all their fiefs to the church, and few of them were after redeemed; by reason whereof, the church possesseth, at this day, the third part of the best fiefs in France; and that gentry was after made up by advocates, financiers, and merchants ennobled, which now are reputed ancient, and are daily eaten out again and repaired by the same kind of men.

For the people, all those that have any kind of profession, or trade, live well; but for the mere peasants, that labour the ground, they are only sponges to the King, to the church, and the nobility, having nothing their own, but the use of them; and are scarce allowed (as beasts) enough to keep them able to do service; for, besides their rent, they pay usually two thirds to the King.

The manner of government, in France, is mixed, betwixt peace and war, being composed as well of military discipline, as civil justice, because, having open frontiers and strong neighbours, and, therefore, obnoxious to sudden invasions, they cannot, as in England, join ever peace and security together.

For the military part, there is ever a constable and a marshal in being, troops of horse and regiments of foot in pay, and, in all provinces and places of strength, governors and garrisons distributed, all which are means for the preferment of the gentry; but those, as they give security against the enemy, so, when there is none, they disturb the enjoying of peace, by making the countries taste somewhat of a province. For the gentry find a difference betwixt the governors favour and disfavour, and the soldiers commit often insolencies upon the people.

The governments there are so well disposed by the king, as no governor hath means to give over a province into the enemy's hand, the commands thereof are so scattered; for the governor commands the country, and for the most part the chief town; then is there a lieutenant to the king, not to him of the same, and betwixt these two there is ever jealousy nourished; then hath every town and fortress particular governors, which are not subaltern to that of the province, but hold immediately from the prince, and many times the town hath one governor, and the castle another.

The advantages of governors, besides their pay from the king, are presents from the country, dead pays, making their magazines of corn, and powder, more than they need at the king's price, and, where they stand upon the sea, overseeing of unlawful goods; thus much in peace: in war they are worth as much as they will exact. Languedoc is the best, then Bretagne, Provence is worth, by all these means, to the Duke of Guise, twenty thousand crowns a year; but Provence only he holds without a lieutenant.

Concerning the civil justice there, it is no where more corrupt nor expensive. The corruptness of it proceeds, first, by reason that the king sells the places of justice at as high a rate, as can be honestly made of them; so that all thriving is left to corruption, and the gain, the king hath that way, tempts him to make a multitude of officers, which is another burden to the subject. Secondly, the presidents are not bound to judge according to the written law, but according to the equity drawn out of it, which liberty doth not so much admit conscience, as leave wit without limits. The expensiveness of it ariseth from the multitude of laws, and multiplicity of forms of processes, the which two both beget doubt, and make them long in resolving. And all this chiquanery, as they call it, is brought into France from Rome, upon the Pope's coming to reside at Avignon.

For the strength of France, it is, at this day, the greatest united force of Christendom; the particulars in which it consists are these: the shape of the country, which being round, no one part is far from succouring another; the multitude of good towns and places of strength therein are able to stay an army, if not to waste it, as Metz did the Emperor's; the mass of treasure, which the King hath in the Bastile; the number of arsenals distributed upon the frontiers, besides that of Paris, all which are full of good arms and artillery: and for ready men, the five regiments bestowed up and down in garisons, together with the two thousand of the guard; the troops of ordinary and light horse, all ever in pay; besides their gentry, all bred soldiers, and of which they think there are, at this present, fifty thousand, fit to bear arms: and to command all these, they have, at this day, the best generals of Christendom, which is the only commodity the civil wars did leave them.

The weakness of it are: First, The want of a sufficient infantry, which proceeds from the ill distribution of their wealth; for the peasant, which contains the greatest part of the people, having no share allowed him, is heartless and consequently unserviceable for all military uses, by reason of which, they are, first, forced to borrow aid of the Switzs, at a great charge, and, secondly, to compose their armies, for the most part of gentlemen, which makes the loss of a battle there almost irrecoverable. The second is the unproportionable part of the land, which the church holds, all which is likewise dead to military uses. For, as they say there, The church will lose nothing, nor defend nothing. The third is the want of a competent number of ships and gallies, by reason of which defect, first, the Spaniards over-master them upon the Mediterranean, and the English and Hollanders, upon the ocean; and, secondly, it renders them poor in foreign trade, so that, all the great actions of Christendom, for these fifty years, having been bent upon the Indies, they only have sat idle. The fourth is the weakness of their frontiers, which is so much the more dangerous, because they are possessed, all but the ocean, by the Spaniard; for Savoy hath been always, as his own, for all uses against France. The last is the difference of religion among themselves, which will ever yield matter of civil dissension, and consequently cause the weaker to stand in need of foreign succours. The ordinary revenue of the King is, as they say now, some fourteen millions of crowns, which arise principally from the demesns of the crown, the gabel of salt, tallies upon the country, customs upon the merchandise, sale of offices, the yearly tythe of all that belongs to the church, the rising and falling of money, fines and confiscations cast upon him by the law; but, as for wardships, they are only known in Normandy. His expence is chiefly ambassadors, ammunition, building, fortifying, and maintaining of gallies. As for ships, when he needs them, he makes an embarque, in pay for soldiers, wages for officers, pensions at home and abroad, upon the entertaining his house, his state, and his private pleasures. And all the first, but the demesns, were granted, in the beginning, upon some urgent occasion, and after by kings made perpetual, the occasion ceasing; and the demesns themselves granted, because the King should live upon

their own, without oppressing their subjects. But at this day, tho' the revenue be thus great, and the taxes unsupportable, yet do they little more than serve for necessary publick uses. For the King of Spain's greatness, and neighbourhood, forceth the King there to live continually upon his guard; and the treasure, which the Spaniard receives from his Indies, constrains him to raise his revenue thus by taxes, so to be able, in some proportion, to bear up against him, for fear else he should be bought out of all his confederates and servants.

For the relation of this state to others, it is first to be considered, that this part of Christendom is balanced betwixt the three Kings of Spain, France, and England, as the other part betwixt the Russian, the Kings of Poland, Sweden, and Denmark. For as for Germany, which, if it were intirely subject to one monarchy, would be terrible to all the rest, so being divided betwixt so many princes, and those of so equal power, it serves only to balance itself, and entertain easy war with the Turk, while the Persian with-holds him in a greater. And every one of those first three hath his particular strength, and his particular weakness: Spain hath the advantage of both the rest in treasure, but is defective in men, his dominions are scattered, and the conveyance of his treasure from the Indies lies obnoxious to the power of any nation that is stronger by sea. France abounds with men, lies close together, and hath money sufficiently. England, being an island, is hard to be invaded, abounds with men, but wants money to employ them. For their particular weakness, Spain is to be kept busy in the Low Countries: France is to be afflicted with Protestants, and England in Ireland. England is not able to subsist against any of the other, hand to hand; but, joined with the Low Countries, it can give law to both by sea, and, joined with either of them two, it is able to oppress the third, as Henry the Eighth did.

Now the only intire body in Christendom, that makes head against the Spanish Monarchy, is France; and therefore they say in France, that the day of the ruin of France is the eve of the ruin of England: and thereupon England hath, ever since the Spanish greatness, inclined rather to maintain France, than to ruin it; as, when King Francis was taken prisoner, the King of England lent money towards the payment of his ransom: and the late Queen, when the leaguers, after the Duke of Guise's death, had a design to cantonise France, though offered a part, would not consent. So then, this reason of state, of mutual preservation, conjoining them, England may be accounted a sure confederate of France, and Holland, by reason it partly subsists by it; the Protestant Princes of Germany, because they have countenance from it, against the house of Austria; the Protestant Switzers, for religion and money; the Venetians, for protection against the Spaniards in Italy: so that all their friends are either Protestants, or inclining; and whosoever is extreme Catholick, is their enemy, and factors for the Spanish Monarch, as the Pope, the Cardinals for the most part, and totally the Jesuits, the Catholick Princes of Germany, and the Catholicks of England and Ireland. For the Jesuits, which are the *ecclesiastical strength* of Christendom, France, notwithstanding the

many late obligations, hath cause to despair of them; for they intending, as one Pope, so one King, to suppress the Protestants, and for the better support of Christendom against the Turk, and seeing Spain the likelier to bring this to pass, they follow the nearer probability of effecting their end.

No addition could make France so dangerous to us, as that of our Low Countries; for so it were worse than if the Spaniard himself had them intirely. As for their hopes of regaining Italy, it concerns the Spaniard immediately rather than us.

Concerning the state of the Protestants in France, during peace they are protected by their edict; for their two agents at court defend the general from wrong; and their Chambres-Imparties, every particular person: and, if troubles should arise, some scattered particulars might be in danger, but the main body is safe, safe to defend themselves, though all France join against them, and, if it break out into factions, the safest, because they are both ready and united.

The particulars of their strength are, First, their towns of surety, two of which command the River of Loyre.

Secondly, their situation, the greatest part of them lying near together, as Poitou, Xantoigne, High Gascoigne, Languedoc, and Dauphine, near the sea, so, consequently, fit to receive succours from abroad, and remote from Paris, so that the quality of an army is much wasted before it can approach them.

The third is the sufficiency of their present governors, Bulloigne and Desdeguiers, and other second commanders. And, for the princes of the blood, whom the rest may, in shew, without emulation, obey, when they come once to open action, those which want a party will quickly seek them.

The last is the aid they are sure of from foreign princes; for whosoever are friends to France, in general, are more particularly their friends.

And, besides, the Protestant party being grown stronger of late, as the Low Countries, and more united, as England and Scotland, part of that strength reflects upon them: and even the King of Spain himself, who is enemy to France in general, would rather give them succour, than see them utterly extirpated: and yet no foreign prince can ever make further use of them, than to disturb France, not to invade it himself. For, as soon as they get an edict with better conditions, they turn head against him that now succoured them, as they did against us at Newhaven.

Concerning the proportion of their number, they are not above the seventeenth or eighteenth part of the people, but of the gentlemen there are six thousand of the religion; but, since the peace, they have increased in people, as principally in Paris, Normandy, and Dauphine, but lost in the gentry; which loss cometh to pass, by reason that the King, when he finds any gentleman that will but hearken, tempts him with preferment, and those he finds utterly obstinate suppresseth, and, by such means, he hath done them more harm in peace, than both his predecessors in war. For, in all their assemblies, he corrupts some of their ministers to betray their counsel in hand; and, of the

hundred and six thousand crowns a year, which he pays the Protestants to entertain their ministers, and to pay their garisons, he hath gotten the bestowing of sixteen thousand of them upon what gentleman of the religion he pleaseth, when, by that means, he moderates, if not gains; and besides, they were wont to impose upon him their two deputies, which are to stay at court, but now he makes them propose six, out of which he chuseth the two, and, by that, obligeth those; and yet, notwithstanding all this, in some occasions he makes good use of them too: for, as towards England he placeth none in any place of strength but firm Catholics; so, towards Spain and Savoy, he often gives charge to Protestants, as to la Force in Bern, Desdeguiers and Bois in Bresse.

Concerning the King himself, he is a person wonderful both in war and peace: for his acts in war, he hath manumised France from the Spaniard, and subdued the league, being the most dangerous plot that hath been laid, weakening it by arms, but utterly dissolving it by wit, that is, by letting the Duke of Guise out of prison, and capitulating with the heads of it every one a-part, by which means he hath yet left a continual hatred amongst them, because every one sought, by preventing the other, to make his conditions the better; so that now there remains little connexion of it amongst the gentry, only there continues some dregs still amongst the priests, and consequently the people; especially, when they are angered with the increase and prosperity of the Protestants.

For his acts of peace, he hath enriched France with a greater proportion of wool and silk, erected goodly buildings, cut passages betwixt river and river, and is about to do the same betwixt sea and sea; redeemed much of the mortgaged demesns of the crown, better husbanded the money (which was wont to be drunk up two parts of it in the officers hands, got aforehand in treasure, arms, and ammunition, increased the infantry, and suppressed the unproportionable cavalry, and left nothing undone but the building of a navy.

And all this may be attributed to himself only, because, in a monarchy, officers are accordingly active or careless, as the Prince is able to judge and distinguish of their labours, and, withal, to participate of them somewhat himself.

Sure it is, that the peace of France, and somewhat that of Christendom itself, is secured by this Prince's life; for all titles and discontents, all factions of religion there, suppress themselves till his death; but what will ensue after? what the rest of the house of Bourbon will enterprise upon the King's children, what the house of Guise upon the house of Bourbon, what the league, what the Protestants, what the Kings of Spain and England, if they see a breach made by civil dissension; I chuse rather to expect than conjecture, because God hath so many ways to turn aside from human foresight, as he gave us a testimony upon the death of our late Queen.

The country of France, considering the quantity, is the fairest and richest of all Christendom, and contains in it most of the countries adjoining: for Picardy, Normandy, and Britanny resemble England; Languedoc, Spain; Provence, Italy; and the rest is France.

Besides, all the rivers that pass through it, end in it. It abounds with corn, wine, and salt, and hath a competency of silk; but is defective in wool, leather, metals, and horses; but hath some very good havens, especially on the north-side.

Concerning the people: their children, at first sight, seem men, and their men children; but who so, in negotiating, presumes upon appearance, shall be deceived; compassionate towards their own nation and country: loving to the prince, and so they may have liberty in ceremony, and free access to him, they will be the better content that he shall be absolute in matter of substance; impatient of peace any longer than whilst they are in recovering the ruins of war; the presentness of danger inflames their courage, but any expectation makes it languish; for the most, they are all imagination, and no judgment, but those that prove solid excel; their gentlemen are all good outward men, good courtiers, good soldiers, and knowing enough in men and business, but merely ignorant in matters of letters, because at fifteen they quit books, and begin to live in the world, when, indeed, a mediocrity betwixt their form of education and ours would do better than either. No men stand more punctually upon their honours in matters of valour, and, which is strange, in nothing else; for, otherwise, in their conversation, the custom of shifting and overspaking hath quite overcome the shame of it.

THE
TERRIBLE AND DESERVED DEATH*
OF

FRANCIS RAUILLIACK,

Shewing the manner of his strange Torments at his Execution, vpon Fryday the 25th of May last past, for the murder of the late French King, Henry the Fourth: Together with an Abstract out of divers Proclamations and Edicts, now concerning the State of France.

As it was printed in French in three several Bookes published by Authoritie, 1610. At London, printed for William Barley, and John Baylie, 1610. Quarto, Black Letter, containing twenty pages.

THE most inhumane murder, lately committed vpon the person of the late French King, Henry the Fourth of famous memory, hath much disquieted the state of Fraunce, and so busied other kingdoms

* Vide the 238th article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

in hunting after the true reports thereof, so farre forth, that we thinke it an interior loue to our cuntry-men to haue an abstract of the most occurrences that happned since that vnnaturall accydent: And, First, to begin with the viperous homicyde, the bludie actor of this deede, who stroue with the enuy of his hart to draw in peeces the bowells that cherished his life (florishing *Fraunce* I meane) that proues abortiue in bringing forth such an vnnaturall French-man.

This parricide, Francis Rauilliack, in time past of the order of the Felician fryers, but of late a practissioner in the lawe (by some named a pettyfogger) borne in the towne of Angolesme, a place not farre distant from the city of Paris; who, after he had vnluckely accomplished this bloody stratagem, by taking away the preseruer of so many liues, was, vpon the 23 of May last, araingned, conuicted, and condemned by due order of lawe, in the great court and chamber of Turnella in Paris, before all the assemblies, presidents, counsellors, and commissioners, at the request of Du Vicquet, attorney generall to the King, whose place and authority was there then to inquire against this Francis Rauilliack, for the murder of his late soueraigne, Henry the Fourth, King of Fraunce and Nauarre; wherevpon, this Francis Rauilliack, with a sad and deathlike countenance, holding vp his guilty hand before this great assembly, presently confessed guilty, and that he became this his countries shame onely by the instigation of the deuill; and not any other accomplices and confederats would he reueale, but, in a satanicall maner, vowed himselfe to secrecie; wherevpon the lawe proceeded, and a most terrible sentence of death was pronounced against him there, according to a generall decree of that great court of parliament; and so, being a condemned villaine, was, with a strong guard of armed men, conuayd to prison, otherwise, by the violent rage of the common people, he had bene torne in peeces: such was the loue they bore to their late King.

Vpon the Fryday following, being the 25 of May (according to their computation) this Francis Rauilliack was, in a most vile and base maner, caried to execution, as followeth:

First, naked in his shirt, he was brought out of the consurgery, being the prison for the palace, with a lighted torch of two pound waight in one hand, and the knife, wherewith he killed the King, chayned to the other hand, so openly to be seene, that the least childe there present might behold it. After this, he was placed standing vpright in a tumbrell or dung-cart, and so from thence conducted with a guard of citizens to the capitall church in Paris; where, being adiudged to doe penance, he had bene made a sacrafize to the rage of the rude people, had not there bin apoynted officers to see his execution, who prevented it.

After this, being accompanied to the place of execution with two docters of diuinitie all the way perswading him to saue his soule from euerlasting punishment, by reuealing and laying open his associates therein; which he would not, but stiffly (though vngraciously) tooke the bloody burthen vpon his owne shoulders, withstanding, euen to the death, all faire promises whatsoeuer: In this manner, as I sayd before, was he carried to the Greve, being a spacious streete, and about the

middle of Paris, where was builded a very substantial scaffould of strong timber, wherevpon, according to his iudgment, he was to be tormented to death: Du Vicquet, the Kings attorney generall, was apoynted principall to see the execution, and there to gather, if he could, some further light of this vnchristian-like conspiracie.

This here following was the manner of his death, an example of terror, made knowne to the world, to convert all bloody-minded traytors from the like enterprise. At his first comming vpon the scaffold, he crossed himselfe directly over the breast; a signe that he did liue and dye an obstinate papist: Wherevpon, by the executioners, he was bound to an engine of wood and iron, made like to a S. Andrew's crosse, according to the fashion of his body; and then the hand, with the knife chayned to it (wherewith he slew the King) and halfe the arme was put into an artificiall furnace, then flaming with fier and brimstone, wherein the knife, his right hand, and halfe the arme adioyning to it, was in most terrible manner consumed; yet nothing at all would he confesse, but yelled out with such horrible cryes, euen as it had bene a diuell, or some tormented soule in hell: And surely, if hells tortures might be felt on earth, it was approued in this mans punishment; and, though he deserued ten times more, yet humane nature might inforce vs to pittie his distresse. After this, with tonges and iron pincers, made extreame hott in the same fornace, the appointed executioners pinched and seared the dugges of his breastes, the brawnes of his armes and thighes, with the calues of his legges, and other fleshy partes of his body, cutting out collopes of flesh, and burned them before his face; afterward, into the same woundes thus made, they powred scalding oyle, rosen, pitch, and brimstone, melted together, yet would he reveal nothing, but that he did it of himselfe, by the instigation of the diuell; and the reason was, because the King. tollerated two religions in his kingdome: Oh small occasion, that, for this cause, one seruile slaue should thus quench the great light of France, whose brightness glistred thorough Europe! But to passe furthur into this strange execution, according to the sentence pronounced against him, they put vpon his nauell a rundle of clay, very hard, with a hole in the midst, and, into the same hole, powred they moulten lead, till it was filled; yet reaucaled he nothing, but cryed out with most horrible roares, even like the dying man tormented in the brazen bull of the Tyrant Phalares. But now to come to the finishing up of his life; and, that the last torture might, in seuerity, equall the first, they caused foure strong horses to be brought to teare his body in peeces, and to separte his limbes into four quarters, where, being ready to pay his last punishment, he was questioned againe to make knowne the truth, but he would not, and so died, without speaking one word of God, or remembring the daunger of his soule.

But so strongly was his flesh and ioyns knit together, that of long time these foure horses could not dismember him, nor any way teare one ioynnt from the other, so that one of the horses faynted, the which a marchant of the city of Paris perceiuing, put to one of his owne, being an horse of an exceeding great strength; yet, notwithstanding, for all this, they were constrained to cut the flesh, vnder his armes and

thighes, with a shap raysor, by which meanes his body was the easier torne in peeces; which being done, the rage of the people grew so violent, that they snatched the dismembred carcasce out of the executioners hands; some beate it in sunder against the ground, others cut in peices with knives, so that there was nothing left but boanes, which were brought to the place of execution, and there burned to cinders, the ashes wherof was scattered into the wind, as being thought to be vnworthlie of the earths buriall. God in his iustice will, I hope, in the like manner, reward all such as repine at their countries safety, and desperatly attempt to lift their hands against Gods anointed.

The Briefes taken of diuers Edicts and Decrees lately proclaimed in France in this place.

Lewes the 13. by the Grace of God, King of France and Nauarre, to all his louing Subiects, Health:

Whereas the inhumaine murder of our late deceased father, Henry the Fourth, of famous memory, is, as farre as law and iustice can reach vnto, reuenged vpon the body of that parricide Francis Rauilliack, whose death sufficiently witnesseth, and now stands registered an example of seuerity in such a cause, yet nature and duty bindeth vs to add this further vnto it: We therefore, by the aduise of our foure courts of parliament, ordaine, the Lords thereof, spirituall and temporall, that all the lands, goods, and cattels, late belonging to the aforesaid traytor Francis Rauilliack, shall be confiscate to our vse; and also the house in Angolesme, wherein he was borne, to be vtterly ruined, and be conuerted into a common leastall; and, in the same place, neuer any more house to be built: Also we, by our authority, doe decree and ordaine, iudge and command, that the father and mother of the said Francis Rauilliack be for euer banished our kingdome of France, and all the prouinces belonging therunto, not to be sene after the date of seauenteen dayes be expiered, neuer to returne vpon paine of hanging: Also we ordaine, that the vncles, brothers, sisters, and all his kindred, shall neuer more take vpon them the name of Rauilliack, but take to themselves some other name, vpon the like paine of punishment, as a name vnworthy of our country. All which we do commaund to be proclaimed throughout all our prouinces, by the sound of trumpet, as the order is: For the prosecution of which business, we do giue full authority to Du Vicquet, our attorney generall. Dated at our palace in Paris the 29. of May, 1613. and signed with the great seale of yellow wax, by the lord,

POTIER.

A Brief of Letters Patents giuen to the Queen.

Lewes the 13. by the Grace of God, King of France and Nauarre, &c. to our Friends and faithfull Councillors of the Court of Parliament of Roan, Health:

LOOKING to the necessity of the time, and for the maintenance of the state in peace, vpon the miserable accident committed vpon the person of our most Royall King and Father, and being in our minority, we doe establish, and make this good order, for the preservation of our loving subjects, to liue in the vnion and concord as they did in the time of our father; and as by the counsell of our royall mother, princes of our blood, other princes, prelates, dukes, peeres, and officers of the crowne, we are transported to this our parliament of Paris, and being seated in our seate of iustice, we do fully yeeld our whole gouernment to our mother, to haue care of vs, and protect vs, till we come to age, not suffering any custome to be denyed, but all things to be performed, and continued in as good force, as they did in our fathers time, to the quiet of our land, and the peace of our louing subjects. Giuen at our palace in Paris the 18. of May 1610. and of our raigne the first.

Scene, published, and registered in court, by Du Vicquet, Attorney Generall, the aforesayd 18. of May: Signed likewise by De Boy-leuesque, Secretary to the Parliament of Roan, and proclaimed in euery Prouince, that none, hereafter, shall pretend cause of ignorance.

BY THE KING.

Lewes the 13. by the Grace of God, King of France and Nauarre, &c. To all our louing Subjects to whome these shall appertayne, Health:

SINCE the vnhapie murder of our late father, the Queene, our royall mother, now regent ouer vs, hauing teares in her cyes, and sorrowe in her heart, hath not let to worke, with great magnanimitie and prouidence, for this vnnaturall accident, that it might not be preiudiciall to our person, our kingdome, nor to our subjects, knowing her selfe obliged to that dutye, not only for the naturall affection she beares vs, but, being declared regent, and loaden with the affaires of the kingdome, by the wils and authority of the princes of our blood, and others of the parliament, wee leauing of the seate of iustice, by which meanes her paines is great, and so happie to our subjects nere vs, and our cittie of Paris, desiring no deuty to vs, but to our honored lady and mother, for which we doe not doubt of your willingnes; in so doing, we shall giue you thanks with our loue.

Furthermore, considering that in the times past, in the daies of our late father, and other kings his predecessors, that neither of these two religions, by vs now tollerated, could be weeded out of the kingdome without much blood shed : Be it now therefore ordained, and likewise we doe alowe both the same through all our prouinces, without any contradiction, as it was in our fathers time, and the hinderers thereof to be highly punished.

Giuen at our palacé in Paris the 22. of May, and signed with the great seale in yellow wax : farwell.

Letters Patents of the King concerning the Edict of Nantes.

Vpon the 22. of May, there were letters patents granted, by proclamation, containing the will and intention of the King, for the intertainement of the edict made in Nantes, concerning articles giuen to his subjects professing the pretended reformed religion, published in the parliament at Roan, the 28. of May, 1610.

Vpon Sunday their 27. of May, were nine-thousand protestants at church together verie peaceably, God be praysed.

The King is continually guarded with two-hundred horse, and his Swisssers, besides the nobilitie, which mourne greatly.

The Duke De Neuers, by aduice, is retourned from the armie.

The hundred-thousand men, promised to the Marques of Brandenburg, doe remaine as they did before, and all the army besides are well.

These be the onely last and true newes out of France, taken out of three several bookes there imprinted ; the one at Roan, by Martin Mesgissier, printer ordinary to the King,

Another by Peter Courant, according to the copy printed at Paris, by Anthony Vitray, by permission of the court.

And another printed at Roan by the same man, and now an abstract of them all turned into English, by R. E.

THE
LIVES OF THE THREE NORMANS,
KINGS OF ENGLAND:

WILLIAM THE FIRST, WILLIAM THE SECOND,
AND
HENRY THE FIRST.

Written by I. H.

Improbe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. Mart.

Imprinted at London, by R. B. Anno 1613. Quarto, containing one-hundred and thirty-one Pages, besides the Epistle Dedicatory to Charles Prince of Wales, which contains five Pages more, in smaller Types.

To the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Wales.

Most illustrious Prince,

OUR late, too late born, or too soon dying Prince, Henry of famous memory, your deceased brother, sent for me, a few months before his death. And, at my second coming to his presence, among some other speeches, he complained much of our histories of England; and that the English nation, which is inferior to none in honourable actions, should be surpassed by all, in leaving the memory of them to posterity. For this cause he blamed the negligence of former ages; as if they were ignorant of their own deservings, as if they esteemed themselves unworthy of their worth.

I answered, that I conceived these causes hereof; one, that men of sufficiency were otherwise employed, either in publick affairs, or in wrestling with the world, for maintenance or encrease of their private estates. Another is, for that men might safely write of others in manner of a tale, but, in manner of a history, safely they could not; because, albeit they should write of men long since dead, and whose posterity is clean worn out, yet some alive, finding themselves foul in those vices, which they see observed, reprov'd, and condemn'd in others, their guiltiness maketh them apt to conceive, that, whatsoever the words are, the finger pointeth only at them. The last is, for that the argument of our English history hath been so foiled heretofore by some unworthy writers, that men of quality may esteem themselves discredited by dealing in it.

And is not this, said he, an error in us, to permit every man to be a writer of history? Is it not an error to be so curious in other matters, and so careless in this? We make choice of the most skilful workmen to draw or carve the portraiture of our faces, and shall every artless pencil delineate the disposition of our minds? Our apparel must be wrought by the best artificers, and no soil must be suffered to fall upon it; and shall our actions, shall our conditions, be described by every bungling hand? Shall every filthy finger defile our reputation? Shall our honour be basely buried in the dross of rude and absurd writings? We are careful to provide costly sepulchres, to preserve our dead lives, to preserve some memory what we have been; but there is no monument, either so durable, or so largely extending, or so lively and fair, as that which is framed by a fortunate pen; the memory of the greatest monuments had long since perished, had it not been preserved by this means.

To this I added, that I did always conceive, that we should make our reckoning of three sorts of life; the short life of nature, the long life of fame, and the eternal life of glory. The life of glory is so far esteemed before the other two, as grace is predominant in us; the life of fame before our natural life is so far esteemed, as a generous spirit surmounteth sensuality, as human nature over-ruleth a brutish disposition. So far as the noble nature of man hath dominion in our minds, so far do we condemn, either the incommunities, or dangers, or life of our body, in regard of our reputation and fame. Now, seeing this life of fame is both preserved and enlarged chiefly by history, there is no man, I suppose, that will either resist, or not assist, the commendable or, at least, tolerable writing thereof, but such as are conscious to themselves, either that no good, or that nothing but ill, can be reported of them. In whom notwithstanding it is an error to think, that any power of the present time can either extinguish or obscure the memory of times succeeding. Posterity will give to every man his due: Some ages hereafter will afford those, who will report unpartially of all.

Then he questioned, whether I had wrote any part of our English history, other than that which had been published, which at that time he had in his hands? I answered, that I wrote of certain of our English Kings, by way of a brief description of their lives; but, for history, I did principally bend, and bind myself to the times wherein I should live; in which my own observations might somewhat direct me; but as well in the one, as in the other, I had at that time perfected nothing.

To this he said, that, in regard of the honour of the time, he liked well of the last; but, for his own instruction, he more desired the first; that he desired nothing more than to know the actions of his ancestors, because he did so far esteem his descent from them, as he approached near them in honourable endeavours. Hereupon, beautifying his face with a sober smile, he desired me, that, against his return from the progress then at hand, I would perfect somewhat of both sorts for him; which he promised amply to requite, and was well known to be one, who esteemed his word above ordinary respects. This

stirred in me not only a will, but power to perform ; so as, engaging my duty far above the measure either of my leisure or of my strength, I finished the lives of these three Kings of Norman race, and certain years of Queen Elisabeth's reign.

At his return from the progress to his house at St. James's, these pieces were delivered unto him ; which he did not only courteously, but joyfully accept. And, because this seemed a perfect work, he expressed a desire that it should be published. Not long after he died ; and with him died both my endeavours and my hopes. His death, alas ! hath bound the lives of many unto death, face to face ; being no ways able, either by forgetfulness to cover their grief, or to diminish it with consideration.

For, in truth, he was a prince of a most heroical heart : Free from many vices, which sometimes accompany high estates ; full of most amiable and admirable virtues, of whose perfections the world was not worthy. His eyes were full of pleasant modesty ; his countenance manly beautiful ; in body both strongly and delicately made ; in behaviour sweetly sober, which gave grace to whatsoever he did. He was of a discerning wit ; and, for the faculty of his mind, of great capacity and power, accompanied with equal expedition of will ; much foreseeing in his actions, and for passions a commander of himself ; and of good strength to resist the power of prosperity. In counsel he was ripe and measured, in resolution constant ; his word ever led by his thought, and followed by his deed. And, albeit he was but young, and his nature forward and free, yet his wisdom reduced both to a true temper of moderation ; his desires being never above his reason, nor his hopes inferior to his desires. In a word, he was the most fair fruit of his progenitors, an excellent ornament of the present age, a true mirror to posterity, being so equally both settled to valour, and disposed to goodness and justice, as he expressed not only tokens, but proofs, both of a courage, and of a gravity and industry, right worthy of his estate.

Glorious prince, my love and duty hath carried me further, than happily is fit for the present purpose ; and yet this is but an earnest only of my earnest affection and zeal to thy honour. I shall hereafter have a more proper place to display, at large, the goodness of thy shape, the goodness of thy nature, the greatness of thy mind, all thy perfections, whereby our affections were much inflamed. And evil worthy may he be of any happy hopes, who will not add one blast of his breath, to make up the glorious gale of thy fame.

In the mean time I have here accomplished his desire in publishing this work : More to testify to the world the height of his heart, than for any pleasure I have to set forth any thing, to the view of these both captious and unthankful times ; wherein men will be, not readers only, but interpreters, but wresters, but corrupters and depravers of that which they read ; wherein men think the reproof of others, to be the greatest parcel of their own praise. But how should I expect any better usage ? The commentaries of Cæsar, never disliked before, are esteemed, by Lipsius, a dry sapless piece of writing. The most

famous Tacitus is termed, by Alciate,* a thicket of thorns; by Budeus,† a most lewd writer; by Tertullian,‡ an exceeding liar; by Orosius,|| a flatterer; than which assuredly he is nothing less. I will not expect any better usage, I will not desire it: I will hereafter esteem nothing of any worth, which hath not many to detract from it.

Whatsoever this is, I have presumed to present it to your Highness, for these causes following:

First, for that it received this being from him, who was most dearly esteemed by you; who may be justly proposed as an example of virtue, as a guide to glory and fame.

Secondly, for that the persons, of whom it treateth, are those most worthy ancestors of yours, who laid the foundation of this English empire; who were eminent among all the princes of their times, and haply for many ages after, as well in actions of peace as of war.

Lastly, for that I esteem histories the fittest subject for your Highness's reading: For, by diligent perusing the acts of great men, by considering all the circumstances of them, by comparing counsels and means with events, a man may seem to have lived in all ages, to have been present at all enterprises; to be more strongly confirmed in judgement, to have attained a greater experience than the longest life can possibly afford.

But because many errors do usually arise, by ignorance of the state wherein we live; because it is dangerous to frame rules of policy out of countries differing from us, both in nature, and custom of life, and form of government; no histories are so profitable as our own. In these your Highness may see the noble disposition and delights of your ancestors, what were their sweet walks, what their pleasant chaces; how far they preferred glory, before either pleasure or safety; how, by the brave behaviour of their sword, they hewed honour out of the sides of their enemies. In these you may see the largeness, commodities, and strength of this country; the nature of the people, their wealth, pleasure, exercise and trade of life, and what else is worthy of observation. Generally, by these you may so furnish yourself, as not easily to be abused either by weak or deceitful advice.

The Most High preserve and prosper your Highness, that, as you succeed many excellent ancestors in blood, so you may exceed them all in honourable achievements.

Your Highness's most devoted,

J. HAYWARD.

* Senticetum.

† Scriptor omnium sceleratissimus.

‡ Mendacissimus.

|| Adulator.

The Life of King William the First, surnamed Conqueror

ROBERT, Duke of Normandy, the sixth in descent from Rollo, riding through Falais, a town in Normandy, espied certain young persons dancing near the way: And, as he staid to view a while the manner of their disport, he fixed his eye especially upon a certain damsel named Arlotte, of mean birth, a skinner's daughter, who there danced among the rest. The frame and comely carriage of her body, the natural beauty and graces of her countenance, the simplicity of her rural both behaviour and attire, pleased him so well, that the same night he procured her to be brought to his lodging*; where he begat of her a son, who afterwards was named William.

I will not defile my writing with memory of some lascivious behaviour which she is reported to have used, at such time as the Duke approached to embrace her. And doubtful it is, whether upon some special note of immodesty in herself, or whether upon hate towards her son, the English afterwards adding an aspiration to her name (according to the natural manner of their pronouncing) termed every unchaste woman, Harlot.

It is remembered by some, rather servile than fond in observations, who will either find or frame predictions for every great action or event: That his mother before the time of her delivery had a dream, that her bowels were extended over Normandy and England. Also, that, at the time of his birth, he fell from his mother's body to the ground; and there filled both his hands with rushes, which had been cast thick upon the floor, and strained them with a very strait gripe. The wives laughed at large, and soon grew prodigal of idle talk. But the midwife somewhat more soberly said, that he should not only hold well his own, but grasp somewhat from other men.

When he was about nine years of age, his father went upon devotion to Jerusalem, and in his return died at the city of Nice. So William at that age succeeded his father; having then very generous and aspiring spirits, both to resist abroad, and to rule at home. He was committed to the government of two of his uncles; and the French King was intreated by his father to take upon him the protection, both of his person and state. But his uncles pretended title to his dignity, by reason of his unlawful birth; the King of France also desired much, and had often attempted to reduce Normandy to his absolute subjection, as it was before the invasion of the Normans. So as it may seem he was committed to these tutors, as a lamb should be committed to the tutelage of wolves. The only means of his preservation consisted in a factious nobility, divided into so many parts, as there were parties: some contending for possession of the young duke's person; others, of his authority and power; all of them incompatible to endure either

* Some historians say, that Duke Robert took her to wife. Malm. p. 97.

equals, or else superiors*: All of them united against a common enemy; all divided among themselves.

Here it may be demanded, how he, being unlawfully born, could succeed his father in the duchy of Normandy, his father leaving two brothers born in lawful marriage, and much other legitimate kindred behind him?

Will. Malmesbury †, and some others have reported, that, albeit he was born out of marriage, yet Duke Robert his father did afterwards entertain his mother for lawful wife; which, by the law of that country, agreeable in that point to the civil and canon laws, sufficed to make the issue inheritable, although born before ‡.

And further, it was a general custom at that time in France, that bastards did succeed, even in dignities of highest condition, no otherwise than children lawfully begotten. Thierry, bastard of Clovis, had for his partage, with the lawful childfen of the same Clovis, the kingdom of Austrasy, now called Lorrain. Sigebert, bastard of King Dagobert the First, had his part in the kingdom of France, with Clovis the Twelfth, lawful son to Dagobert. Loys and Carloman, bastards of King Loys le Begue, succeeded after the death of their father. So likewise, in England, Alfride, bastard son of Oswinc, succeeded his brother Egfride. So Adelstane, the bastard son of Edward the Elder, succeeded his father, before Edmund and Eldred, his younger brothers, notwithstanding they were lawfully begotten. So Edmund, surnamed the Martyr, bastard son to King Edgar, succeeded him in the state, before Ethelbred his lawful issue. Afterward, Harold surnamed Harefoot, bastard to Canutus, succeeded him in the kingdom, before Hardicanutus, his lawful son. The like custom hath been observed in Spain, in Portugal, and in divers other countries. And it is probable that this use was grounded upon often experience, that bastards (as begotten in the highest heat and strength of affection) have many times|| been men of excellent proof, both in courage and in understanding. This was verified in Hercules, Alexander the Great, Romulus, Timotheus, Brutus, Themistocles, Arthur; in Homer, Demosthenes, Bion, Bartholus, Gratian, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, John Andreas, and divers of most flourishing name; among whom our conqueror may worthily be ranged.

And yet, in the third race of the Kings of France, a law was made, that bastards should not inherit the crown of the realm. This custom was likewise banished out of England, and other countries of Europe. Notwithstanding, in France§, other bastards of great houses were still ad vowed.

The exercises of this duke, from his very youth, were ingenious,

* In which case, we may apply the saying of Seneca: *Societas nostra Ulpia de fornicatione similissima est; quæ casura, nisi in vice obstaret, hoc ipso continetur.* Senec. Epist. 97.

† Lib. iii. in princ. Ingulph. Lib. vi. Cap. 19.

‡ Let that be as it will, I cannot but observe, that, after the Conqueror obtained the Crown of England, he often signed his grants with this subscription, William Bastarde; thinking it no abasement either to his title or reputation.

§ *πολλὰς δὲ τοὺς νότους πολλὰ γήσων ἀμείνων.* Eurip. in Androm.

† And Portugal.

manly, decent, and such as tended to activity and valour; he was of a working mind and vehement spirit, rather ambitious than only desirous of glory; of a piercing wit, blind in no man's cause, and well-sighted in his own; of a lively and present courage; neither out of ignorance, or rash estimation of dangers, but out of a true judgment both of himself and of them. In peace, he was politick; in war, valiant and very skilful, both to espy and to apprehend, and to follow his advantages; this valour and skill, in military affairs, was always seconded with good success. He was continually accustomed both to the weight and use of armour, from his very childhood. Oftentimes he looked death in the face with a brave contempt. He was never free from actions of arms; first upon necessity to defend himself, afterwards upon ambition to offend and disturb the possessions of others.

In his first age, he was much invested with rebels in Normandy; who often conspired both against his life, and against his dignity and state; traducing him, as a bastard, as a boy, as born of a base ignoble woman, as altogether unworthy to be their prince. Of these, some he appeased and reconciled unto him; others he prevented and dispersed their power, before it was collected; others encountered in open field, before he had any hair upon his face; where he defeated their forces in full battle, then took their strong-holds, and lastly chased them out of his dominion.

And first, Roger Tresny, having gained exceeding great both favour and reputation by his services against the Saracens in Spain, made claim to the duchy of Normandy; as one lawfully descended from Rollo, their first duke. And, albeit many others were before him in title, yet (said he) if they will sit still; if they, either through sloth, which is ill, or through fear, which is worse, will abandon the adventure, he alone would free the Normans from their infamous subjection. He was followed by many, partly upon opinion of his right, but chiefly of his valour. But, when he brought his cause to the arbitrement of arms, he was overthrown in a strong battle, wherein his claim and his life determined together.

After this, William, Earl of Arques, base son to Richard the Second, and uncle to Duke William, upon the same pretence declared himself against his nephew. And, albeit the Normans were heavy to stir in his favour, yet he so wrought with the French King, by assuring him great matters in Normandy, that, with a mighty army of his own people, he went in person to place him in possession of that duchy. The way, which the King took, led him to a large valley, sandy and full of short bushes and shrubs, troublesome for horsemen either to fight or to march. On either side were rising hills, very thick set with wood. Here the army entered with small advisement, either for clearing the passage, or for the safety of their carriages. The van-guard consisted chiefly of battle-axes and pikes. In the right wing were many Almans among the French. In the left were many of Anjou and Poitou. After these followed the baggage, with an infinite number of scullions, carters, and other base drudges attending upon it. Next came the French King with the main battle, consisting for the most part of

valiant and worthy gentlemen, bravely mounted. The lances and men at arms closed the reaward.

When they were well entred this valley, the Normans did lively charge upon them in head; they delivered also their deadly shot from the hills on both sides, as thick as hail. Notwithstanding the vanguard, casting themselves into a pointed battle in form of a wedge, with plain force of hand made themselves way, and, marching in firm and close order through the thickest of their enemies, gained (albeit not without great loss) the top of a hill, and there presently incamped themselves. The like fortune happily might the residue have had, if they had followed with the like order and courage. But, failing herein, the right wing was hewed in pieces, and the left wing was broken and beaten upon the carriages; where, overbearing and treading down one another, they received almost as much hurt from themselves, as they did from their enemies. The main battle and reaward, advancing forward to rescue the carriage, were first miserably overwhelmed with a storm of arrows from the hill on both sides; and the gallant horses, once galled with that shot, would no more obey or endure their riders; but, flinging out, either overthrew or disordered all in their way. And, the more to increase the misery of that day, the dust and light sand which was raised, partly by the feet of horses and men, and partly by violence of the wind, which then blew full in the faces of the French, involved them all as in a thick and dark cloud, which deprived them of all foresight and direction in governing their affairs. The valiant was nothing discerned from the coward; no difference could be set between contrivance and chance; all laboured in one common calamity, and every one increased the fear of his fellow.

The Normans having well spent their shot, and perceiving the French in this sort both disordered and dismayed, came down from the hills, where they hovered before, and, falling to the close stroke of battle-ax and sword, most cruelly raged in the blood of their enemies. By whom if any spark of valour was shewn, being at so great disadvantage, it was to no purpose, it was altogether lost; it was so far from relieving others, that it was not sufficient to defend themselves. And doubtless nothing so much favoured the state of the French that day, as that the number of the Normans sufficed not to inclose them behind. For then they had been intrapped as deer in a toil; then not one of them could have escaped. But, the entrance of the valley remaining open, many fled back to the plain ground, tumbling together in such headlong haste, that, if the Normans had sharply put upon them the chase, it is certain that they had been extremely defeated. But the duke gave over the execution upon good advice. For, knowing himself not to be of force utterly to vanquish the French, he essayed rather by fair forbearance to purchase their friendship.

Here the French King assembled his broken companies, and incamped them for that night so well as he could. The joy of their present escape expelled for the time all other respects. But, after a

* And was commanded by Odo, Brother to the King of France.

little breathing, their remembrance began to run upon the loss of their carriages; whereby they had lost all means to refresh themselves. Of their vanguard they made a forlorn reckoning, and the like did the vanguard of them. Many were wounded, all wearied, and the Normans gave notice by sounding out their instruments of war, that they were at hand on every side. The rudest of the soldiers did boldly upbraid this misfortune to the King; one asked him, Where his vanguard was? Where his wings? Where were the residue of his battle and rereward? Others called for the carriages, to preserve those in life who had not been slain. Others demanded, if he had any more mouse-traps to lead them into? But most sat heavy and pensive, scarce accounting themselves among the living. The King swallowed down all with a sad silence; sometimes he dissembled as though he had not heard; sometimes he would fairly answer, 'Good words, good soldiers, have patience a while, and all will be well;' which was indeed a truer word than he thought it possible to be when he spoke it.

In this extremity the King assembled the chief of his commanders, to advise with them what was best to be done. It was generally concluded, that in staying their case was desperate, and dangerous it was to stir. But here lay the question, whether it was least dangerous to remove together, or every man to shift for himself? Whilst this point was in debating, whilst they expected every minute to be assailed, whilst no man saw any thing but death and despair; behold, a messenger came from the duke, not to offer, but desire peace; and to crave protection of the French King, according to the trust which Robert, the duke's father, reposed in him. There needed not many words to persuade. Peace was signed, protection assured, in a more ample manner than it was required. Then the messenger with many good words appeased the King's heaviness, telling him, that his vanguard was safe, his carriages not touched, and that he should be furnished with horses, both for burthen and draught, instead of those that had been slain. These words, as a sweet enchantment, ravished the French King with sudden joy. But, when they came to gather up their baggage, a spectacle both lamentable and loathsome was presented unto them. The valley covered, and in some places heaped with dead bodies of men and horses; many, not once touched with any weapon, lay trod to death, or else stifled with dust and sand; many, grievously wounded, retained some remainder of life, which they expressed with cries and groans; many, not mortally hurt, were so overlaid with the slain, that they were unable to free themselves; towards whom it is memorable, what manly both pity and help the Normans did afford. And so the French King, more by courtesy of his enemies, than either by courage or discretion of his own, returned in reasonable state to Paris.

Upon these events of open hostility, Guy, Earl of Bourgoigne, who had taken to wife Alice* daughter to Duke Richard II. and aunt to Duke William, conspired with Nigellus, president of Constantine,

* Or rather son of Alice.

Ranulph, viscount of Bayonne, Beaumont, and divers others, suddenly to surprise the duke, and slay him in the night. A certain fool, nothing regarded for his want of wit, observing their preparations, secretly got away, and, in the dead of the night, came to Valogne, where the duke then lay, no less slenderly guarded with men, than the place itself was slight for defence. Here he continued rapping at the gate, and crying out until it was opened, and he brought to the presence of the duke. To whom he declared the conspiracy, with circumstances of such moment, that the duke forthwith took his horse, and posted alone towards Falais, a special place for strength of defence. Presently after his departure, the conspirators came to Valogne; they beset the house, they enter by force, they search every corner for the duke, and finding, that the game was started and on foot, in hot haste they pursued the chase.

About break of day, the duke's horse tired, and he was ignorant of his right way. He was then at a little village, called Rie, where the chief gentleman of the place was standing at his door, ready to go abroad. Of him the duke enquired the next way to Falais. The gentleman knew the duke, and with all duty and respect desired to know the cause of his both solitary and untimely riding. The duke would willingly have passed unknown, but, perceiving himself to be discovered, declared to him the whole adventure. Hereupon the gentleman furnished him with a fresh horse, and sent with him two of his sons to conduct him the direct way to Falais.

No sooner were they out of sight, but the conspirators came, and enquired of the same gentleman (who still remained at his door) whether he saw not the duke that morning? as if, forsooth, they were come to attend him. The gentleman answered, that he was gone a little before, and therewith offered them his company to overtake him. But he led them about another way, until the duke was safely alighted at Falais.

And thus, the more we consider these and the like passages of affairs, the less we shall admire either the wisdom, or industry, or any other sufficiency of man. In actions of weight, it is good to employ our best endeavours; but, when all is done, he dançeth well to whom fortune doth pipe.

When the conspirators understood that their principal purpose was disappointed, they* made themselves so powerful in arms, that the duke was forced to crave aid of the King of France, who not long before was his greatest enemy. The King, preferring to his remembrance the late honourable dealing of the duke, came in person unto him; by whose countenance and aid the duke overthrew his enemies in a full battle, in the vale of Dunes; albeit, not without great difficulty, and bold adventure of his own person. Guy de Bourgogne escaped by flight, and defended himself in certain castles which he had fortified in Normandy for his retreat; but in the end he surrendered both himself and them to the duke's discretion. The duke not only

* Supposing that there could be no remedy against their danger, but by running into greater danger, declared openly against the Duke.

pardoned him, but honoured him with a liberal pension ; which he did afterwards both with valiant and loyal service requite.

Not long after, the French King had wars against Jeoffrey Martell, and Duke William went with a fair company of soldiers to his aid. In this service he so well acquitted himself, both in judgment and in hand, that the French King was chiefly directed by him ; only blaming him for too careless casting himself into the mouth of dangers ; imputing that to ostentation, which was but the heat of his courage and age. Oftentimes he would range from the main battle, with very few in his company ; either to make discoveries, or to encounter such enemies as could not be found with greater troops. Once he withdrew himself only with four, and was met with by fifteen of the enemies. The most forward of them he struck from his horse, and broke his thigh with the fall. The residue he chased four miles ; and, most of them being hurt, took seven prisoners. Hereupon Jeoffrey Martell then said of him, that he was at that time the best soldier, and was like to prove the best commander in the world.

And, as he was both favourable and faithful towards them who fairly yielded, so, against such as either obstinately or scornfully carried themselves, he was extremely severe, or rather cruel. When he besieged Alengon, which the Duke of Anjou had taken from him, the defendants would often cry from the walls, *La pel, La pel* ; reproaching him thereby with the birth of his mother. This base insolence, as it inflamed both his desire and courage to atchieve the enterprise, so did it his fury, to deal sharply with them, when they were subdued ; by cutting off their hands and feet, and by other severities which were not usual.

Besides these, some others of his own blood provoked Ingelrame, Earl of Ponthieu, to move against him in arms ; but the duke received him with so resolute valour, that the earl was slain in the field, and they well chastised who drew him into the enterprise. The Bretagners did often feel the force of his victorious arms. He had many conflicts with Jeoffrey Martell, Earl of Anjou, confederate with the princes of Brétagne, Aquitain, and Tours ; a man equal unto him both in power and in skill to command, but, in fortune and in force of arms, much inferior. Many excellent atchievements were performed between them ; insomuch as their hostility seemed only to be an emulation in honour. Once the duke fell into an ambuscade addressed for him by the Earl of Anjou ; wherewith he was so suddenly surprised, that he was almost in the midst of the danger, before he thought any danger near him. An exceeding great both terror and confusion seized upon his soldiers ; because, the more sudden and uncertain a peril is, the greater is it always esteemed. Many of his bravest men were slain : the residue so disordered, or at least shaken, as they began to think more of their particular escape, than of the common either safety or glory.

When they were thus upon the point to disband, the duke, rather with rage than courage, cried unto them : " If you love me not, soldiers, yet, for shame, follow me ; for shame, stand by me ; for shame, let not any of your friends hear the report, that you ran from me, and left me

fighting." With that he threw himself into the thickest throng of his enemies, and denounced those either traitors or cowards who would not follow. This example breathed such brave life into his soldiers, that they rallied their loose ranks, and in close order seconded him with a resolute charge; encouraging one another, that it was shameful indeed not to fight for him, who so manfully did fight with them. The duke, brandishing his sword like a thunderbolt, dung down his enemies on every side; made at Earl Martell, in the midst of his battalion, struck him down, clove his helmet, and cut away one of his ears. This so diverted the Anjouans to the rescue of their earl, that they let the other part of their victory go. The earl they recovered again to horse, and so left the duke master of the field. Verily, it is almost impossible that a commander of such courage should have either faint or false-hearted soldiers.*

Now it happened, not long before, that Foulke, Earl of Anjou, having drawn Herbert, Earl of Maine, under fair pretences, to Xaintonge, cast him in prison; from whence he could not be released, until he had yielded to certain conditions, both dishonourable and disadvantageous unto him. Hugh succeeded Herbert; from whom Geoffrey Martell, Earl of Anjou, took the city of Maine, and made himself lord of all of the country. Hugh, having lost his dominion, left both his title and his quarrel to his son Herbert; who, having no issue, appointed Duke William to be his heir. Hereupon the Duke invaded Maine, and, in a short time, subdued the whole country, and built two fortifications for assurance thereof; having first sent word to the Earl of Anjou, upon what day the work should begin. The earl used all diligence and means to impeach the buildings; but he not only failed of that purpose, but further lost the county of Medune.

Again, Henry, King of France, did many other times, with great preparation, invade his country; sometimes with purpose to win upon him, and sometimes to keep him from winning upon others. Upon a time the King led his troops over the foord of Dine; and when half his army had passed, the other half, by reason of the rising of the sea, was compelled to stay. The Duke, apprehending the advantage, came upon them with a furious charge, being now divided from the chief of the army; and either slew them, or took them prisoners, in the plain view of their King. After this they concluded a peace, whereof the conditions were, That the Duke should release such prisoners as he had taken; and that he should retain whatsoever he had won, or afterwards should win from the Earl of Anjou. And yet the King did again enterprise upon him, with greater forces than at any time before: but the Duke entertained his armies with so good order and valour, that the King gained nothing but loss and dishonour: and, the greater his desire was of victory and revenge, the more foul did his foils and failings appear; which so brake both his courage and heart, that, with grief thereof, as it was conceived, he ended his life. And thus, during all the time that he was only Duke of Normandy, he was never

* Tanti est exercitus quanti imperator. Flor. ii. cap. 18.

free from action of arms; in all his actions of arms, he was carried with a most rare and perpetual felicity.

As he grew in years, so did he in thickness and fatness of body; but so, as it made him neither unseemly, nor unserviceable for the wars; and never much exceeding the measure of a comely corpulency. He was most decent, and therewith terrible in arms. He was stately and majestic in his gesture; of a good stature, but in strength admirable; insomuch as no man was able to draw his bow, which he would bend sitting upon his horse, stretching out the string with his foot. His countenance was warlike and manly, as his friends might term it; but, as his enemies said, truculent and fierce. He would often swear, 'By God's resurrection, and his brightness;' which he commonly pronounced with so furious a face, that he struck a terror into those that were present. His head was bald; his beard always shaven; which fashion, being first taken up by him, was then followed by all the Normans. He was of a firm and strong constitution for his health; so as he never was attacked with sickness, but that which was the summons of his death; and in his age seemed little to feel the heavy weight and burden of years.

In his first age, he was of a mild and gentle disposition; courteous, bountiful, familiar in conversation, a professed enemy to all vices. But, as in fortune, as in years, so changed he in his behaviour*; partly by his continually following the wars, whereby he was much fleshed in blood, and partly by the inconstant nature of the people over whom he ruled; who, by often rebellions, did not only exasperate him to some severity, but even constrained to hold them in with a more stiff arm†. So he did wring from his subjects very much substance, very much blood; not for that he was by nature either covetous, or cruel, but for that his affairs could not otherwise be managed‡. His great affairs could not be managed without great expence, which drew a necessity of charge upon the people: neither could the often rebellions of his subjects be repressed, or restrained, by any mild and moderate means§. And generally, as, in all states and governments, severe discipline hath always been a true faithful mother of virtue and valour; so in particular of his Normans he learned by experience, and oftentimes declared this judgment: that, if they were held in a bridle, they were most valiant, and almost invincible; excelling all men both in courage, and in strength, and in honourable desire to vanquish their enemies. But, if their reins were laid loose upon their necks, they were apt to run into licentiousness and mischief; ready to consume either themselves by riot and sloth, or one another by sedition; prone to innovation and change; as heavily moved to undertake dangers, so not to be trusted upon occasion||.

* *Assidue dimicantibus difficile est morum custodire mensuram.* Cassiod. 1. Var. Epist. ix.

† *Regum clementia, non in ipsorum modo, sed in illorum quum parent ingenia sita est.* Cart. lib. viii.

‡ *Δὲ δὲ χρημάτων, ὃ ἀνὰ τὸν ὅδον ἐκ γυνέδας τῶν δούλων.* Opus sunt opes, & sine his nihil fiet quod opus. Demosth. Olynth. i.

§ *Crudelem medicum intemperans eger facit.* Publ.

|| *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.* Martialis.

He took to wife Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders; a man, for his wisdom, and power, both revered, and feared, even of kings; but, because she was his cousin-german, he was, for his marriage, excommunicated by his own uncle, Mauger, archbishop of Roan. Hereupon he sued to Pope Victor, and obtained of him a dispensation: and afterwards so wrought, that, by a provincial council, his uncle, Mauger, was deprived of his dignity. But, by this means, both he and his issue were firmly locked in obedience to the see of Rome; for that, upon the authority of that place, the validity of his marriage, and consequently the legitimation of his issue, seemed to depend.

When he was about fifty years of age, Edward, King of England, ended his life. This Edward was son to Ethelred, King of England, by Emma, sister to Richard, the second Duke of Normandy, who was grandfather to Duke William; so as King Edward and Duke William were cousins-german once removed.

At such time as Ethelred was first overcharged with wars by the Danes, he sent his wife Emma, with two sons which she had born unto him, Alfred and Edward, into Normandy, to her brother; where they were entertained with all honourable usage for many years. Afterward, giving place to the malice of his fortune, he passed also into Normandy, and left his whole state in the possession and power of Swanus, King of Denmark. But, after the death of Swanus, partly by the aid of the Normans, and partly by favour of his own people, he recovered his kingdom, and left the same to his eldest son, Edmund, who, either for the tough temper of his courage and strength, or for that he almost always lived in arms, was surnamed Ironsides.

Hereupon Canutus, the son of Swanus, made sharp war, first against Ethelred, then against Edmund; and finally, after many varieties of adventure, but chiefly by the favour of the clergy of England (because they had sworn allegiance to his father) spread the wings of his victory over the whole kingdom. He expelled out of the realm Edwin and Edward, the two sons of King Edmund, of whom Edwin married the King's daughter of Hungary, but died without issue; Edward was advanced to the marriage of Agatha, daughter to the Emperor Henry, and by her had issue two sons, Edmund and Edgar, and so many daughters, Margaret and Christine. The same Canutus took Emma to wife, who had been wife to King Ethelred; by whom he had a son, named Hardicanutus.

After the death of Canutus, Alfred, the son of Ethelred, came out of Normandy, and with fifty sail landed at Sandwich, with purpose to attempt the recovery of his father's kingdom. In which enterprise he received not only encouragement, but good assurance, from many of the English nobility. But by Earl Goodwin he was abused and taken, his company slain, his eyes put out, and then sent to the isle of Ely, where, in a short time, he ended his life. Edward also arrived at Hampton with forty ships; but, finding the country so far from receiving, as they were ready to resist him, he returned into Normandy, and attended the further favour of time. So after Canutus succeeded, in England, first Harold, surnamed Harefoot, bastard son

to Canutus; and after him Hardicanutus, son to Canutus, by Emma, mother also to King Edward.

Hardicanutus being dead, the nobility of the realm sent into Normandy for Edward to be their king; whereto also he was appointed, as some have written, by Hardicanutus. But, because Alfred his brother, upon the like invitation, had been traiterously taken and slain before, William, at that time Duke of Normandy, would not permit him to depart, until he had received, for pledges of his safety, Woolnoth, son to Earl Goodwin, and Hacon, son to Swain, Earl Goodwin's eldest son. Upon this assurance he was furnished by the duke, his cousin, with all means fit both for his enterprise and estate. And so he passed the seas, arrived in England, and with general joy was received for King. He took to wife, Edith, the daughter of Earl Goodwin; but, whether upon a vow of chastity, or whether upon impotency of nature, or whether upon hatred to her father, or whether upon suspicion against herself, for all these causes are alleged by several writers of those times, he forbore all private familiarity with her.

When he was well locked into the chair of state, Duke William came out of Normandy to see him, to shew his magnificence to the English people; to shew to the English, both that he loved their King, and that he was of power to relieve him, in case his necessities should so require. Here, besides honourable entertainment, besides many rich gifts, both to himself, and to his followers, the King having neither hope nor desire of issue, promised him, in regard of his great favours and deserts, that he should be his next successor in the kingdom. And, for further assurance thereof, sent him also the like message into Normandy, by Robert Archbishop of Canterbury.

After this, Harold, son to Earl Goodwin, passed the seas into Normandy, to deal for the discharge of his brother Woolnoth, and Hacon, his nephew, who had been delivered for hostages to the Duke*. In his passage he was much tossed with troublesome weather, and, in the end, was cast upon the coast of Ponthieu, and there taken by the Earl, and committed to prison†. But, at the request of the Duke of Normandy, Harold was released with honourable respect, and by the Earl himself accompanied to the Duke, who entertained him with great magnificence at Roan. The Duke was then going in arms against the Bretaggers; in which journey Harold did accompany him, and shewed himself a man, neither rash in undertaking, nor fearful in performing any services of the field. After a prosperous return, the Duke declared to Harold the promises of King Edward concerning the Duke's succession to this crown. Harold did avow the same to be true; and promised to afford thereto the best furtherance that he could. Hereupon the Duke assembled a council at Bonneville, where Harold did swear fidelity‡ unto him; and promised likewise, by oath, that,

* This voyage was much against the liking of King Edward, who, either by conjecture, as a good politician, or, as some will have it, by divination, foretold him, "That his journey would be fatal to himself, and unprosperous to the whole realm."

† According to the barbarous custom of those days on that coast, which made every stranger a prisoner, till he could be ransomed, that put, or were driven, into their ports.

‡ Acknowledging William, Duke of Normandy, to be the heir to the crown of England, after the death of Edward the Confessor.

after the death of King Edward, he would keep the realm of England to the use of the Duke; that he would deliver unto him the castle of Dover, and certain other pieces of defence, furnished at his own charge. Hereupon the Duke promised unto him his daughter in marriage, and with her half the realm of England in the name of her dower. He also delivered to him his nephew Hacon; but kept his brother, Woolnoth, as an hostage, for performance of that which Harold had sworn*.

In a short time after King Edward died, and Harold†, being general commander of the forces of the realm, seized upon the sovereignty, and, without any accustomed solemnities, set the crown upon his own head. The people were nothing curious to examine titles; but, as men broken with long bondage, did easily entertain the first pretender. And yet to Harold they were inclinable enough, as well upon opinion of his prowess, as for that he endeavoured to win their favour, partly by abating their grievous payments, and partly by increasing the wages of his servants and soldiers; generally by using justice with clemency and courtesy towards all‡. About this time a blasing star appeared, and continued the space of seven days; which is commonly taken to portend alteration in states§. Of this comet a certain poet, alluding to the baldness of the Norman, wrote these verses.

*Cæsariem, Cæsar, tibi si natura negavit,
Hanc, Willielme, tibi stella comata dedit.*

Duke William sent divers ambassadors to Harold; first§, to demand performance of his oath; afterwards to move him to some moderate agreement**. But ambition, a reasonless and restless humour, made him obstinate against all offers or inducements†† of peace. So both parties prepared to buckle in arms; equal both in courage and in ambitious desires, equal in confidence of their fortune; but Harold was the more adventurous, William the more advised man: Harold was more strong in soldiers, William in allies and friends.

Harold was seated in possession, which, in case of a kingdom, is oftentimes with facility attained, but retained hardly: William pretended the donation of King Edward‡‡, and that he was near unto him in blood by the mother's side.

* Fidelity, as in the last note.

† Being in possession of the military force of the nation, and relying on the favour of the people, to whom his martial conduct had rendered him very amiable; in which he was confirmed, not only by his noble birth, which was extracted from the first nobility, but strengthened by his marriage with Edgitha, the sister of the Earl of Chester, and Mercard, Governor of Northumberland.

‡ Simon Dunelm and Brompton tell us, that Harold lessened the taxes, and caused justice to be impartially administered: and from time to time insinuated, that he intended to resign the crown to Edgar Atheling, when of age; and, in the mean time, created him Earl of Oxford, and seemed, by his particular care of his education, to qualify him for regal authority. Again, some authors say, that he claimed the crown, on a donation of King Edward, and was crowned, the day after the King's death, by Aldred, Archbishop of York.

§ *Hecvani monitus, frustra que morantia Parcas
Prodigia. — Lucan.*

¶ On the tenth day after the death of King Edward.

** And finally, to declare war against him, if he would not agree upon his terms.

†† *Ut nemo docet fraudis & scelerum vias,
Regnum docebit. — Senec. Othycet.*

‡‡ First in France, which he alledged was afterwards confirmed by Edward in England, and by Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Goodwin, and Earl Siwarde.

Now, there wanted not precedents *, both ancient and of later times, that free kingdoms, and principalities, not settled by custom in succession of blood, have been transported, even to strangers, by way of gift. Attalus, King of Pergamus, did constitute the people of Rome his heir; by force whereof they made his kingdom a part of their empire. Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, made the people of Rome likewise his heir†; whereupon his kingdom was reduced to the form of a province. So Alexander, King of Egypt‡, gave Alexandria and the kingdom of Egypt; and so Ptolemy gave the kingdom of Cyrene to the same people of Rome||. Prasutagus, one of the Kings of Great-Britain, gave the kingdom of the Iceni to Cæsar Nero, and to his daughters§. Yea, in the imperial state of Rome, Augustus designed Tiberius to be his successor; and, by like appointment, Nero became successor to Claudius; Trajan to Nerva; Antoninus Pius to Adrian; and Antoninus the Philosopher to another Antoninus. When the Emperor Galba did openly appoint Piso for his successor, he declared¶ to the people, that the same custom had been observed by most approved and ancient princes. Jugurtha, being adopted by Micipsa, succeeded him in the kingdom of Numidia; and that by the judgment as well of Micipsa himself, as of the senate and people of Rome**.

The holy†† histories report, that Solomon gave twenty cities to Hiram King of Tyre; and, if the argument be good from the part to the whole, he might in like sort have disposed of all his kingdom. Who hath not heard of the donation falsely attributed to Constantine the Great, being in truth the donation of Lewis, surnamed the Pious; whereby he gave to pope Paschal the city of Rome, and a large territory adjoining unto it; the instrument of which gift Volaterrane doth recite‡‡? So the lady Matilda, daughter to Roger the most famous Prince of Sicily, and wife to King Conrade, son to Henry the Fourth, emperor, gave the Marquisate of Apulia to the Bishop of Rome|||; which when the Emperor Otho the Fourth refused to deliver, he was for that cause excommunicated by the Pope. In like sort the country of Dauphine was given by Prince Umbert to the King of France, upon condition that the eldest son of France should afterward be called Dauphin§§. Lastly, the duke's first ancestor, Rollo, received the Dukedom of Normandy, by donation of Charles King of France: and himself held the country of Maine by donation of Earl Herbert, as before it is shewed. And, by donation of the King of Britain, Hengist obtained Kent, the first kingdom of the English Saxons in Britain. After which time the country was never long time free from invasion: First, by the English and Saxons against the Britons, afterwards by the seven Saxon kingdoms among themselves, and then lastly by the Danes. By means whereof the kingdom at that time could not be settled in any certain form of succession by blood, as it hath been since; but was held for the most part in absolute dominion, and did often pass by transaction or gift; and he, whose sword could cut best, was always

* Flor. lib. ii. Eutr. lib. iv. Epit. Liv. lix.

† Cic. Agrar. Orat. ii.

‡ Tacit. An. xvii.

§ Geogr. 3.

|| Liv. lib. lxx.

** Salust. Bel. Jug.

||| Trithem. cap. 22.

+Eutrop. Epit. Liv. xelii.

‡ Tacit. lib. xiv.

†† 1 Reg. ix.

|| Theod. Nehem. lib. ii. cap. 25.

adjudged to have most right. But of this question more shall hereafter be said, in the beginning of the life of King William the Second.

Touching his propinquity in blood to King Edward by the mother's side, he enforced it to be a good title; because King Edward not long before had taken succession from Hardicanutus, to whom he was brother by the mother's side. And, although King Edward was also descended from the Saxon kings, yet could not he derive from them any right; for that Edgar and his sisters were then alive, descended from Edmund Ironsides, elder brother to King Edward. He could have no true right of succession, but only from Hardicanutus the Dane. So Pepin, when he was possessed of the state of France, did openly publish, that he was descended of the blood of Charles the Great, by the mother's side. And albeit the said Egbert was both nearer to King Edward than the Duke of Normandy, and also joined to him in blood by the father's side; yet was that no sufficient defence for Harold. The usurped possession of Harold could not be defended, by alledging a better title of a third person*. The injury, which he did to Edgar, could not serve him for a title against any other.

These grounds of his pretence, beautified with large amplifications of the benefits which he done to King Edward, he imparted to the Bishop of Rome; who at that time was reputed the arbitrator of controversies which did rise between princes. And the rather to procure his favour, and to gain the countenance of religion to his cause, he promised to hold the kingdom of England of the apostolick see. Hereupon Alenander, then Bishop of Rome, allowed his title, and sent unto him a white hallowed banner, to advance upon the prow of his ship; also an *Agnus Dei* of gold, and one of St. Peter's hairs, together with his blessing to begin the enterprise; cursing all those that should oppose against it.

But now concerning his further proceedings, concerning his victorious both entrance and continuance within the realm of England, two points are worthy to be considered; one how he, being a man of no great either power or dominion, did so suddenly prevail against a courageous king, possessed of a large and puissant state? The other is, how he so secured his victory, as not the English, not the Britons, not the Danes, not any other could dispossess, or much disturb him and his posterity, from enjoying the fair fruits thereof. And, if we give to either of these their true respects, we shall find his commendation to consist, not so much in the first, as in the second; because that was effected chiefly by force, this by wisdom only; which, as it is most proper to man, few men do therein excel. He, that winneth a state, surmounteth only outward difficulties; but he, that assureth the same, travellet as well against internal weakness, as external strength. To attain a kingdom is many times a gift of fortune; but to provide that it may a long time continue firm, is not only to oppose against human forces, but against the very malice of fortune, or rather

* Arg. l. creditor. & l. Claudius. D. qui pot. in pign. ha.

the power and wrath of time, whereby all things are naturally inclinable to change.

For the first then, besides the secret working and will of God, which is the cause of all causes; besides the sins of the people, for which, the prophet saith, "Kingdoms are transported from one nation to another:" King Edward not long before made a manifest way for this invasion and change. For, although he was English by birth, yet, by reason of his education in Normandy, he was altogether become a Norman, both in affection and in behaviour of life. So as, in imitation of him, the English abandoned the ancient usages of their country, and with great affection, or affectation rather, conformed themselves to the fashions of France*. His chief acquaintance and familiar friends were no other than Normans; towards whom, being a mild and soft-spirited prince, he was very bountiful, and almost immoderate in his favours. These he enriched with great possessions; these he honoured with the highest places, both of dignity and charge. Chiefly he advanced divers of them to the best degrees of dignity in the church, by whose favour Duke William was afterwards both animated and aided in his exploit. Generally, as the whole clergy of England conceived a hard opinion of Harold †; for that, upon the same day wherein King Edward was buried ‡, he set the crown upon his own head, without religious ceremonies, without any solemnities of coronation; so they durst not, for fear of the Pope's displeasure, but give either furtherance or forbearance to the duke's proceedings; and to abuse the credit which they had with the people, in working their submission to the Normans. Now, of what strength the clergy were at that time within the realm, by this which followeth it may appear.

After that Harold was slain, Edwin and Morcard, Earls of Northumberland|| and Marckland, brothers of great both authority and power within the realm, had induced many of the nobility to declare Edgar Atheling to be their king; but the prelates not only crossed that purpose, but delivered the next heir from the Saxon Kings, to the pleasure of the duke.

Again, when the duke, after his great victory at Hastings, advanced his army towards Hertfordshire; Frederick, abbot of St. Alban's, had caused the woods belonging to his church to be felled, and the trees to be cast so thick in the way, that the duke was compelled to coast about to the castle of Barkhamstead. To this place the abbot under sureties came unto him; and, being demanded wherefore he alone did offer that opposition against him, with a confident countenance, he returned answer: That he had done no more than in conscience, and by nature, he was bound to do; and that, if the residue of the clergy had borne the like mind, he should never have pierced the land so far. 'Well, answered the duke, I know that your clergy is powerful indeed; but, if I live and prosper in my affairs, I shall govern their greatness well enough §.' Assured, nothing does sooner work the

* *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.* *Æneid.*

† The Bishops, to a man, were all for him. ‡ Which was the day after his death.

|| Or rather of Chester.

§ Consequently the King soon after deprives the abbey of St. Alban's of all the lands and revenues which it then possessed between Barnet and London-Stone.

conversion or subversion of a state, than that any one sort of subject should grow so great, as to be able to over-rule all the rest.

Besides this disposition of the clergy, divers of the nobility also did nothing favour King Harold or his cause; for that he was a manifest usurper, naked of all true title to the crown, pretending only as born of the daughter of Hardicanutus the Dane. Yea, he was infamous for his injury and prejuring towards the duke, and no less hateful for his disloyalty in former times, in bearing arms with his father against King Edward. Hereupon the nobility of the realm were broken into factions*; many (of whom his own brother Tosto was chief) invited Harold King of Normandy to invade; with whom whilst Harold of England was encountering in arms, the residue drew in Duke William out of Normandy. And these also were divided in respects. Some were carried by particular ends, as being prepared in divers manners by the Norman before-hand; others upon a greedy, and for the most part deceivable, ambition, in hunting after hazard and change; others were led with love to their country, partly to avoid the tempest which they saw to gather in clouds against them, and partly to enlarge the realm, both in dominion and strength, by adjoining the country of Normandy unto it. In which regard, because the less doth always accrue to the greater, they thought it more advantageous to deal with a prince of an inferior state, than with a prince of a state superior or equal.

As for Edgar Atheling, the next successor to the crown in right of blood, he was not of sufficient age; of a simple wit, and slow courage; not gracious to the English, as well for his imperfections, both in years and nature, as for that he was altogether unacquainted with the customs and conditions of their country; unfurnished of forces and reputation, unfurnished of friends, unfurnished of all means to support his title. So Duke William, having better right than the one†, and more power than the other‡, did easily carry the prize from both||.

Now touching the state of his own strength, albeit Normandy was but little in regard of England, yet was it neither feeble nor poor. For the people, by reason of their continual exercise in arms, by reason of the weighty wars which they had managed, were well enabled both with courage and skill for all military achievements. Their valour also had been so favoured by their fortune, that they were more enriched by spoil, than drawn down, either with losses, or with charge. Hereupon, when preparation was to be made, for the enterprise of England, although some dissuaded the duke from embracing the attempt, affirming, that it was a vain thing to strain at that which the hand is not able to contain, to take more meat than the stomach can bear; that he, who catches at matters too great, is in danger to gripe nothing: yet others did not only encourage him by advice, but enable him by their aid. Among which William Fitz-Auber did furnish forty ships with men and ammunition; the Bishop of Bajaux

* Few being willing to become subjects to one, who for a long time had been their equal; so, as Tacitus observes, *Stimulat non raro priati odij pertimacia in publicum exitium.*
i. hist.

† Harold.

‡ Edgar Atheling.

|| In summa fortuna id æquius quod validius. Tacit. xv. Annal.

likewise forty; the Bishop of Mans thirty; and in like sort others, according to the proportion of their estates.

And yet he drew not his forces only out of Normandy, but received aid from all parts of France, answerable not only to his necessity, but almost to his desire. Philip, King of France, at that time was under age, and Baldwin Earl of Flanders, was governor of the realm; whose daughter the duke had taken to wife. By his favour, the duke received large supplies from the state of France, both in treasure, and in men of war; for countenance whereof, it was given forth, that the duke should hold the realm of England, as he did the duchy of Normandy, under homage to the crown of France. Hereupon, divers princes of France did adjoin to his aid; and especially the duke of Orleans, the Earls of Brittany, Anjou, Boulogne, Ponthieu, Nevers, Poictou, Hiesmes, Aumale, and the Lord of Tours. Many other of the nobility and gentlemen did voluntarily adventure both their bodies, and whole estates, upon the event of this enterprise. So greatly had he either by courtesy won the love, or by courage erected the hopes of all men, yea, of many who had been his greatest enemies. With these also the Emperor, Henry the Fourth, sent him certain troops of soldiers, commanded by a prince of Almaine. He received also many promises of favour from Swain, King of Denmark; and, who can assure (for the sequel maketh the conjecture probable) that he held not intelligence with Harold Harfager, King of Norway, to invade England with two armies at once? So, partly by his own subjects, and partly by supply from his allies and friends, he amassed a strong army, consisting chiefly of Normans, Flemings, French, and Bretagners, to the number of fifty-thousand men, and brought them to St. Valery's, before which town his ships did ride. Here he staid a certain time, attending the wind, as most writers do report; but rather, as it may be conjectured, to wait the arrival of Harold Harfager*, King of Norway; knowing right well, that the invasion of Harold of Norway, upon the North parts of the realm, would draw away Harold of England to leave the coasts towards the south undefended.

During his abode at St. Valery's, certain English spies were taken, whom King Harold had sent to discover both the purposes and power of the duke. When they were brought to his presence, with a brave confidence he said unto them:

“Your lord might well have spared this charge; he needed not to have cast away his cost to understand that by your industry and faith, which my own presence shall manifest unto him, more certainly, more shortly, than he doth expect. Go you your ways, go tell him from me, If he find me not, before the end of this year, in the place, where he supposeth that he may most safely set his foot, let him never fear danger from me, whilst he live.”

Many Normans disliked this open dealing of the duke, preferring to his judgment the valour and experience of King Harold, the greatness

* Which, by interpretation, is Fair Locks.

of his treasure, the number and goodness of his men, but especially his strong navy and expert sailors, accustomed both to the fights and dangers of the sea, more than any other people in the world*. To these the duke turned, and said :

“ I am glad to hear this opinion run, both of his prowess, and of his power; the greater shall our glory be in prevailing against him : But I see right well, that I have small cause to fear his discovery of our strength, when you, who are so near unto me, discern so little. Rest yourselves upon the justice of your cause, and foresight of your command†. Who hath less than he who can justly term nothing his own? I know more of his weakness, than ever he shall know of my strength, until he feel it. Perform you your parts like men‡, and he shall never be able to disappoint either my assurance, or your hopes.”

Now Harold, King of England, had prepared a fleet to resist the invasion of the Duke of Normandy; but, by reason of his long stay at St. Valery's, speeches did spread, whether by error, or subornation, yea, assured advertisement was sent out of Flanders§, that he had, for that year, abandoned his enterprise. In the mean time, Harold Harfager, King of Norway, than whom no man was esteemed more valiant, having assured both intelligence and aid out of England, arrived in the mouth of the Humber¶; and from thence, drawing up against the stream of the river Owse, he landed his forces at a place called Richball, where he marshalled his army, and marched forth into the country. When he came near unto York, he was encountered by the English, led by Edwin and Morchard, the principal commanders of all those quarters¶¶. The fight was furious; but, in the end, the English were overthrown, and, with a great slaughter, chased into York.

Upon advertisement hereof, Harold, King of England, carried all his forces against Harfager: His readiness was such, and such his expedition, that, the fifth day after the fight before mentioned, he gave him battle again**; wherein Harold Harfager was slain, and so was Tosto, the King of England's brother; Tosto by an uncertain enemy, but Harfager by the hand of Harold of England. Their army also was routed, and, with a bloody execution, pursued, so long as day and fury did last. Here a certain soldier of Norway was most famous, almost for a miracle of manhood: He had been appointed, with certain others, to guard the passage at Stamford-bridge. The residue, upon

* So early, you may observe, was the Naval Power of England renowned over all the world, and claimed justly the dominion of the seas; which yet it is able to maintain against all nations.

† *Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: quid facturus sis, cum paucissimis, vel potius ipse tecum.* Veget. lib. iii.

‡ *Parendo potius, quod imperia ducum sciscitando res militaris continetur.* Tacit. i. Hist.

§ From Earl Baldwin.

¶ With three-hundred Sail. Here also he was joined by Tosto, Earl of Northumberland and Brother to Harold; who, having been banished by Edward, had attached himself to the interest of William, Duke of Normandy.

¶¶ The field of battle is yet shewn to travellers by the citizens of York.

** Which continued from morning until noon, with equal courage and fortune on both sides.

approach of the English, forsook their charge: but he alone stepped to the foot of the bridge, and, with his battle-ax, sustained the shock of the whole army, slew above forty assailants, and defended both the passage and himself, until an English soldier went under the bridge, and, through a hole thereof, thrust him into the body with a lance.

If this victory of King Harold had been as wisely used, as it was valiantly won, he should have neglected the spoil, and returned with the like celerity, wherewith he came. But he gave discontentment to his soldiers, in abridging their expectation for free sharing the spoil; and, having lost many in that conflict, he retired to York, and there staid, as well to reform the state of the country, greatly disordered by means of these wars, as also both to refresh and repair his army.

In the mean time, the Duke of Normandy, receiving intelligence that the sea-coasts were left naked of defence, loosed from St. Valery's with three-hundred, or, as some writers report, eight-hundred and ninety-six, or, as one Norman writer affirms, with more than one-thousand sail; and, having a gentle gale, arrived at Pemsey in Sussex, upon the twenty-eighth of September. The ship, wherein the Duke was carried, is said (as if it had run for the garland of victory) to have outstripped the rest so far, that the sailors were forced to strike sail, and hull before the wind to have their company. When he first stepped upon the shore, one of his feet slipped a little. The Duke, to recover himself, stepped more strongly with the other foot, and sunk into the sand somewhat deep. One of his soldiers espying this, said merrily unto him: "You had almost fallen, my Lord; but you have well maintained your standing, and have now taken deep and firm footing in the soil of England: the presage is good, and hereupon I salute you King." The Duke laughed; and the soldiers, with whom superstition doth strongly work, were much confirmed in courage by the jest.

When he had landed his forces, he fortified a piece of ground with strong trenches, and discharged all his ships, leaving his soldiers no hope to save themselves, but only by victory. After this, he published the causes of his coming in arms, namely:

1. To challenge the kingdom of England, given to him by his cousin, King Edward, the last lawful possessor at that time thereof.
2. To revenge the death of his cousin Alfred, brother to the same King Edward, and of the Normans, who did accompany him into England, no less cruelly than deceitfully slain by Earl Goodwin, and his adherents.
3. To revenge the injury done unto Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, by the practice (as it was then given forth) of Harold, had been exiled, in the life-time of King Edward.

This last article was added, either to please the Pope, or generally in favour of the clergy; to whom the example grew then intolerable, that an archbishop should be once questioned by any other, than by themselves.

So the Duke, leaving his fortification furnished with competent forces to assure the place, as well for a retreat, as for daily landing of fresh supplies, marched forward to Hastings, and there raised another fortress, and planted likewise a garrison therein. And, in all places, he restrained his soldiery either from spoiling, or harming the country-people, for fear that, thereby, they would fall into disorder; but giving forth, that it were cruelty to spoil them, who in a short time should be his subjects. Here the Duke, because he would not either adventure, or trust his soldiers, went forth in person to discover the country, with fifteen horsemen in his company, and no more. His return was on foot, by reason of the evil-qualified ways; and, when Fitz-Osborne, who went with him, was over-wearied with the weight of his armour, the Duke eased him †, by bearing his helmet upon his shoulder. This action may seem of slender regard, but yet did gain him both favour and duty among his soldiers.

King Harold, hearing of these approaches, hasted by great journies towards London, sending his messengers to all places, both to encourage and intreat the people to draw together for their common defence. Here he mustered his soldiers; and, albeit he found that his forces were much impaired by his late battle against Harfager, yet he gathered an able army, countenanced and commanded by divers of the nobility, which resorted unto him from many parts of the realm. The Duke, in the mean time, sent a messenger unto him, who demanded the kingdom in so stout a manner, that he was at the point to have been evil-intreated by the King. Again, the King sent his messenger to the Duke, forbidding him, with lofty language, to make any stay within that country, but to return again no less speedily, than rashly he had entered. The Duke, between mirth and scorn, returned answer, "That, as he came not upon his intreaty, so at his command he would not depart. But (said he) I am not come to word with your King, I am come to fight, and am desirous to fight: I will be ready to fight with him, albeit I had but ten thousand such men, as I have brought sixty thousand."

King Harold spent little time, lost none (unless haply that which he might have taken more) both in appointing and ordering his army. And, when he was ready to take the field, his mother intreated him, first moderately, then with words of passion, and with tears, that he would not adventure his person to the battle. Her importunity was admired the more, for that it was both without any apparent cause, and not usual in former times. But Harold, with undaunted countenance and heart, conducted his army into Sussex, and incamped within seven miles of the Normans; who thereupon approached so near to the English, that the one army was within view of the other.

First, spies were sent on both sides, to discover the state and condition of their enemies. They, who were sent from the English, made a large report, both of the number, and appointment, and discipline

* Fury, or despair.

+ ——— Monstrat tolerare labores,
Non jubet. ——— Lucan. lib. ix.

of the Normans. Whereupon Girth, younger brother to King Harold, presented him with advice, not to play his whole state at a cast; not to be so carried with desire of victory, as not to wait the time to attain it; that it is proper to invaders presently to fight, because they are then in the very pride and flourish of their strength; but the assailed should rather delay battle, rather observe only and attend their enemies, cut off their relief, vex them with incommodities, weary them, and wear them out by degrees*: that it could not be long before the Duke's army, being in a strange country, would be reduced to necessities; it could not be long but, by reason it consisted of divers nations, it would draw into disorder; that it was proper to an army, compounded of different people, to be almost invincible at the first, whilst all contend to excel or, at least, to equal others in brave performance; but, if they be advisedly endured, they will easily fall into disorders, and lastly of themselves dissolve. 'Or if, said he, you resolve to fight, yet, because you are sworn to the Duke†, you shall do well to withdraw your presence, to employ your authority in mustering a new army, to be ready to receive him with fresh forces. And, if you please to commit the charge of this encounter unto me, I will not fail to express both the love of a brother, and the care and courage of a commander. For, as I am not obliged to the Duke by oath, so shall I either prevail with the better cause, or with the quieter conscience die."

Both these counsels were rejected by Harold: the first, out of a violent vehemency of these northern nations, who do commonly esteem delay of battle a dejected cowardice, a base and servile deflowering of time, but to bear through their designs, at once, they account a point of honourable courage‡. The second he esteemed both shameful to his reputation, and hurtful to the state of his affairs. For, what honour had he gained by his former victories, if, when he came to the greatest pinch of danger, he should fearfully shrink back§? With what heart should the soldiers fight, when they have not his presence for whom they fight; when they have not their general an eye-witness of their performance; when they want his sight, his encouragement, his example to inflame them to valour? The presence of the Prince is worth many thousands of ordinary soldiers: the ordinary soldier will undertake both labour and danger for no other respects so much, as by the presence of the Prince. And therefore he did greatly extenuate the worth of the Normans, terming them a company of priests; because their fashion was to shave their faces: but whatsoever they were, as he had (he said) digested in his mind the hardest events of battle; so either the infamy or suspicion of cowardice in no case he would incur. He resolved not to overlive so great dishonour; he resolved to set up, as his last rest, his crown, and kingdom; and life withal. And thus oftentimes fortune dealeth with men, as executioners do with

* Multa bella, impetu valida, per tædia & moras evanescere. Tacit. ii. Hist.

† This refers to the oath Harold had taken to the Duke of Normandy in King Edward's lifetime.

‡ Barbaris cunctatio servilis, statim exequi regium videtur. Tacit. vi. Annal.

§ Si status imperii in discrimine vertatur, debet in acie stare. Minora bella, minoribus ducibus, deleganda. Tacit. iv. Hist.

condemned persons; she will first blindfold, and then dispatch them*.

After this, the Norman sent a monk to offer the choice of these conditions to Harold; either to relinquish his kingdom upon certain conditions; or to hold it under homage to the Duke; or to try their cause by single combat; or to submit it to the judgment of the Pope, according to the laws of Normandy or of England, which he would. Again, some conditions were propounded from King Harold to the Duke: but their thoughts were so lifted up, both with pride and confidence, by reason of their former victories, that no moderate overture could take place; and so they appointed the day following, which was the fourteenth of October, to determine their quarrel by sentence of the sword. This happened to be the birth-day of King Harold, which, for that cause, by a superstitious error, he conjectured would be prosperous unto him.

The night before the battle for divers respects was unquiet. The English spent the time in feasting and drinking, and made the air ring with shoutings and songs; the Normans were more soberly silent, and busied themselves much in devotion†; being rather still than quiet, not so much watchful as not able to sleep. At the first appearance of the day, the King and the Duke were ready in arms, encouraging their soldiers, and ordering them, in their arrays; in whose eyes it seemed that courage did sparkle, and that in their face and gesture victory did dance. The Duke put certain relics about his neck, upon which King Harold had sworn unto him. It is reported that, when he armed, the back of his curasses was placed before, by the error of him that put it on; some would have been dismayed hereat, but the Duke smiled and said, 'Assuredly this day my fortune will turn, I shall either be a King, or nothing, before night.'

The English were knit in one main body on foot; whereof the first ranks consisted of Kentishmen (who, by an ancient custom, did challenge the honour of that place); the next were filled with Londoners; then followed the other English. Their chief weapons were pole-ax, sword, and dart, with large target for their defence. They were paled in front with pavises in such wise, that it was thought impossible for the enemy to break them. The King stood on foot by his standard, with two of his brothers, Girth and Leofwine; as well to relieve from thence all parts that should happen to be distressed, as also to manifest to the soldiers, that they retained no thought of escaping by flight. On the other side, the Normans were divided into three battles: the first was conducted by Roger Montgomery, and William Fitz-Osborne; it consisted of horsemen of Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, commanded by a Breton named Fergent; it carried the banner which the Pope had sent. The middle battle, consisting of soldiers out of Germany and Poictou, was led by Jeffery Martell, and a Prince of Almaine. The Duke himself closed the last battle, with the strength of his Normans, and the flower of his nobility‡. The archers were

* Occurrent animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem frangi non vult. Liv. Lib. v.

† Fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus, qui ante discrimen modestissimus. Tacit. 1. Hist.

‡ Ad victoriam plurimum confert, ut lectissimos de peditibus & equitibus habeat dux post actum in subsidiis preparatos. Veget. iii. cap. 17.

divided into wings, and also dispersed by bands through all the three battles.

Thus were both sides set upon a bloody bargain; ambition, hope, anger, hate, inflaming them to valour. The Duke edged his soldiers, by declaring unto them the noble acts of their ancestors*, the late admirable atchievement of their fellow Normans, in subduing the kingdom of Sicily; their own brave exploits under him; by shewing them all that pleasant and plentiful country, as the purchase of their prowess, as the gain and reward of their adventure†; by putting them in mind, that they were in a country both hostile and unknown, before them the sword, the vast ocean behind, no place of retreat, no surety but in valour and in victory; so that they, who would not contend for glory, were upon necessity to fight for their lives: lastly, by assuring them, that, as he was the first in advice, so would he be the foremost in adventure, being fully resolved either to vanquish, or to die. The King‡ encouraged his men, by presenting to their remembrance the miseries which they sustained, not long before, under the oppression of the Danes§; which whether they were again to endure, or never to fear, it lieth (said he) in the issue of this field. The King had the advantage both for number of men, and for their large able bodies. The Duke both in arms, especially in regard of the bow and arrows, and in experience and skill of arms; both equal in courage; both confident alike in the favour of fortune, which had always crowned their courage with victory. And,

Now, by fronting of both the armies, the plots and labours of many months were reduced to the hazard of a few hours. The Normans marched with a song of the valiant acts of Rowland, esteeming nothing of peril, in regard to the glory of their adventure. When they approached near their enemies§, they saluted them first with a storm of arrows; Robert Fitzbeaumont, a young gentleman of Normandy, beginning the fight from the right wing. This manner of fight, as it was new, so was it most terrible to the English, and they were least provided to avoid it. First, they opened their ranks, to make way for the arrows to fall; but, when that avoidance did nothing avail, they closed again, and covered themselves with their targets, joined together in manner of a pent-house; encouraging one another, to haste forward, to leap lustily to hand-strokes, and to scour their swords in the intrails of their enemies. Then the Duke commanded his horsemen to charge; but the English received them upon the points of their weapons, with so lively courage, in so firm and stiff order, that the overthrow of many of the foremost did teach their followers to adventure themselves with better advice. Hereupon they shifted into wings, and made way for the footmen to come forward. Then did

* The Norwegians and Danes, as well in England, as in France.

† *Eo impenditur labor & periculum, unde emolumentum & honos sepertur.* Liv. iv.

‡ Harold.

§ *Viz.* The spoil and ruin of their flourishing land and common government; the rifling of their private estates; the abusing of their wives and daughters; the destruction, or, what is worse, the oppression and slavery of all sorts of people.

¶ One named Taillefer advanced forward at the head of the army, and challenged any one of the English to a single combat, which being accepted, he slew the first and second; but was himself slain by the third assailant; upon which the Normans began the attack.

both armies join in a horrible shock, with pole-axes, and the prince of weapons, the sword: maintaining the fight with so manlike fury, as if it had been a battle of giants, rather than of men. And so they continued the greatest part of that day, in close and furious fight; blow for blow, wound for wound, death for death; their feet steady, their hands diligent, their eyes watchful, their hearts resolute; neither their advisement dazzled by fierceness, nor their fierceness any thing abated by advisement.

In the mean time the horsemen gave many sharp charges, but were always beaten back with disadvantage. The greatest annoyance came from the archers, whose shot showered among the English so thick, that they seemed to have the enemy in the midst of their army. Their armour was not sufficiently either compleat or of proof to defend them, but every hand, every finger's breadth, unarmed, was almost an assured place for a deep, and many times a deadly wound. Thus, whilst the front was maintained in good condition, many thousands were beaten down behind, whose death was not so grievous unto them, as the manner of their death, in the midst of their friends, without an enemy at hand, upon whom they might shew some valour, and work some revenge.

This manner of fight would soon have determined as well the hopes as the fears of both sides, had not the targets of the English been very serviceable unto them; had not K. Harold also, with a lively and constant resolution, performed the part not only of a skilful commander, by directing, encouraging, providing, relieving, but of a valiant soldier, by using his weapon, to the example of his soldiers. In places of greatest danger he was always present, repairing the decays, reforming the disorders, and encouraging his company, that in doing as men, whether they prevailed, or whether they perished, their labour was always gloriously employed. So they knit strongly together, and stood in close and thick array, as if they had been but one body; not only bearing the brunt of their enemies, but making such an impression upon their squadron that the great body began to shake. The Duke adventured in person so far, moved no less by his natural magnanimity, than by glory of the enterprise, that, besides his often alighting to fight on foot, two, or (as some report) three horses were slain under him. And having a body both able by nature, and by use hardened to endure travail, he exacted the greater service of his soldiers, commending the forward, blaming the slow, and crying out, according to his nature, with vehement gesture and voice unto all, that it was a shame for them, who had been victorious against all men with whom they dealt, to be so long held by the English in delay of victory. So, partly by his authority, and partly by his example, he retained his soldiers, and imposed upon them the fairest necessity of courage; whilst every man contended to win a good opinion of their Prince.

Then the fight entered into a new fit of heat; nothing less feared than death, the greatness of danger making both sides the more resolute; and they, who could not approach to strike with the hand, were heard to encourage their fellows by speech, to pursue the victory, to pursue their glory, not to turn to their own both destruction and disgrace. The clashing of armour, the justling of bodies, the resounding of blows, was

the fairest part of this bloody medley; but the grisliness of wounds, the hideous falls and groans of the dying, all the field defiled with dust, blood, broken armour, mangled bodies, represented terror in her foulest form. Never was fury better governed; never game of death better played. The more they fought, the better they fought; the more they smarted, the less they regarded smart.

At the last, when the Duke perceived that the English could not be broken by strength of arm, he gave direction that his men should retire and give ground; not loosely, not disorderly, as in a fearful and confused haste, but advisedly and for advantage; keeping the front of their squadron firm and close, without disbanding one foot in array. Nothing was more hurtful to the English, being of a frank and noble spirit, than that their violent inclination carried them too fast into hope of victory. For, feeling their enemies to yield under their hand, they did rashly follow those who were not hasty to fly; and, in the heat of their pursuit, upon a false conceit of victory, loosed and disordered their ranks, thinking then of nothing but of executing the chace. The Normans espying the advantage to be ripe, made a stiff stand, redoubled upon the English, and, pressing on with a fury equal to their favourable fortune, with a cruel butchery broke into them. This error could not possibly be repaired*. But it is scarce credible with what strength both of courage and hand the English, even in despite of death, sustained themselves in this disorder; drawing into small squadrons, and beating down their enemies on every hand, being resolved to sell their lives with their place.

But a mischief is no mischief, if it comes alone. Besides this disadvantage of dis-array, the shot of the Normans did continually beat upon the English with a grievous execution. Among others, King Harold, about the closing of the evening, as he was busy in sustaining his army, both with voice and hand, was struck with an arrow through the left eye into his brains, of which wound he presently died. His two brothers, Girth and Leofwine, were also slain, and also most of the nobility that were present; so long as the King stood; they stood stoutly, both with him and for him, and by him; his directions supported them; his brave behaviour breathed fresh boldness and life into them. But his death was a deadly stab to their courage; upon report of his death, they began to waver in resolution, whether to trust to the force of their arms, or to commend their safety to their good footmanship. In this uncertainty many were slain; many retired in reasonable order to a rising ground, whither they were closely followed by the Normans; but the English, having gotten advantage of the place, and drawing courage out of despair, with a bloody charge did drive them down. Count Eustachius, supposing fresh forces to be arrived, fled away with fifty soldiers in his company, and, meeting with the Duke, rounded him secretly in his ear, that, if he went any further, he was undone. Whilst he was thus speaking, he was struck between the shoulder with so violent a blow, that he fell down as dead, and voided much blood at his nose and mouth. In this conflict many of the noblest Normans were slain,

† Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πολέμῳ δις ἁμαρτανεῖν. Non licet in bello bis peccare. Plut. in Apoph.

which moved the Duke to make a strong ordered stand, giving liberty, thereby, for those English to retire. Others fled through a watery channel, the passages whereof were well known unto them; and, when the Normans did more sharply than advisedly pursue, the place being shadowed partly with sedges and reeds, and partly with the night, they were either stifled in the waters, or easily destroyed by the English, and that in so great numbers, that the place was filled up with dead bodies. The residue scattered in smaller companies, and had their flight favoured by increasing darkness; the enemy not adventuring to follow, both in a strange country, and in the night. Earl Edwin and Earl Morchard, brothers of approved both courage and faith, did great service at that time in collecting these dispersed troops, and leading them in some fashion to London.

Duke William, surprised with joy, gave publick charge for a solemn thanksgiving to God. Then he erected his pavilion in the midst of the field, among the thickest of those bodies whom death had made to lie quietly together. There he passed the residue of that night; and the next morning mustered his soldiers, buried those that were slain, and gave liberty to the English to do the like. The body of King Harold could not be known by his face, it was so deformed by death, and by his wound; by his armour and by certain marks upon his body it was known. As it lay upon the ground, a Norman soldier did strike it into the leg with his sword; for which unmanly action he was cased by the Duke with open disgrace. It was carried into the Duke's pavilion, and there kept under the custody of William Mallet. And, when his mother made suit for it to be buried, the Duke denied it at first, affirming, that burial was not fit for him, whose ambition was the cause of so many funerals. The mother, besides her lamentations and tears, offered for it, as one Norman writer affirms, the weight thereof in gold; but the Duke, with a manly compassion, gave it freely, as holding it dishonourable both to value the body of a King, and make sale of a slain enemy. So his body was buried by his mother, at Waltham-Cross, within the monastery which he had founded. Verily there was nothing to be blamed in him, but that his courage could not stoop to be lower than a King.

I have been the longer in describing this battle, for that I esteem it the most memorable and best executed that ever was fought within this land; as well for skilful direction, as for courageous performance; and also for the greatness of the event. The fight continued with very great both constancy and courage, and variety of fortune, from seven of the clock in the morning until night. Of the Normans were slain six thousand and more, besides those that were drowned and beaten down in the water. The slaughter of the English is uncertainly reported; but certainly it was far greater than that of the Normans. Certain also that their death was most honourable and fair, not any one basely abandoning the field; not any one yielding to be taken prisoner. And yet one circumstance more I hold fit to be observed, that this victory was gotten only by the means of the blow of an arrow*; the use

* *Al.* By the means of the bow and arrow, which the English were strangers unto; or else this expression refers to the wound given by an arrow, of which King Harold died.

whereof was by the Normans first brought into this land. Afterwards, the English, being trained to that fight, did thereby chiefly maintain themselves with honourable advantage, against all nations with whom they did contend in arms, being generally reputed the best shot in the world.

But of late years it hath been altogether laid aside, and, instead thereof, the harquebuz and calliver are brought into use; yet not without contradiction of many expert men of arms; who, albeit they do not reject the use of these small pieces, yet do they prefer the bow before them. First, for that, in a reasonable distance, it is of greater both certainty and force. Secondly, for that it dischargeth faster. Thirdly, for that more men may discharge therewith at once; for only the first rank dischargeth the piece, neither hurt they any but those that are in front; but with the bow, ten or twelve ranks may discharge together, and will annoy so many ranks of the enemies. Lastly, for that the arrow doth strike more parts of the body; for in that it hurteth by descent (and not only point-blank like the bullet) there is no part of the body but it may strike; from the crown of the head even to the nailing of the foot to the ground. Hereupon it followeth, that the arrows falling so thick as hail upon the bodies of men, as less fearful of their flesh, so more slenderly armed than in former times, must necessarily work most dangerous effects.

Besides these general respects, in many particular services and times, the use of the bow is of greatest advantage. If some defence lie before the enemy, the arrow may strike where the bullet cannot. Foul weather may much hinder the discharge of the piece, but it is no great impediment to the shot of the bow. A horse, struck with a bullet, if the wound be not mortal, may perform good service; but, if an arrow be fastened in his flesh, the continual stirring thereof, occasioned by the motion of himself, will force him to cast off all command, and either bear down or disorder those that are near.

But the crack of the piece, some men say, doth strike a terror into the enemy. True, if they be such as never heard the like noise before. But a little use will extinguish these terrors. To men, yea to beasts acquainted with these cracks, they work a weak impression of fear. And if be true, which all men of action do hold, that the eye in all battles is first overcome*, then, against men equally accustomed to both, the sight of the arrow is more available to victory than the crack of the piece. Assuredly, the Duke, before the battle, encouraged his men, for that they should deal with enemies who had no shot. But I will leave this point to be determined by more discerning judgments, and haply by further experience in these affairs, and return again to my principal purpose.

The next day after the victory, the Duke returned to Hastings, about seven miles from the place of the encounter, partly to refresh his army, and partly to settle in advice and order, for his further prosecution. First, he dispatched messengers to signify his success to his friends abroad. To the Pope he sent King Harold's standard, which

* *Primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.* Tacit. De Mor. Germ.

represented a man fighting, wrought curiously with gold and precious stones. Afterwards, placing a strong garison at Hastings; he conducted his army towards London, not the direct way, but coasted about through Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire; the ways where he passed being as free from resistance, as his thoughts were from change. At Wallingford he passed over the Thames, and then marched forward through Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire, until he came to the Castle at Berkhamstead. In this passage many of his soldiers languished and died of the flux. And whether it were upon licentiousness after the late victory, or whether for want of necessary provision, or whether to strike a terror into the English, or whether to leave no danger at his back, he permitted the sword to range at large, to harass freely, to defile many places with ruin and blood.

In the mean time the English lords assembled at London, to advise upon their common affairs; but the variety of opinions was the chief impediment to the present service; the danger being more important than the council resolute, or the confidence assured*. The nobility inclined to declare Edgar, grandchild to Edmund Ironsides, to be their King; and with these the Londoners wholly went. But those of the clergy were of opinion (some upon particular respects, all upon fear to displease the Pope) to yield to the storm and stream of the present time, to yield to the mighty arm of God; that, their forces being prostrated, their hopes feeble and forlorn, they must be content not to be constrained; they must not provoke the victor too far: against whose forces and felicities, time gave them not power to oppose. This deliberation held so long, that all the time of action was spent. For the Duke approached so near the city, that many, preferring their safety before other respects, withdrew themselves and went unto him. Hereupon the residue dissolved, and Alfred †, Archbishop of York, Wolstane, Bishop of Worcester, Wilfre, Bishop of Hereford, and many other prelates of the realm went unto the Duke at Berkhamstead, accompanied with Edgar, Earl Edwin, Earl Morchard, and divers others of the nobility; who gave pledges for their allegiance, and were thereupon received to subjection and favour. The Duke, presently dispatched to London, was received with many declarations of joy, the lesser in heart, the fairer in appearance, and upon Christmas Day next following was crowned King ‡

Now the means, whereby this victory was assured, were the very same whereby it was atchieved||; even by a stiff and rigorous hand. For whosoever supposeth that a state, attained by force, can be retained by milder means, he shall find himself disappointed of his hopes. A people, newly subdued by force, will so long remain in obedience, as they find themselves not of force to resist.

And first he endcavoured either to prevent or appease all foreign wars §,

* Timet, atque eum deficere omnia videntur, qui in ipso negotio consilium capere cogitur. Cas. Com. Lib. vi.

† Al. Aldred.

‡ By Aldred, Archbishop of York, Stigaad, Archbishop of Canterbury, refusing to perform the ceremony.

§ Imperium iis artibus facillime retinetur quibus partum est. Sal. Catil.

¶ Novis ex rebus aucti, tuta & presentia, quod vetera & periculosa malant. Tacit. l. Ana.

especially against the Danes, who were then chiefly feared in England, as well in regard of their former victories, as for that they pretended title to the crown. And herein two things did especially favour his affairs: One, for that the Normans were in some sort allied to the Danes; being the progeny of those Norwegians and Danes, which under the conduct and fortune of Rollo, invaded France, and, after many great achievements, seated in Normandy. The other was, for that, after the death of Canutus, the state of Denmark was much infeebled by division. For the Norwegians set up Magnus, the son of Olaus, for their King; but the Danes acknowledged Canutus, the third of that name; by means whereof that puissant empire did languish in consumption of itself, and could not be dangerous to any neighbour country. Yet ceased they not, for many years, to continue claim to the crown of England; but King William had purchased many sure and secret friends in that diseased state, wherein all publick affairs were set to sale; especially he used the authority of Adelbert, Archbishop of Hamburg, either to cross all counsel of hostility against him, or else to delay, and thereby to delude the enterprise, or, lastly, so to manage the action, that it should not work any dangerous effect.

After the death of Swain, Canutus prepared a navy of one thousand sail for invasion of England; and was aided with six hundred more, by Robert le Frizon, whose daughter he had taken to wife. But either for want, or else by negligence, or haply of purpose, this navy continued, partly in preparation, and partly in readiness, the space of two years, and then the voyage was laid aside. The cause was attributed to contrariety of winds, but the contrariety of wills was the truest impediment. Likewise Swain had furnished against England a navy of two hundred and four sail, commanded by Earl Osborne, his brother. Another fleet of two hundred sail was set forth, under the charge of Earl Hacon; but King William so corrupted them both, that the one departed out of the realm without performing any great exploit, the other never would arrive.

Also, out of those confusions in England, Malcolm, King of Scots, did take his opportunity for action. He received into protection many English, who, either for fear or for discontentment, forsook their country; of whom many families in Scotland are descended, and namely these, Lindsey, Vaus, Ramsey, Lovell, Towbris, Sandlands, Bissart, Sowlis, Wardlow, Maxwell, and divers others. He entertained in his court Edgar Atheling, and took his sister Margaret to wife. He possessed himself of a great part of Cumberland, and of Northumberland*; wherewith the people were well content, for that he was their Earl's sister's son.

Hereupon King William sent against him, first, Roger, a Norman, who was traiterously slain by his own soldiers; then Gospatrick, Earl of Gloucester: These did only repress the enemy, but were not

* He invaded all the country as far as Tisidale, which he foraged with the places adjoining; destroyed Holderness, wasted the lands of Cuthbert and Durham, fired the church of St. Peter at Weremouth, and divers others, and destroyed those that had taken sanctuary in them; and having perpetrated the grossest sacrileges and cruelties by robbing the churches, and putting the old men and young children to the sword, he returned with the most able-bodied and well-favoured both men and women to be made captives.

able to finish the war fully. Lastly, he went himself with a mighty army into Scotland, where he made wide waste; and, in Lothian, found King Malcolm, prepared both in force, and resolution, to entertain him with battle. The great army of King William, their fair furniture and order, their sudden coming, but especially their firm countenance and readiness to fight, much daunted the Scots: Whereupon King Malcolm sent a herald to King William, to move him to some agreement of peace. The more that the King was pleased herewith, the more he seemed unwilling and strange: The more he must be persuaded to that, which, if it had not been offered, he would have desired. At the last, a peace was concluded*, upon conditions honourable to King William, and not unreasonable for the King of Scots; whereby all the English were pardoned, who had fled into Scotland, and borne arms against their King.

As for the Welch, albeit both their courage and their power had been extremely broken in the time of King Edward, and that by the valour and industry of Harold; yet, upon advantage of these troubled times, they made some incursions into the borders of England; but in companies so disordered, and small, so secretly assailing, so suddenly retiring, so desirous more of pillage than of blood, that they seemed more like to ordinary robbers, than to enemies in a field. Against these the King led an army into Wales, reduced the people both to subjection and quiet, made all the principal men tributary unto him, and received pledges of all, for assurance of their obedience and faith.

Whilst the King thus settled his affairs abroad, he secured himself against his subjects, not by altering their will, but by taking away their power to rebel†. The stoutest of the nobility and gentlemen were spent, either by war, or by banishment, or by voluntary avoidance out of the realm. All these he stripped of their estates, and in place of them advanced his Normans; insomuch as scarce any noble family of the English blood did bear either office or authority within the realm. And these ran headlong to servitude; the more hasty, and with the fairer shew, the more either countenanced or safe. These he did assure unto him, not only by oath of fidelity and homage, but either by pledges, or else by retaining them always by his side.

And, because at that time the clergy were the principal strings of the English strength, he permitted not any of the English nation to be advanced to the dignities of the church, but furnished them with Normans, and other strangers. And whereas, in times before, the bishop and alderman‡ were absolute judges in every shire, and the bishop, in many causes, shared in forfeitures and penalties with the King; he clipped the wings of their temporal power, and confined

* Melior certa pax, quam operata victoria. Liv. xxx.

† Quos viceris cave amicos tibi credas. Curt. lib. vii.

‡ This title, Alderman, is of a Saxon extraction, and, in its first use, stood for the peers of the land, that were not princes, sons of the King, or foremost in the royal line. As for those aldermen, or more properly, according to its original, Ealdermen, which were ranked with Bishops in the Saxon laws, as here mentioned, they were such as had counties, or other territories, under their government, and had the same power and jurisdiction as the Earl had afterwards, which was the same charge and care of counties, as at this time is committed to High Sheriffs, or, as we find it spelt in King Athelstan's Saxon laws, High-gereves.

them within the limits of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to maintain the canons and customs of the church, to deal in affairs concerning the soul. He procured Stigand*, Archbishop of Canterbury, Angelwine, Bishop of East-Angles, and certain other bishops and abbots, to be deprived by authority from Rome†, and detained them in prison during their lives, that strangers might enjoy their places. The matters objected || against Stigand were these :

I. "That he had intruded upon the archbishoprick, whilst Robert the archbishop was in life.

II. "That he received his pall from Benedict the Fifth, who, for buying the papacy, had been deposed.

III. "That he kept the see of Winchester in his hands, after his investiture into the see of Canterbury."

He was otherwise also infamous in life; altogether unlearned, of heavy judgment and understanding, sottishly serviceable both to pleasure and sloth; in covetousness, beneath the baseness of rusticity; insomuch as he would often swear, that he had not one penny upon the earth, and yet, by a key, which he did wear about his neck, great treasures of his were found under the ground. And this was a grief and sickness to honest minds, that such spurious and impure creatures should sustain, or rather destain, the reverence and majesty of religion.

Further, the King caused all the monasteries and abbeys to be searched, pretending, that the richer sort of the English had laid up their money in them: Under colour whereof, he discovered the state of all, and bereaved many of their own treasure. Some of these religious houses he appropriated wholly to himself; of divers others he seized the liberties, which they redeemed afterward at a very high and expensive rate. Those bishopricks and abbeys which held baronies, and had been free before from secular subjection, he reduced under the charge of his service, appointing how many soldiers, and of what sort, they should furnish for him, and his successors, in the time of their wars. Those strangers, which he entertained in pay, he dispersed into religious houses, and some also among the nobility, to be maintained at their charge; whereby he not only favoured his own purse, but had them as a watch, and sometimes as a garison over those, of whose allegiance he stood in doubt.

Now, against the inferior sort of people, knowing right well that he was generally hated, he prepared these remedies for his estate: All their armour was taken from them, they were crushed down with change of calamity, which held them prostrate under the yoke, and brake the very heart of their courage, leaving them no hope to be relieved, no hope to rise into any degree of liberty, but by yielding intire obedience unto him. Those, who either resisted or favoured not

* Whom he ever hated for refusing to set the English crown upon his head.

† In a provincial council held at Winchester, in the presence of two Cardinals.

‡ Publicly.

his first entrance, he bereaved of all means afterward to offend him holding them down, and keeping them so low, that their very impotency made him secure. All such as had their hand in any rebellion, albeit they were pardoned their lives, lost their livings, and became vassals to those lords to whom their possessions were given. And, if they attained any thing afterward, they held it only at the pleasure of their lords; that at the pleasure of their lords they might be dispoiled*.

He much condemned the judgment of Swanus the Dane, sometime King of England, who permitted those whom he had vanquished, to retain their former authority and estates; whereby it happened, that, after his death, the inhabitants were of force to expel the strangers, and to quit themselves both from their society and subjection. Hereupon many severe laws were made; divers of all sorts were put to death, banished, stripped of their wealth, disabled in their bodies by unusual variety of punishments, as, putting out the eyes, cutting off the hands, and such like: Not only to diminish his fears, if they were suspected; but sometimes, if they were of wealth, to satisfy therewith either his pleasure or wants. His cruelty made the people rebellious, and their rebellions made him the more cruel; in which case, many innocents were made the oblations of his ambitious fears. Many heavy taxations were imposed upon them; their ancient lords were removed, their ancient laws and policies of state were dashed to dust; all lay couched under the conqueror's sword, to be newly fashioned by him, as should be best fitting for his advantage.

He erected castles in divers parts of the realm, of which the Tower, near London, was the chief, which afterward was increased, both in compass, and in strength, by addition of the outward walls. In these he planted garisons of the Normans, as if it had been in a hostile country; not without oppression to the people, although they remained quiet, and sufficient to suppress them, if they should rebel. Thus he secured the realm against a general defection; as for particular stir, they might haply molest him, but endanger him they could not. Exeter, Northumberland, and some other parts did rise against him in arms; but, being unable to maintain their revolt, their overthrow did much confirm his state.

He either imitated, or concurred with Cæsar in advice: For, as Cæsar invaded the Germans, which kept the great forest of Ardenne, not with his own soldiers, but with his aids out of Gallia; gaining thereby victory over the one, and security from the other, without any dispende of the Roman blood: so after the King's great victory over the valiant, but too adventurous, King Harold, when many of the English fled into Ireland, and from thence with fresh, both courage and supplies, returned into England, commanded by two of Harold's sons; he encountered them only with English forces. In the first conflict the King's party was overthrown, and the valiant leader Edmothus slain,

* He also seized the charters and privileges of cities, and towns corporate, and of the politick bodies throughout the land, and never restored them, without a large sum of money; by which means he got the greatest part of the nation's wealth into his own power, and so impoverished them all, that he had nothing to fear from them; so that, when it was told him at any time, That the oppressed people spoke evil of him, his usual reply was, It is well they can do me no evil.

who had been master of the horse to King Harold. In the second his enemies were so defeated, as they were never able to make head again. So, the victors being weakened, and the vanquished wasted, the King with pleasure triumphed over both. Likewise, when he was occasioned to pass the seas into Normandy, either to establish affairs of government, or to repress rebellions, which in his absence were many times raised, he drew his forces out of England, and that in a more large proportion, than the importance of the service did require. He also took with him the chief men of English blood, as well to use their advice and aid, as also to hold them and their friends from working innovation in his absence.

He inclosed the great forest near unto the sea in Hampshire, for which he dispeopled villages and towns*, about the space of thirty miles, to make a desert for beasts of chase; in which place two of his sons†, Richard and William, ended their lives; Richard, by a fall from his horse, and William, by the stroke of an arrow. The King's great delight in hunting was made the pretence of this forest; but the true end was rather, to make a free place of footing for his Normans, and other friends out of France, in case any great revolt should be made. Divers other parts of the realm were so wasted with his wars, that, for want both of husbandry and habitation, a great dearth did ensue, whereby many were forced to eat horses, dogs, cats, rats, and other loathsome and vile vermin; yea, some abstained not from the flesh of men. This famine and desolation did especially rage in the north parts of the realm; for the inhabitants beyond Humber, fearing the King's secret hate, so much the more deep and deadly, because unjust, received without resistance, and perhaps drew in the army of the King of Swedeland, with whom Edgar Atheling, and the other English that fled into Scotland, joined their power. The Normans within York fired the suburbs, because it should not be a lodging for their enemies: But the strength of the wind carried the flame into the city, which consumed a great part thereof, with the minster of St. Peter, and therein a fair library. And herein, whilst the Normans were partly busied, and partly amazed, the enemies entered, and slew in York, in Duresme‡, and thereabout, three thousand Normans, among whom were many of eminent dignity, as well for birth, as for place of their charge. But in a short time the King came upon them, and having, partly by arms, and partly by gifts, dispatched the strangers§, exercised upon the English an ancient and assured experience of war, to repress with main force a rebellion in a state newly subdued; insomuch as all the land between Duresme and York, except only the territory of Sir John of Beverlace||, lay waste for the space of nine years, without inhabitants to manure the ground.

* He, in this exploit, demolished thirty-six towns.

† As also his grandson, Richard, the son of Robert, who, being in full chase, was struck in the jaws, by a bough, upon which he hung, till he expired. See Malmshur. p. 111. See Duncelm p. 225.

‡ At. Durham.

§ Vis. the army of the King of Swedeland.

|| At. Beverley. And this happened more through superstition, than any devotion for God, or his saints; for, one of his horsemen riding full speed into the lands belonging to Beverley, the horse fell, and broke his neck, and the man's face became so convulsed, as to turn behind him; Which the King esteemed a bad omen, and so desisted from his intended violence on that place. ib.

residue of the realm would in a short time overflow these particular places. So, pledges being given on both sides, they conducted him to Rochester, and yielded the county of Kent and the castle of Dover into his power.

In former times many farms and manors were given by bare word, without writing, only with the sword of the lord, or his head-piece; with a horn or standing goblet, and many tenements with a quill, with a horse-comb, with a bow, with an arrow; but this sincere simplicity at that time was changed. And whereas charters and deeds were before made firm by the subscription of the party, with crosses of gold, or of some other colour; then they were firm by the parties special seal, set upon wax, under the teste of three or four witnesses.

He ordained also his council of state, his chancery, his exchequer, his courts of justice, which always removed with his court. These places he furnished with officers, and assigned four terms in the year for determinining controversies among the people*; whereas before all suits were summarily heard and determined in the Gemote, or monthly convention in every hundred, without either formalities or delay.

He caused the whole realm to be described in a censual roll, so as there was not one hide of land, but both the yearly rent and the owner thereof were therein set down; how many plough-lands, what pastures, fens, or marshes; what woods, parks, farms, and tenements were in every shire; and what every one was worth. Also how many villains† every man had, what beasts or cattle, what fees; what other goods, what rent or commodity his possessions did yield‡. This book was called The Roll of Winton, because it was kept in the city of Winchester. By the English it was called Domesday Book, either by reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly instead of Domus Dei Book; for that it was laid in the church of Winchester, in a place called Domus Dei. According to this roll taxations were imposed; sometimes two shillings, and sometimes six shilling upon every hide of land (a hide containing twenty acres) beside ordinary provisions for his house.

In all those lands, which he gave to any man, he reserved 'dominion in chief' to himself; for acknowledgment whereof a yearly rent was paid unto him, and likewise a fine, whensoever the tenant did alien or die. These were bound as clients unto him, by oath of fidelity and homage; and if any died, his heir being in minority, the King received the profits of the land, and had the custody and disposing of the heir's body, until his age of one and twenty years.

It is reported of Caligula||, that, when he intended to make advantage of his penal edicts, he caused them to be written in so small letters, and the tables of them to be fastened so high, that it was almost impossible for any man to read them. So the King caused part

* See Madox's History of the Exchequer.

† Farms.

‡ And tho' the counties of Durham, Lancaster, Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland, were not contained in this survey; yet it appears that the remaining part of England, without Cornwall, was divided into thirty four parishes, containing 50000 towns or villages; 45002 parish churches; 76000 knights fees, whereof 28015 were of religious order. See Polyconicon.

|| Tranquil. in. Calig.

of those laws, that he established, to be written in the Norman language, which was a barbarous and broken French, not well understood of the natural French, and not at all of the vulgar English. The residue were not written at all, but left almost arbitrary, to be determined by reason and discretion at large. Hereupon it followed, partly through ignorance of the people, and partly through the malice of some officers of justice, who many times are instruments of secret and particular ends; that many were extremely intangled, many endangered, many rather made away, than justly executed.

But here it may be questioned, seeing these laws were laid upon the English, as fetters about their feet, as a ponderous yoke upon their neck, to depress and detain them in sure subjection: How it falleth out, that afterwards they became not only tolerable, but acceptable and well esteemed.

Assuredly, these laws were exceeding harsh and heavy to the English at the first: and therefore King William Rufus, and Henry the First, at such time as Robert their eldest brother came in arms against them to challenge the crown, being desirous to win the favour of the people, did fill them with fair promises, to abrogate the laws of King William their father, and to restore to them the laws of King Edward. The like was done by King Stephen, and by King Henry the second; whilst, both contending to draw the state to himself, they did most graciously tear it in pieces. The like by others of the first kings of the Norman race, whensoever they were willing to give contentment to the people; who desired no other reward for all their adventures and labours, for all their blood spent in the service of their kings, but to have the laws of King Edward restored. At the last, the nobility of the realm, with great dispencc, but of their estates and blood, purchased a charter of liberty*. First, from King John, which was soon revoked, as violently forced from him; afterwards from King Henry the Third, which remained in force†. And thereby the sharp severity of these laws was much abated.

In that afterward they became, not only tolerable, but easy and sweet, and happily not fit to be changed; it is by force of long grounded custom, whereby those usages, which our ancestors have observed for many ages, do never seem either grievous or odious to be endured. So Nicetas writing of certain Christians, who, by long conversing with the Turks, had defiled themselves with Turkish fashions. 'Custom,' saith he, 'winneth such strength by time, that it is more firm than either nature or religion‡.' Hereupon Dio. Chrysostom|| compareth customs to a King, and edicts to a tyrant; because we are subject voluntarily to the one, but upon constraint, and upon necessity, to the other. 'It is manifest' saith, Agathias, 'that, under whatsoever law the people hath lived, they do esteeme the same most

* Which is that commonly known by the name of Magna Charta, and on which we to this day pretend to found our liberty and property.

† And, to make the same more effectual, this great charter raised, on this basis, is by act of parliament in Edward the Ist's time, commanded to be allowed by the justices in their judgments and resolutions, as the common law of England.

‡ Nicet pag. 19. *ὅτι ἡ φύσις ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ὁρμητικῶς ἐκτρέφεται.*

|| Chrys. Orat. 76. *ἡ φύσις ὡς βασιλεὺς. Σοὺδ. dict. idem.*

excellent and divine*.' Herodotus reporteth, that Darius the son of Hydaspes, having under his dominion certain Grecians of Asia, who accustomed to burn their dead parents and friends, and certain nations of India, who used to eat them, called the Grecians before him; and told him that it was his pleasure, that they should conform themselves to the custom of the Indians, in eating their deceased friends. But they applied all means of intreaty and persuasion, that they might not be forced to such a barbarous, or rather brutish observation. Then he sent for the Indians, and moved them to conformity with the Grecians, but found that they did far more abhor to burn their dead, than the Grecians did to eat them.

Now these severities of the King were much aggravated by the English, and esteemed not far short of cruelties. Notwithstanding he tempered it with many admirable actions both of justice and of clemency and mercy †, for which he is much extolled by the Norman writers‡. He gave great privileges to many places; and, the better to give the people contentment, and to hold them quiet, he oftentimes renewed the oath, which first he took at his coronation; namely, 'to defend the holy church of God, the pastors thereof, and the people subject to him justly to govern, to ordain good laws, and observe true justice, and, to the uttermost of his power, to withstand all rapines and false judgments.' Such of the nobility, as had been taken in rebellion, were only committed to prison; from which they were released in time; such, as yielded and submitted themselves, were freely pardoned, and oftentimes received to favour, trust, and employment ||.

Edric §, the first that rebelled after he was king, he held near and assured unto him. Gospatric, who had been a stirrer of great commotions, he made Earl of Gloucester, and employed him against Malcolm King of Scots. Eustace Earl of Boulogne, who upon occasion of the King's first absence in Normandy attempted to surprize the castle of Dover, he embraced afterward with great shew of love and respect. Waltheof son to Earl Siward, who, in defending the city of York against him, had slain many Normans, as they essayed to enter a breach, he joined in marriage to his niece Judith Edgar, who was the ground and hope of all conspiracies; who, after his first submission to the King, fled into Scotland, and maintained open hostility against him; who pretended title to the crown, as next heir to the Saxon kings: he not only received to favour, but honoured with fair entertainments. He furnished him to the war of Palestine, where he

* Agath. lib. ii. *ἔδωκεν μὲν οὖν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδὼν ὡς ἑκαστος αἶψα σφάλλον νόμον ἐν ὧν αἱ ἐπιχειροῦσι ἐμβολύσασιν, τῶν δὲ ἔργων ἡδύται καὶ θρασυτέραι.*

† *Temperatus enim timor est qui cohibet, assiduus & acer ad vindictam excitat. Senec. i. de Clem.*

‡ He published the laws of Edward the Confessor, as such; and confirms them to be the laws of England, and commands them to be kept under severe penalties, himself at the same time taking an oath to keep inviolable those good and approved ancient laws of the realm, enacted and set forth by the holy and pious Kings of England, his ancestors, and especially by King Edward. See the preface by John Fortescue Almon, to Sir John Fortescue Treatise of Monarchy, Page 96.

§ *Nihil gloriosius est principe impune imo. Senec. i. de Clem.*

§ Surnamed Gytricsa, a man of great spirit and power, and had done him much harm by joining with Blethyn and Rywallon Kings of Wales, who made an incursion into Herefordshire.

attained an honourable estimation with the emperors of Almaine* and of Greece. After his return he was allowed twenty shillings a day by way of pension, and large livings in the country besides, where he mellowed to old age in pleasure and vacancy of affairs; preferring safe subjection, before ambitious rule, accompanied both with danger and disquiet.

Thus was no man more mild to a relenting and vanquished enemy; as far from cruelty, as he was from cowardice, the height of his spirit overlooking all casual, all doubtful and uncertain dangers. Other great offenders he punished commonly by exile or imprisonment, seldom by death †. Only among the English nobility, Waltheof Earl of Northampton, Northumberland, and Huntingdon ‡, was put to death, for that, after twice breaking allegiance, he conspired the third time, with divers both English and Normans, to receive the Danes into England, whilst the King was absent in Normandy. And for the same conspiracy Ralph Fitz-aubert, a Norman, was also executed, who had furnished forty ships for the King in his voyage for England; for which, and for his other services in that war, he was afterward created Earl of Hereford. But present injuries do always overbalance benefits that are past.

He much delighted in hunting and in feasting. For the first he inclosed many forests and parks, and filled them with deer; which he so dearly loved, that he ordained great penalties for such as should kill those or any other beasts of game. For the second he made many sumptuous feasts, especially upon the high festival days in the year. His Christmas he often kept at Gloucester, his Easter at Winchester, his Whitsontide at Westminster; and was crowned once in the year at one of these places, so long as he continued in England. To these feasts he invited all his nobility, and did then principally compose himself to courtesy, as well in familiar conversation, as in facility to grant suits, and to give pardon to such as had offended. At other times he was more majestic and severe; and employed himself both to much exercise and great moderation in diet; whereby he preserved his body in good state, both of health and strength, and was easily able to endure travel, hunger, heat, cold, and all other hardness both of labour and of want.

Many wrongs he would not see, of many smarts he would not complain; he was absolute master of himself, and thereby learned to subdue others. He was much commended for chastity of body; by which his princely actions were much advanced. And albeit the beginning of his reign was pestered with such routs of outlaws and robbers, that the peaceable people could not account themselves in surety within their own doors ||; he so well provided for execution of justice upon offenders, or rather for cutting off the causes of offence,

* Germany.

† Principi non minus turpia multa supplicia, quam medico funera. Senec. de Clem. i

‡ Besides it is thought that those courtiers, who envied his esteem with the King, and sought to obtain part of his great possessions, could they ruin him; and above all, the intrigues of his wife Judith, who was niece to the King, and wanted to get another husband, contrived and chiefly affected his death.

|| There were obliged to be placed guards between town and town.

that a young maiden, well charged with gold, might travel in any part of the realm, without any offer of injury unto her. For, if any man had slain another upon any cause, he was put to death; and, if he could not be found, the hundred paid a fine to the King; sometimes twenty-eight and sometimes thirty-six pounds, according to the largeness of the hundred in extent. If a man had oppressed * any woman, he was deprived of his privy parts. As the people by arms, so arms by laws were held in restraint.

He talked little and bragged less, a most assured performer of his word: in prosecution of his purposes constant and strong †, and yet not obstinate; but always applicable to the change of occasions; earnest, yea violent, both to resist his enemies, and to exact duties of his subjects. He neither loved much speech, nor gave credit to fair; but trusted truly to himself, to others so far as he might not be abused by credulity ‡.

His expedition (the spirit of actions and affairs) may hereby appear. He invaded England about the beginning of October; he subdued all resistance, he suppressed all rising rebellions, and returned into Normandy in March following. So as, the time of the year considered, a man should hardly travel through the land in so short a time as he did win it. A greater exploit than Julius Cæsar or any other stranger could ever achieve upon that place.

He gave many testimonies of a religious mind §. For he did often frequent divine service in the church, he gave much alms, he held the clergy in great estimation, and highly honoured the prelates of the church. He sent many costly ornaments, many rich presents of gold and silver to the church of Rome; his Peter payments ¶ went more readily, more largely than ever before ¶: To divers churches in France, after his victory, he sent crosses of gold, vessels of gold, rich palls, or other ornaments of great beauty and price. He bare such reverence to Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury, that he seemed to stand at his directions. At the request of Wolstane Bishop of Worcester, he gave over a great advantage that he made by sale of prisoners taken in Ireland. He respected Aldred Archbishop of York, by whom he had been crowned King of England, as his father. At a time upon the repulse of a certain suit, the Archbishop brake forth into discontentment, expostulated sharply against the King, and in a humorous heat offered to depart: but the King staid him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promised satisfaction in the best manner that he could. The nobility, that were present, put the archbishop in mind,

* Devoured.

† *Οἱ ἀνδραῖοι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὕψις, ἀπείρητοι, δι' ἰσχύος.* Fortes, in opere acres, ante id placidi. Arist. iii. Eth.

‡ *ὁ σάφρονος δ' ἀπικίας ὅδ' ἐστὶν ἄλλο χρησιμώτατον βροτοῖς.* Sapientie diffidentia non alia res utilior est mortalibus. Eurip.

§ *Romani non calliditate aut robore, sed pietate ac religione omnes gentes nationesq; superavere.* Cic. Orat. de Arusp. Resp.

¶ See this explained in the Beggar's petition to Hen. the Eighth against popery, printed in Vol. 1.

¶ But, though Lanfrank the Archbishop endeavoured to persuade him to make allegiance to that sea, he never could be brought to it, and said, That he neither promised so much, neither could he find that any of his ancestors did perform it.

that he should cause the King to arise. Nay (answered the archbishop) let him alone; let him still abide at St. Peter's feet*. So with much ado he was appeased, and intreated to accept his suit. And so the name of St. Peter, and of the church, hath been often used as a mantle, to cover the pride, passions, and pleasures of disordered men.

He founded and enlarged many houses of religion: He furnished ecclesiastical dignities, with men of more sufficiency and worth, than had been usual in former times. And because within his own dominions studies did not flourish and thrive, by reason of the turbulent times, by reason of the often invasions of barbarous people, whose knowledge lay chiefly in their fists; he drew out of Italy and other places many famous men, both for learning and integrity of life; to wit, Lanfrank, Anselm, Durand, Trahern, and others. These he honoured; these he advanced; to these he expressed great testimonies both of favour and regard.

And yet he preferred Odo, his brother by his mother's side, to the bishoprick of Bayonne, and afterwards created him Earl of Kent: A man proud, vain, mutinous, ambitious; outrageous in oppression, cruelty; and lust; a prophaner of religion, a manifest contemner of all virtue. The King, being called by occasions into Normandy, committed unto him the government of the realm: In which place of credit and command, he furnished himself so fully with treasure, that he aspired to the papacy of Rome, upon a prediction, then cast abroad (which commonly deceive those that trust unto them) that the successor of Hildebrand was named Odo. So, filled with proud hopes, he purchased a palace and friends at Rome; he prepared for his journey, and drew many gentlemen to be of his train. But the King, returning suddenly out of Normandy, met with him in the Isle of Wight, as he was ready to take the seas. There he was arrested, and afterwards charged with infinite oppressions; also, for seducing the King's subjects to forsake the realm; and, lastly, for sacrilegious spoiling of many churches. Hereupon his treasure was seized, and he committed to prison; not as bishop of Bayonne, but as Earl of Kent, and as an accomptant to the King. And so he remained about four years, even until the death of the King. His servants, some in falshood, and some for fear, discovered such hidden heaps of his gold, as did exceed all expectation: Yea, many bags of grinded gold were drawn out of rivers, wherein the bishop had caused them for a time to be buried. After this, he was called the King's sponge; as being preferred by him to that place of charge, wherein he might, in a long time, suck that from others, which should at once be pressed from himself. By this means, the King had the benefit of his oppression without the blame; and the people, being no great searchers into secrets of state, were so well pleased with the present punishment, as they were thereby, although not satisfied, yet well quieted for all their wrongs.

Towards the end of his reign, he appointed his two sons, Robert and

* Or, as some authors more probably write, at his father's feet.

Henry, with joint authority, governors of Normandy; the one to suppress either the insolency, or levity of the other. These went together to visit the French King, lying at Constance: Where, entertaining the time with variety of disports, Henry played with Lewis, then Dauphin of France, at chess, and did win of him very much. Hereat, Lewis began to grow warm in words, and was, therein, little respected by Henry. The great impatience of the one, and the small forbearance of the other, did strike, in the end, such a heat between them, that Lewis threw the chess-men at Henry's face, and called him the son of a bastard. Henry again struck Lewis with the chess-board, drew blood with the blow, and had presently slain him upon the place, had he not been staid by his brother Robert. Hereupon they presently went to horse, and their spurs claimed so good haste, as they recovered Pontoise, albeit they were sharply pursued by the French.

It had been much for the French King to have remained quiet, albeit no provocations happened, in regard of his pretence to many pieces, which King William did possess in France; but, upon this occasion, he presently invaded Normandy, took the city of Vernon, and drew Robert, King William's eldest son, to combine with him, against his own father. On the other side, King William, who never lost any thing by losing of time, with incredible celerity passed into France, invaded the French King's dominions, wasted and took many principal places of Zantoigne and Poictou, returned to Roan, and there reconciled his son Robert unto him. The French King summoned him to do his homage for the kingdom of England: For the duchy of Normandy he offered him homage, but the kingdom of England, (he said) he held of no man, but only of God, and by his sword. Hereupon the French King came strongly upon him; but, finding him both ready and resolute to answer in the field; finding also, that his hazard was greater than his hope; that his loss, by overthrow, would far surmount his advantage by victory, after a few light encounters, he retired, preferring the care to preserve himself, before the desire to harm others.

King William, being then both corpulent and in years, was distempered in body, by means of those travels; and so retired to Roan, where he remained not perfectly in health. The French King, hearing of his sickness, pleasantly said, "That he lay in child-bed of his great belly." This would have been taken in mirth, if some other had spoken it; but, coming from an enemy, it was taken in scorn. And, as great personages are most sensible of reproach, and the least touch of honour maketh a wide and incurable wound, so King William was so nettled with this jest, that he swore 'by God's resurrection, and his brightness' (for this was the usual form of his oath) 'that, so soon as he should be church'd of that child, he would offer a thousand lights in France.' So, presently after his recovery, he entered France in arms, took the city of Meaux*, set many towns and villages, and corn fields on fire; the people abandoning all places where he came, and giving forth, that

* And burnt its fine church.

it was better the nests should be destroyed, than that the birds should be taken in them. At the last, he came before Paris, where Philip King of France did then abide; to whom he sent word, that he had recovered to be on foot, and was walking about, and would be glad, likewise, to find him abroad. This enterprise was acted in the month of August, wherein the King was so violent and sharp, that by reason both of his travel, and of the unreasonable heat, he fell into a relapse of his sickness. And, to accomplish his mishap, in leaping on horse-back, over a ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pommel of his saddle, that he took a rupture in his inner parts; and so, overcharged with sickness and pain, and disquietness of mind, he returned to Roan, where his sickness increased by such dangerous degrees, that in a short time it led him to the period of his days.

During the time of his sickness, he was much molested in conscience*, for the blood which he had spilt, and for the severity, which he had used against the English; holding himself, for that cause, more guilty before God, than glorious among men. He spent many good speeches, in reconciling himself to God and the world, and in exhorting others to virtue and religion. He gave great sums of money to the clergy of Meaux, and of some other places in France, to repair the churches which a little before he had defaced. To some monasteries he gave ten marks of gold, and to others six. To every parish church, he gave five shillings, and to every borough town, a hundred pounds, for relief of the poor. He gave his crown, with all the ornaments thereto belonging, to the church of St. Stephen, in Caen, which he had founded: for redeeming whereof, King Henry the First did afterwards give to the same church the Manor of Brideton, in Dorsetshire. He retained perfect memory and speech, so long as he retained any breath. He ended his life upon the ninth day of September, full both of honour and of age, when he had reigned twenty years, eight months, and sixteen days, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

So soon as he was dead, the chief men that were about him went to horse, and departed forthwith to their own dwellings, to provide for the safety of themselves, and of their families and estates; for all men were possessed with a marvellous fear, that some dangerous adventures would ensue. The servants and inferior officers also fled away; and, to double the baseness of their disposition, took with them whatsoever was portable about the King; his armour, plate, apparel, household-stuff, all things were held as lawful booty. Thus the dead body was not only abandoned, but left almost naked upon the ground, where it remained from prime †, until three of the clock, neither guarded nor regarded by any man. In the mean time, the religious persons went in procession to the church of St. Gervase, and there commended his soul to God. Then William, archbishop of Roan, commanded that his body should be carried to Caen, to be there buried in the church of St. Stephen. But he was so forsaken of all his followers, that there was not any found, who would undertake either the care or the charge.

* *Perfecto dñum scelere, magnitudo ejus intelligitur.* Tacit. iv. Annal. † The morning.

At the last, Herlwine, a country knight, upon his own cost, caused the body to be embalmed, and adorned for funeral pomp; then conveyed it by coach to the mouth of the river Seame, and so partly by land, and partly by sea, brought it to Caen.

Here the abbot, with the convent of monks, came forth, with all accustomed ceremonies, to meet the corpse, to whom the whole multitude of the clergy and lay-people did adjoin: but, when they were in the midst of their sad solemnities, a fire broke out of a certain house, and suddenly embraced a great part of the town. Hereupon, the King's body was once again abandoned; all the people running from it in a headlong haste, some to save their goods, others to repress the rage of the flame, others (as the latest novelty) to stand and look on. In the end, a few monks returned, and accompanied the hearse to the abbey church.

Afterward, all the bishops and abbots of Normandy assembled to solemnise the funeral: And when the divine office was ended, and the coffin of stone set into the earth, in the presbytery, between the quire and the altar (but the body remained upon the hearse) Guilebert, Bishop of Eureux, made a long sermon, wherein he bestowed much breath in extolling the honourable actions of the King. In the end, he concluded, that, forasmuch as it was impossible for a man to live, much less to govern, without offence; First, By reason of the multitude of a prince's affairs; Secondly, For that he must commit the managing of many things to the conscience and courtesy of others; Lastly, For that personal grievances are many times beneficial to the main body of a state; in which case, particular, either losses or harms, are more than manifoldly recompensed by the preservation or quiet of the whole: If, therefore, any that were present did suppose they had received injury from the King, he desired that they would in charity forgive him.

When the Bishop had finished his speech, one Anselm Fitz-Arthur stood up amongst the multitude, and with a high voice said; "This ground, whereupon we stand, was sometimes the floor of my father's house, which that man, of whom you have spoken, when he was Duke of Normandy, took violently from my father, and afterwards founded thereon this religious building. This injustice he did not by ignorance or oversight; not by any necessity of state; but to content his own covetous desire: Now, therefore, I do challenge this ground as my right; and do here charge you, as you will answer it before the fearful face of Almighty God, that the body of the spoiler be not covered with the earth of my inheritance."

When the Bishops and noblemen that were present heard this, and understood by the testimony of many, that it was true, they agreed to give him three pounds presently for the ground that was broken for the place of burial; and, for the residue which he claimed, they undertook he should be fully satisfied. This promise was performed in a short time after, by Henry, the King's son, who only * was present

* Of his sons.

at the funeral; at whose appointment, Fitz-Arthur received, for the price of the same ground, one hundred pounds.

Now, when the body was to be put into the earth, the sepulchre of stone, which stood within the grave, was hewn somewhat too strait for his fat belly; whereupon they were constrained to press it down with much strength: By this violence, whether his bowels burst, or whether some excrements were forced out at their natural passage, such an intolerable stink proceeded from him, as neither the perfumes that smoked in great abundance, nor any other means, were able to qualify. Wherefore, the priests hastened to finish their office, and the people departed in a sad silence, discoursing diversly afterwards, of all those extraordinary accidents.

A man would think, that a sepulchre, thus hardly attained, should not easily again be lost: But it happened otherwise to this unquiet king, not destined to rest, either in his life, or after his death. For, in the year 1562, when Castillion took the city of Caen, with these broken troops that escaped at the battle of Dreux; certain savage soldiers of divers nations, led by four dissolute captains, beat down the monument, which King William his son had built over him, and both curiously and richly adorned with gold and costly stones. Then they opened his tomb, and, not finding the treasure, which they expected, they threw forth his bones with very great derision and despight: Many English soldiers were then in the town, who were very curious to gather his bones; whereof some were afterwards brought into England. Hereby the report is convinced for vain, that his body was found uncorrupt, more than four-hundred years after it was buried. Hereby also it is found to be false, that his body was eight feet in length. For neither were his bones proportionable to that stature (as it is testified by those who saw them) and it is otherwise reported of him by some, who lived in his time; namely, that he was of a good stature, yet not exceeding the ordinary proportion of men.

And this was the last end of all his fortunes, of all that was mortal in him besides his fame; whose life is too much extolled by the Normans, and no less extenuated by the English. Verily, he was a very great prince; full of hope to undertake great enterprises, full of courage to achieve them; in most of his actions commendable, and excusable in all. And this was not the least piece of his honour, that the Kings of England, which succeeded, did account their order only from him; not in regard of his victory in England, but generally in respect of his virtue and valour.

For his entrance was not by way of conquest, but with pretence of title to the crown; wherein he had both allowance and aid from divers Christian Princes in Europe. He had also his party within the realm, by whose means he prevailed against the opposite faction (as Cæsar did against Pompey) and not against the intire strength of the state.

Again, he did not settle himself in the chair of sovereignty, as one that had reduced all things to the proud power and pleasure of a conqueror, but as an universal successor of former Kings, in all the

rights and privileges which they did enjoy. He was received for King by general consent; he was crowned with all ceremonies and solemnities then in use; he took an oath in the presence of the clergy, the nobility, and of much people, for defence of the church; for moderate and careful government, and for upright administration of justice.

Lastly, during the whole course of his government, the kingdom received no universal change, no loss or diminution of honour. For, neither were the old inhabitants expelled, as were the Britons; neither was the kingdom either subjected or annexed to a greater; but rather it received increase of honour, in that a less state was adjoined unto it: The change of customs was not violent, and at once, but by degrees, and with the silent approbation of the English; who have always been inclinable to accommodate themselves to the fashions of France. The grievances and oppressions were particular, and with some appearance either of justice, or of necessity for the common quiet; such as are not unusual in any government moderately severe. So the change was chiefly in the stem and family of the King; which, whether it be wrought by one of the same nation (as it was in France by Pepin and Capet) or by a stranger, (as in the same country by Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth, Kings of England) it bringeth no disparagement in honour; it worketh no essential change. The state still remained the same, the solid body of the state remained still English; the coming in of many Normans was but as rivers falling into the ocean; which change not the ocean, but are confounded with the waters thereof.

This King had by his wife, Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, four sons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry: He also had five daughters, Cicely, Constance, Adela, Margaret, and Eleanor*.

Robert, his eldest son, surnamed Courtcuise, by reason of the shortness of his thighs, succeeded him in the duchy of Normandy. He was a man of exceeding honourable courage and spirit, for which cause he was so esteemed by the Christian princes in the great war against the Saracens, that, when they had subdued the city and territory of Jerusalem, they offered the kingdom thereof first unto him. Yet afterwards, either by the malice of his fortune, or for that he was both sudden and obstinate in his own advice (two great impediments that valour cannot thrive) he received many foils of his enemies, which shall be declared in their proper place. Before the King made his descent into England, he gave the duchy of Normandy unto him; But whether he did this only to testify his confidence, or whether afterwards his purpose changed, being often demanded to perform this gift, he would neither deny, nor accomplish his word, but interposed many excuses and delays; affirming, that he was not so surely settled in England, but the duchy of Normandy was necessary unto him, both for supply for his services (which he found, like Hydra's heads, to multiply by cutting off), and also for an assured place

* To those should be added a sixth daughter, named Gundred, who was married to William de Warren, a nobleman of Normandy, and afterwards the first Earl of Surrey in England.

for retreat, in case he should be overcharged with extremities. Hereupon Robert, unable to linger and pine in hopes, declared openly against him in arms. Philip King of France, was ready to put fuel to the flame; who, as he never favoured in his own judgment the prosperous increases of the King of England, so then he was vigilant to embrace all occasions either to abate, or limit the same. And thus Robert, both encouraged, and enabled by the King of France, invaded Normandy, and permitted his soldiers licentiousness to waste; to satisfy those by spoil, which by pay he was not able to maintain. At the last he encountered the King, his father, in a sharp conflict, before the castle of Gerbery, wherein the King was unhorsed, and wounded in the arm; his second son, William, was also hurt, his soldiers defeated, and many of them slain. And albeit Robert, so soon as he knew his father by his voice, alighted forthwith, mounted him upon his own horse, and withdrew him out of the medley; yet did he cast upon his son a cruel curse, which lay so heavy upon him, that he never prospered afterward in any thing which he undertook. And although after this he was reconciled to his father, and employed by him in services of credit and weight, yet did the King often bewray of him an unquiet conceit, often did he ominate evil upon him: yea, a little before his death he openly gave forth, "That it was a miserable country which should be subject to his dominion, for that he was a proud and foolish knave, and to be long scourged by cruel fortune."

Richard * had erected the good expectation of many, as well by his comely countenance and behaviour, as by his lively and generous spirit. But he died young by misadventure, as he was hunting within the New-forest, before he had made experiment of his worth. Some affirm, that he was gored to death by the deer of that forest, for whose walk his father had dispeopled that large compass of ground: others report, that he, as he rode in a chace, was hanged upon the bough of a tree by the chops; others more probably do write, that he perished by a fall from his horse. He was buried at Winchester, with this inscription: *Hic jacet Richardus, filius Willielmi senioris, Bernie Dux.*

William did succeed next to his father in the kingdom of England. To Henry, the King gave, at the time of his death, five thousand pounds out of his treasure; but he gave him neither dignity nor lands; foretelling that he should enjoy the honour of both his brothers in time, and far excel them both in dominion and power. Whether this was devised upon event, or whether some do prophesy at their death, or whether it was conjecturally spoken, or whether to give contentment for the present, it fell out afterward to be true. For he succeeded William in the kingdom of England, and wrested Normandy out of the possession of Robert. Of these two I shall write more fully hereafter.

His daughter, Cicely, was Abbess of Caen in Normandy. Constance was married to Allen Fergant, Earl of Britain. Adela was wife to Stephen, Earl of Blois, to whom she bare Stephen, who, after the death of Henry, was King of England. Margaret was promised in

* The son of Robert.

marriage to Harold; she died before he attained the kingdom, for which cause he held himself discharged of that oath which he had made to the Duke her father. Eleanor was betrothed to Alphonso, King of Galicia; but she desired much to die a virgin: for this she daily prayed, and this in the end she did obtain. After her death, her knees appeared brawny and hard, with much kneeling at her devotions. Assuredly it will be hard to find, in any one family, both greater valour in sons, and more virtue in daughters.

In the beginning of this King's reign, either no great accidents did fall, or else they were obscured with the greatness of the change: none are reported by the writers of that time.

In the fourth year of his reign, Lanfrank, Abbot of Caen, in Normandy, but born in Pavia, a city of Lombardy, was made Archbishop of Canterbury; and Thomas, a Norman, and Canon, of Bayonne, was placed in the See of York. Between these two a controversy did arise, at the time of their consecration, for priority in place: but this contention was quitted by the King, and Thomas, for the time, subscribed obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury. After this they went to Rome for their palls, where the question for primacy was again renewed, or, as some affirm, first moved before Pope Alexander. The Pope used them both with honourable respect, and especially Lanfrank, to whom he gave two palls, one of honour, and the other of love; but their controversy he referred to be determined in England.

About two years after it was brought before the King and the clergy at Windsor. The Archbishop of York alledged, that, when the Britons received the Christian faith, in the time of Lucius, their King, Eleutherius, then Bishop of Rome, sent Faganus and Damianus unto them, who ordained twenty-eight bishops, and two archbishops, within the realm, one of London, and the other of York. Under these the church of Britain was governed almost three hundred years, until they were subdued by the Saxons. The Saxons remained infidels, until Gregory, Bishop of Rome, sent Augustin unto them. By his preaching, Ethelbert, King of Kent, was first converted to the Christian faith; by reason whereof Augustine was made Archbishop of Dover, by appointment of Pope Gregory, who sent unto him certain palls, with his letter from Rome. By this letter it is evident, that Gregory intended to reduce the church of the Saxons to the same order wherein it was among the Britons; namely, to be under twelve bishops, and two archbishops, one of London and the other of York. Indeed he gave to Augustine, during his life, authority and jurisdiction over all bishops and priests in England: but after his decease he joineeth these two metropolitans in equal degree, to constitute bishops to oversee the church, to consult and dispose of such things as appertain to the government thereof, as in former times among the Britons. Between these he put no distinction in honour, but only as they were in priority of time: and as he appointeth London to be consecrated by no bishop, but of his own synod, so he expresseth, that the Bishop of York should not be subject to the Bishop of London. And albeit Augustine, for the reason before-mentioned, translated the see from

London to Dover; yet, if Gregory had intended to give the same authority to the successors of Augustine, which he gave unto him, he would have expressed it in his epistle: but, in that he maketh no mention of his successors, he concludeth, or rather excludeth, them by his silence.

The Archbishop of Canterbury alledged, that from the time of Augustine, until the time of Bede (which was about a hundred and forty years) the bishops of Canterbury, which, in ancient time, said he, was called Dover, had the primacy over the whole land of Britain, and of Ireland; that they did call the Bishops of York to their councils, which divers times they kept within the province of York; that some Bishops of York they did constitute, some excommunicate, and some remove. He alledged also divers privileges granted by princes for the primacy of that see; divers granted from the Apostolick see, to confirm this dignity in the successors of Augustine; that it is reason to receive directions of well living, from whence we first received directions of right believing; and therefore as the Bishop of Canterbury was subject to the Bishop of Rome, because he had his faith from thence; for the very same cause the Bishop of York should be in subjection to the Bishop of Canterbury: that like as the Lord said that to all the Bishops of Rome, which he said to St. Peter; so that, which Gregory said to Augustine, he said likewise to all his successors. And whereas much is spoken of the Bishop of London, what is that to the Archbishop of Canterbury? For neither is it certain that Augustine was ever resident at London, neither that Gregory appointed him so to be.

In the end, it was decreed, that York, for that time, should be subject to Canterbury; that, wheresoever within England the Archbishop of Canterbury should hold his council, the Archbishop of York should come unto it, with the bishops of his province, and be obedient to his decrees; that, when the Archbishop of Canterbury should decease, the Archbishop of York should go to Canterbury, to consecrate him that should succeed; that, if the Archbishop of York should decease, his successor should go to Canterbury, or to such place as the Archbishop of Canterbury should appoint, there to receive his consecration, making first his oath of canonical obedience. And thus was the contention for this first time taken up; but in succeeding times it was often renewed, and much busied the clergy of the realm.

In the ninth year of the reign of King William, a council was holden at London, where another matter of like quality and nature was decreed; namely, that bishops should translate their sees from villages to cities; whereupon, in a short time after, bishops sees were removed, from Seles to Chichester, from Cornwall to Exeter, from Wells to Bath, from Sherbourn to Salisbury, from Dorchester to Lincoln, from Lichfield to Chester, and from thence again to Coventry. And albeit the Archbishop of York did oppose against the erecting of a cathedral church in Lincoln, because he challenged that city to be of his province; yet Remigius Bishop of Dorchester, being strong both in resolution and in friends, did prosecute his purpose to effect. Not long before the bishoprick of Lindaf-

~~Ferne~~, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the river Tweed, had been translated to Durham.

In the tenth year of his reign the cold of winter was exceeding memorable, both for sharpness and for continuance: for the earth remained hard frozen from the beginning of November, until the midst of April then ensuing.

In the fifteenth year a great earthquake happened in the month of April; strange for the strong trembling of the earth, but more strange for the doleful and hideous roaring which it yielded forth.

In the twentieth year there fell such abundance of rain, that the rivers did greatly overflow in all parts of the realm. The springs also, rising plentifully in divers hills, so softened and decayed the foundations of them, that they fell down, whereby some villages were overthrown. By this distemperature of weather much cattle perished, much corn upon the ground was either destroyed, or greatly impaired. Hereupon ensued first a famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of men.

And, that all the elements might seem to have conspired the calamity of the realm, the same year most of the principal cities in England were lamentably deformed with fire. At London a fire began at the entry of the Westgate*, which apprehending certain shops and warehouses, wherein was merchandise apt to burn, it was at once begun and suddenly at the highest. Then being carried with a strong wind, and the city apt to maintain the flame, as well by reason of the crooked and narrow streets, as for that the buildings at that time had open and wide windows, and were covered with base matter†, fit to take fire, the mischief spread more swiftly than the remedies could follow. So it raged until it came to the East-gate‡, and prostrated houses and churches all the way, being the most grievous that ever as yet|| hath happened to that city. The church of St. Paul was at that time fired; whereupon Maurice, then bishop of London, began the foundation of the new church of St. Paul. A work so admirable, that many did judge, it would never have been finished; yet all might easily esteem thereby his magnanimity, his high erected hopes, his generous love and honour to religion. The King gave towards the building of the east end of this church, the choice stones of his castle§, at the west end of the city, upon the bank of the river Thames; which castle at the same time was also fired; in place whereof Edward Killwarby, Archbishop of Canterbury, did afterwards found a monastery of Black Friars. The King also gave, the castle of Stortford, and all the lands which thereto belonged, to the same Maurice, and to his successors in that see. And doubtless nothing more than either parcimonious or prophane expending the treasures of the church hath, since those times, much dried up those fountains, which first did fill them.

After the death of Maurice, Richard his next successor, as well in virtue as in dignity, bestowed all the rents rising out of this bishoprick, to advance the building of this church; maintaining himself by his patrimony and friends; and yet all, which he could do, made no

* New called Ludgate. † Thatch, viz. straw, &c. ‡ Aldgate. § Viz. anno 1613.
§ In the precinct now called Black Friars.

great shew; so that the finishing of this work was left to many other succeeding bishops. He purchased the ground about the church whereupon many buildings did stand, and inclosed the same with a strong wall of stone for a place of burial. It seemeth that this wall was afterwards either battered and torn in some civil wars, or else by negligence suffered to decay; for that a grant was made by King Edward the Second, that the churchyard of St. Paul's should be inclosed with a wall, because of the robberies and murthers that were there committed. Many parts of this wall remain at this time*, on both sides of the church, but covered for the most part with dwelling-houses.

The same year in Whitsun-week, the King honoured his son Henry with the order of knighthood. What ceremonies the King then used, it is not certainly known; but before his time the custom among the Saxons was thus:

First, he, who should receive the order of knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a priest.

Secondly, Then he continued all that night in the church, watching and applying himself to his private devotions.

Thirdly, The next morning he heard mass, and offered his sword upon the altar.

Fourthly, After the gospel was read, the sword was hallowed, and with a benediction put about his neck.

Fifthly and Lastly, He communicated of the mysteries of the blessed body of Christ, and from that time remained a lawful soldier or knight. This custom of consecrating knights the Normans did not only abrogate, but abhor; not for any evil that was therein, but because it was not altogether their own.

This year in a province of Wales called Ross, the sepulchre of Wawyn, otherwise called Gawen, was found upon the sea-shore. He was sister's son to Arthur the Great, King of the Britons; a man famous in our British histories, both for civil courtesy, and for courage in the field. I cannot but esteem the report for fabulous, that his body was fourteen feet in length. I do rather conjecture that one credulous writer did take that for the length of his body, which haply might be the length of his tomb.

It is constantly affirmed that the ground, whereon the English and the Normans did combat, doth shew, after every rain, manifest marks of blood upon the grass; which if it was not a property of the soil before*, it is hard now to assign, either from what natural cause it doth proceed, or what it should supernaturally portend.

Anno 1613.

† For it is remarkable that some soils always look reddish after rain.

A RELATION *
OF A
VOYAGE TO GUIANA:

Describing the
CLIMATE, SITUATION, FERTILITY, PROVISIONS, & COMMODITIES,
OF THAT COUNTRY,

Containing seven Provinces, and other Signories, within that Territory:

Together with the

Manners, Customs, Behaviours, and Dispositions of the People.

PERFORMED BY ROBERT HARCOURT,
OF STANTON HARCOURT, ESQ.

The Patent for the Plantation of which Country, his Majesty hath granted to the said Robert Harcourt, under the Great Seal.

*The Land, which we walked through to search it, is a very good Land:
If the Lord love us, he will bring us into this Land, and will give it us,
Numb. xiv. 7, 8.*

At London, Printed by John Beale, for W. Welby, and are to be sold at his shop, in Paul's Churchyard, at the Sign of the Swan, 1613. Quarto, containing eighty-eight Pages.

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles, Prince of Great Britain.

HAVING had trial, most worthy Prince, of your most renowned brother, Prince Henry, his many favours towards me, and princely furtherance of my humble suit, unto his Majesty, your royal father, and our dread Sovereign, for obtaining for me his gracious letters patents, for the planting and inhabiting of all that tract of land, and part of Guiana, between the river of Amazonas and Dessequebe, situate in America, under the Æquinoctial Line; whereof I have taken possession to his Majesty's use, and discovered the maritime parts: I was greatly thereby encouraged to proceed in the enterprise, and had, under his Majesty's favour, devoted myself unto his service. But now seeing, by God's permission, your excellent brother's princely honour, by right of succession, is fallen upon your Highness, and verily hoping, that you will not only equal, but also exceed him in virtuous exercises, and advancing all honourable actions, and worthy enterprises: I have, in like manner, religiously

* Vide the 230th article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

vowed the best fruits and effects of my endeavours unto your Highness's service. And forasmuch as that part of the world, which we now call America, was, heretofore, in the year of our Lord 1170, discovered, conquered, and possessed by Madoc, one of the sons of Owen Gwyneth, Prince of North Wales: I, therefore, in all humble reverence, present the prosecution of this high action unto your gracious patronage, principally belonging of right unto you, being the honourable, true, and worthy successor to the principality of Wales. If my travel and service therein shall perform aught worthy of your princely regard, I shall much glory thereat, and account it my happiest fortune, and greatest honour; and shall heartily pray unto the King of Kings, to continue in your Highness a pious and invincible heart; and to give you a conquering and victorious hand; and the dominion of many rich and mighty kingdoms in this world, and, in the world to come, a crown of glory in his eternal kingdom.

Your Highness's

Most humble devoted servant,

ROBERT HARCOURT.

To the Readers, Adventurers, Favourers, and Wellwillers of the Plantation in Guiana.

IT is the part of valiant and noble spirits, to apply their endeavours to honourable and worthy achievements; but chiefly to frame their actions therein by the rule of virtue, and accomplish the end for which they were created, which is, in their vocations, to serve and glorify God, and to do good unto others. For the better performance of their duties in that behalf, let them examine their inclinations and dispositions in the course of their life, and what they find themselves most inclined unto, to that let them seriously bend their forces, either to cherish, or suppress it; to follow, or forsake it, according as it tendeth to virtue or vice, to honour or disgrace. As touching the courses of life, inclining to the better part, some men are naturally given to be scholars, either in divinity, philosophy, or other learning; some are more inclined to be statist; some to be soldiers, and travellers; some desire to be citizens, and merchants; and some like best to lead a country life, and follow husbandry; and others are wholly inclined to the mechanical trades, and handicrafts: in all which professions, as men are naturally addicted, more or less, they attain to perfection, and may thereby accomplish the end for which they were created. But to undertake any profession, contrary to a man's natural inclination, is a loss of time, a work that yieldeth no profit, but breedeth many inconveniences, and destroyeth nature: for the mere scholar will never be a good statist, soldier, merchant, nor mechanical tradesman (yet learning is a singular help in all these professions), neither will the professed soldier ever attain to exquisite perfection in learning, or in the other pro-

essions; so likewise of the rest. The natural inclination of man may be somewhat restrained, corrected, and reformed, but is rarely and hardly altered :

Naturem expellas furca licet, usque recurrit.

In these and other professions whatsoever, men may so proceed in their particular societies, that each several company, in their proper vocation, may be a help, comfort, and support unto the rest; and they are firmly bound, both by the law of God and nature, to exercise and follow their professions for the benefit of others; not covetously seeking their own gain only thereby; but charitably respecting first the glory of God, and then the honour of their prince, and profit of their country, which is the end for which they were created.

To the end, therefore, that our countrymen of all professions in this kingdom may be worthily induced to perform their duties in that kind, not only at home in their own country, but also abroad in foreign parts, wheresoever any of our nation shall be employed, either by discovery or conquest, for the reducing of unknown and barbarous people, void of all knowledge of God, and civil government, to Christianity, and the subjection and obedience of our Sovereign; and that such others as want employment, or competent means to follow their professions, and are slipped aside from virtuous exercises, and honourable enterprises, to idle wantonness, effeminate disorders, and other extravagant courses of life, may be recalled, reformed, and encouraged, by better endeavours, to perform their duties to God, their Prince, and their country: I thought it convenient to propound unto them a worthy and memorable enterprise (for the prosecution and accomplishing whereof, it hath graciously pleased his Majesty to grant me privilege by patent) namely, the discovery and plantation of a part of the great, rich, and mighty empire of Guiana; wherein they shall find variety of employments to spend their times worthily in their several vocations; plentiful means to supply all wants and necessities; and many worthy adventures, to obtain immortal renown and perpetual fame.

And forasmuch as all men's actions are subject to miscensure, and some, perhaps, may think the labour lost, which is bestowed in this enterprise, forejudging the country, being rude, barbarous, and heathen, to be unprofitable: I will therefore here particularly shew wherein our countrymen, of the several professions before-mentioned, may profitably labour in this work, and perform, thereby, to God a service most acceptable, and register their fame to all posterity.

First, The scholar in divine learning may worthily labour the conversion of infinite numbers of unbelieving people, who may be reduced to a quiet, sober, and civil life: the scholar in philosophy, and other learning, may do much good by training up of the youth in the knowledge of the liberal arts, and by the practice of his skill in physick and surgery: the statist may highly advance his prince's service, and his country's good, by giving aid to this action, and his

discreet and provident furtherance in managing the business thereof: the soldier and traveller; by bearing arms in the execution of this noble enterprise, and by memorable discoveries of strange and unknown countries and nations, may open the way to increase and enlarge the dominion of our Sovereign: the merchant, by assisting the plantation there, and by erecting convenient factories for that purpose, may highly increase the trade of merchandise, by returning thence the riches and commodities there found and gathered: the countryman, that professeth husbandry and tillage of the earth, may also be sufficiently employed for the increase of corn and cattle, and in planting, gathering, and getting as many rare and necessary fruits and provisions, as shall be needful for the life of man: and lastly, the mechanical tradesman, and such as exercise the handicrafts, in which company I include all sorts of labourers, may, by this action of Guiana, highly advance their trades and occupations, to their own unspeakable profit, and benefit of others, by their divers and sundry works for several uses, and for persons of all qualities whatsoever; and may teach the people of that country, being once converted to Christianity; and brought to the knowledge of civil government, such several trades, as our experience shall find necessary for them, and convenient for us.

Having here particularly shewed, wherein our countrymen, of divers professions, may worthily follow their vocations, and employ their endeavours in this action; I leave the matter whereon they are to work, to be more fully expressed in the following discourse.

And, because they may the better be encouraged in this enterprise, by examples of the like nature, let us look into the discoveries and conquests, performed by the Spaniards, in the East and West Indies, but chiefly in the West; where, with a small number, and, as it were, with a handful of men, Hernando Cortez, a Spaniard, in the year of our Lord 1519, discovered and conquered that great, mighty, and rich kingdom of New Spain, and the city of Mexico.

And, in the year of our Lord 1531, Don Francisco Pizarro attempted the conquest of the great kingdom of Peru: he vanquished Atabalipa, the King of that country; conquered and subdued many spacious and rich provinces; and, in the end, after infinite perils and dangers by practice of the Indians, and much variety of fortune, by civil wars with his own nation, he achieved his enterprise. The particulars of these discoveries and conquests are more at large recounted by Peter Martyr, in his Decads; by Benzo, and divers other authors, to which, for brevity's sake, I refer you. The honour, these Spaniards gained by these discoveries and conquests, was doubtless great; but the benefit that ensued to the crown of Spain, and all the Spanish nation thereby, was infinite beyond expectation, as amply may appear in the authors late mentioned; and in the Natural and Moral History of the East and West Indies, written by Josephus Acosta.

Let us also note the wonderful works of God in those countries, and his great mercy thereby shewed to the Indians, who, by their con-

tinual conversation with Christians, are reduced, from their abominable life and cruel manners, to the knowledge of God, and from their former infidelity, to the fruition of the Holy Ghost in baptism; for, in all those great provinces conquered in New Spain, the people are generally converted to Christianity; for, about the year of our Lord 1524, there went divers learned men into those parts, who, by learning the Indians languages, and their painful diligence in teaching and instructing youth, did so effectually proceed in that laborious work, that, within the limits of many hundred leagues, there are few or none unchristened. The beginning of that work was very difficult, by reason of the unaptness of the Indians, so long imbrued in cruel sacrifices of human blood, and abominable idolatry, and, by the continual malice of the devil, rebelling against God, and striving to maintain his own kingdom; but, in the end, their constant and painful endeavours so far prevailed, that the Christian religion increased amongst them, to the establishing of many bishopricks in New Spain, besides divers schools of learning. So likewise in Peru, and divers other countries, conquered by the Spaniards, the conversion of the people hath proceeded to no less admirable effects.

As touching the state of commonwealth, they have all sorts of governors, and magistrates, in great honour and reputation; houses of nobility and gentry flourish and increase amongst them; soldiers and travellers are highly regarded, and worthily rewarded; merchants and tradesmen prosper, and gather wealth in extraordinary measure; what shall I say more? There be few or no professions or trades amongst us, in these parts of Christendom, but the same are used, followed, and practised in great perfection, both in New Spain, Peru, and other parts of the Indies, where the Spaniards have prevailed by their conquests.

By these memorable examples may our nation, being, in valour, inferior to none other under heaven, be moved and stirred up to the undertaking of this noble action of Guiana; which, in respect of the climate, fertility of the soil, and tractable disposition of the people (whereof, in the following discourse, I have spoken more at large, doth assure us, that, with God's favour and assistance, as great effects may be wrought in the conversion of these nations, and as great benefit and commodity may arise to the realm and crown of England, both in general and particular, as ever was performed or obtained by the Spanish nation, since the first beginning of their travels and discoveries.

For if they in New Spain, and Peru, have cocheneal, anir, and cotton-wool; we in Guiana have also cotton-wool, tobacco, sugar-canes, divers good commodities for dyers, and likewise, in all likelihood, cocheneal; and sundry sorts of excellent wood for joiner's work, and other uses. If they have variety of apothecaries drugs, and balsam for physick and surgery; so also have we, and those that are of admirable virtue. If they have gold, silver, and other metals, pearls, and precious stones; so doubtless we, in time, may have the like, having had

good testimony thereof already, as plainly shall appear hereafter, when time better serveth.

Moreover, a singular advantage we have before them, to further and advance our enterprise, by the peculiar love and affection of the people in those parts towards our nation before all others: for, whereas the Spaniards were constrained by great labour, bloody battles, and much cruelty (for which they lost their hearts) to subdue the Indians, we, contrariwise, are well entertained, and friendly received by them, being willing to hold commerce with us; whereby we have a more secure and ready mean to establish a peaceable and assured commonwealth amongst them, for the employment of all the several professions of men mentioned before.

Finally, For your better inducement to the worthy undertaking of this high action, let us call to remembrance one excellent and material observation; that is, the discovery of this country of Guiana was heretofore attempted by Sir Walter Raleigh, who made an honourable entry therein by the river Oroonoko. What he then and there discovered, and how great and assured his hopes were of gaining to our country inestimable riches, and subduing to the Crown of England a potent empire, was effectually and faithfully published to the world by his own pen; which excellent discourse I wish you to peruse, proceeding from so wise and judicious an author; who, if some known fortunes had not crossed his first intendments for the prosecuting of that enterprise, had, in all likelihood, long before this time increased the honour of our nation, by the reputation of the most famous and rich discovery and conquest, that the world could afford.

Let us herewithal observe, that, before his time, it was often attempted by the Spaniards, but to small effect; for, either by misfortune of shipwreck, dissension amongst the most eminent persons in their troops, mutiny of the soldiers, mistaking of the commanders, or violent fury of the Indians (who bear an inveterate and mortal hatred against them) they have ever failed of their purpose; whereof the said discourse of Sir Walter Raleigh maketh particular mention more at large.

The continual loss and great misfortunes that have followed the Spaniards from time to time, in all their attempts of this discovery and conquest, for the space almost of an hundred years, and the fortunate success, that most happily favoured the other, in his first attempt thereof, may be a great presumption, and may give us an assured hope, that the powerful hand of God doth work for us in this behalf, and hath reserved the execution of this action for the honour of our nation.

Which forcible considerations gave me great encouragement to repair the decay of so worthy an enterprise; not with intent to rob him of his honour, who, first of all our nation, nobly, with great judgment and valour gave the onset, but rather to do him more honour, by working upon his foundation, and prosecuting this project according to his first designs, which, doubtless, aimed at the glory of God, his sovereign's service, and his country's good.

Heretupon, I made trial of my fortune in the attempt, and have found the success so prosperous and hopeful (although it hath been chargeable unto me) and my acceptance so free and friendly amongst the Indians, that it hath given, not only to myself, but also to the rest of my associates (who, with the love and good-liking of the people, have lived and remained in Guiana for the space of three years) good assurance of repaying the charge past with treble recompence, and a resolved courage to proceed in the enterprise, to the prosecution whereof we have devoted both our substance and ourselves.

And, because the life of this action consisteth in the timely progress thereof, and requireth the assistance of many adventurers, I thought it very needful to lay before you these former examples and material considerations; and therewithal do recommend unto your view this following discourse, wherein I have compiled the hopeful fruits of my painful travels, thereby to move you to wipe away from your eyes the cloudy, incredulous blindness, that possessed our forefathers in the days of Henry the Seventh, when they rejected the offer, made by Bartholomew Columbus, in the behalf of his brother Christopher Columbus, and thereby lost the fruition of those inestimable riches in the West Indies, which now we see possessed by the Spanish nation; and also do invite and summon my countrymen in general to rouse up their valour, to quicken and spur on their endeavours to be coadjutors with us in this action both of honour and profit.

And, because it may be objected, to the discouragement of such as may have otherwise a desire to inhabit Guiana, that the Spaniards, inhabiting about Cumana, Margarita, and Trinidad, may disturb our plantation, and endanger the lives of those that shall make the first settlement there; I thought good to resolve all such, as have affection to make themselves conquerors of that goodly country, that from the King of Spain's Indies nothing can offend them; for Guiana being seated in the head of the Brises, and to the windward of all the Spanish Indies, the current also of the sea setting to the west, maketh it impossible for any shipping to turn it up from the forenamed places towards us. The Spaniard, therefore, can no way offend us, but by a preparation out of Spain itself; and, whensoever he shall find himself at so great leisure, as to send a fleet out of Spain to seek us out upon the shallow coast of Guiana, either we shall frustrate that attempt, by raising a fort defensible for two or three months (for they must famish, if they stay longer) or else by setting ourselves above two or three of the overfalls of the rivers, where one hundred men will defend themselves against five thousand. But I am persuaded, that the Spaniards will take great deliberation, and be well advised of all ensuing accidents, before they give any attempt upon us; for we do not find, that they have yet attempted any thing upon Virginia, which lieth in their way homeward from the West Indies, albeit there have passed many years since the first plantation there. And surely, if Virginia had not a sharp winter, which Guiana hath not (which country of Guiana is blessed with a perpetual summer, and a perpetual spring), and that it had that store

of victuals, which Guiana hath, it would in a short time grow to be a most profitable place. But thus much I can avow truly, That from Guiana, without any great labour, there may be returned, within the year, good store of cotton wool, very rich dyes, divers sorts of gums, many sorts of feathers, all kinds of rich woods, balsams, jasper, and porphyry-stone, wax, honey, and tobacco; and so every year may we pay the transportation, until we increase in people to make sugars, and discover mines.

If the pains past, bestowed in my first attempt, may taste of your grateful acceptance, and that I may obtain your willing furtherance in the future, I shall then think my pains well employed, and delight myself in labouring for your profit; and we all shall gain honour and reputation by undergoing the burden of so worthy a work, whereby our nation shall be greatly enriched, the dominion of our Sovereign much enlarged, and God's service in those countries highly advanced.

R. H.

IN the year of our Lord 1608, and the twenty-third of March, when I had furnished myself with one ship of fourscore tons, called the Rose; a pinnace of six and thirty tons, called the Patience; and a shallop of nine tons, called the Lilly, which I built at Dartmouth; and had finished my other business there, and prepared all things in readiness to begin my voyage, the wind reasonably serving, I then embarked my company, as followeth:

In the Rose, I was accompanied with Captain Edward Fisher, Captain Edward Harvey, Master Edward Gifford, and my cousin, Thomas Harcourt: And, besides them, I had, of gentlemen and others, one and thirty landmen, two Indians, and three and twenty mariners and sailors.

In the Patience, my brother, Captain Michael Harcourt, had with him, of gentlemen and others, twenty landmen, and eleven mariners and sailors.

In the Lilly, Jasper Lilly, the Master, had one landman, and two sailors: So that my just number, too great for so few ships of no greater burden, was in all fourscore and seventeen, whereof threescore were landmen.

Being thus embarked, we set sail from the range at Dartmouth the said twenty-third of March; but the wind, altering upon a sudden, put us back again that evening; and about two o'clock the next morning, it coming better for us, we weighed anchor, and put to sea: The evening following we lost sight of the Lizard, and steered away for the Canaries.

Upon Saturday, the first of April, 1609, towards the evening, the wind increased, and grew so violent, that my shallop, which we towed in a cablet by reason of the foul weather, was that night separated from us; for, by the rage and fury of the wind and sea, the cablet *broke in sunder*, and the little barque was in great danger to be cast

away; but it pleased God to preserve her, for the next morning we descried her to leeward of us, contrary to our expectation, having given her for lost.

Then holding on our course, the seventh day we fell with Alegranza and Lancerote, two islands of the Canaries: We stood in with Alegranza, and came to anchor on the south-west side thereof; that evening and the next day I landed my company, to exercise their limbs on shore: In this island we found no inhabitants, nor fresh water, neither fruitful tree, plant, herb, grass, nor any thing growing that was good, only an abundance of unwholesome sea-fowl, which, after one meal, were unsavoury and distasteful; and a few wild capritos, or wild goats, which the craggy rocks defended from our hands, and hungry mouths.

The eighth of April we departed from Alegranza, and directed our course for Tenerife, another of the islands. The eleventh day I sent the pinnace and the shallop to water at the Calmes, and there to attend my coming; but with my ship I held my course for Orotavo, a town on the other side of the island, in hope to get some wine amongst the merchants there; but not being able, by reason of a contrary wind, to double Punta de Nega, we altered our course from wine to water; and the twelfth day we passed by Santa Cruz, and watered that evening at the Calmes.

This water-place is very convenient for all such as pass by those islands, and is thus to be found: There is a wooden cross near unto it, the high pike of Tenerife beareth due north from it. There is also a ledge of rocks to the eastward of the landing-place, which is a short sandy bay: When you are landed, you shall find the place about forty or fifty yards from the sea-side.

The next day we met again with the pinnace and the shallop, who, missing of the right place, had not yet watered, wherefore we stood back again to guide them to it; but the wind, preventing us, forced them to seek for water elsewhere; which, with some difficulty, they obtained upon the fifteenth day in the morning.

Then we stood on our course for the river of Wiapoco in Guiana, having a prosperous wind, fair weather, and a smooth sea. The ninth day of May, we fell into the current of the great and famous river of Amazonas, which putteth out into the sea such a violent and mighty stream of fresh water, that, being thirty leagues from land, we drunk thereof, and found it as fresh and good as in a spring or pool.

This river, for the great and wonderful breadth, containing at the mouth near sixty leagues, is rightly termed by Josephus Acosta, the Empress and Queen of all Floods: And by Hieronymus Girava Tarraconensis, it is said to be the greatest, not only of all India, but also of the whole world; and for the greatness is called of many the Sweet Sea: It riseth and floweth from the mountains of Peru, and draweth out its streams in many windings and turnings under the equinoctial, for the space of one thousand and five hundred leagues and more: Although from its fountains and springs unto the sea it is but six hundred. When we entered into the aforesaid current, we sounded, and had forty four fathom water, sandy sounding. The tenth day, the colour of the water changed, and became muddy, whitish, and thick; then we

sounded again at twelve of the clock at noon, and had thirteen fathom; and seventeen at four in the afternoon. The eleventh day at eight of the clock in the morning, we made land, the uttermost point thereof bearing west from us, and came to anchor in five fathom water.

At night the *Patience*, putting in too near the shore, came to anchor in two half fathom water upon the flood, which fell from her upon the ebb, and left her upon the ooze, and the next flood, coming in, did so shake and beat her against the ground, that, before she could get off, her rudder was beaten away, and her ribs so rent and crased, that, if Almighty God had not preserved her, she had been wrecked: But, God be thanked, with much ado she came off into deeper water, and mended her rudder, as well as the time and place would afford means. Then we followed on our course, coasting along to the north-north-west, the land so trending. It is very shoal all along this coast, the ground soft ooze, but no danger to be feared, keeping our ship in five fathom water.

When we came to the latitude of two degrees and a half, we anchored in a goodly bay, by certain islands, called *Carripapoor*; I did at that time forbear to make a particular discovery of this coast, intending, if God spare me life, to make a perfect discovery of the famous river of *Amazones*, and of its several branches, and countries bordering upon it, and of all this tract of land from the *Amazones*, unto the river of *Wiapoco*, which containeth many goodly provinces, and signiories, which are, in this discourse, but briefly mentioned: For at this time I purposed only to prosecute my first project, which hastened me unto another place.

7 From hence I stood along the coast, and, the seventeenth of May, I came to anchor in the Bay of *Wiapoco*, where the Indians came off unto us in two or three canoes, as well to learn of what nation we were, as also to trade with us, who, understanding that we were Englishmen, boldly came on board us; one of them could speak our language well, and was known to some of my company to be an Indian, that some time had been in England, and served Sir John Gilbert many years. They brought with them such dainties as their country yieldeth; as hens, fish, pinas, plantanes, potatoes, bread of cassia, and such like cates, which were heartily welcome to my hungry company: In recompence whereof, I gave them knives, beads, jews trumps, and such toys, which well contented them. But when I had a while entertained them, and made known unto them the return of the Indian Martin, their countryman, whom I brought with me out of England, they seemed exceeding joyful, supposing that he had been dead, it being above four years since he departed from them.

The Indian before mentioned to have served Sir John Gilbert, whose name was John, whilst he lived, for he is now dead, and died a Christian, was a great help unto us, because he spoke our language much better than either of those that I brought with me, and was ever firm and faithful to us, until his death. By him I understood that their town was situate upon the east side of the hill in the mouth of *Wiapoco*, and was called *Caripo*; that the Indian Martin was lord thereof, and that in his absence his brother was chief. Moreover, he certified me that the prin-

principal Indian of that river was called Carasana, who, by good fortune, was then at Caripo, and so, having spent some time in other conference and friendly entertainment, they took their leave, and departed for that time. I sent one of my company with them to give notice to Carasana, and the rest of the Indians of Caripo, that I had brought home their countryman Martin, whom they all thought to be dead, and another of their nation also, who had kindred and friends amongst them: To desire him to come aboard my ship, and to bring with him the principal Indians of Caripo, that I might declare unto them the cause of my coming into their country, and confer with them of other matters intended for their good. The next day I came into the river of Wiapoco, and anchored over against the Sandy Bay.

The day following the Indians came aboard as I had desired, and brought us good store of their country provision: Carasana, and one or two more more of them were attired in old clothes, which they had gotten of certain Englishmen, who (by the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh) had traded there the year before; the rest were all naked, both men and women; and this I observed amongst them, that although the better sort of men, especially the Yaïos, do cover their privities, by wearing over them a little piece of cotton cloth prettily woven after their manner; yet did I never see any of their women covered in any part, either above or beneath the waist, albeit they daily conversed amongst us, but were all, as the plain proverb is, even stark belly naked.

At their coming aboard my ship, first Carasana, as the principal among them, and after him the rest, saluted and welcomed us after their rude manner. I used them with all courtesy, and entertained them as well as the streight room would give me leave, giving them good store of *Aqua Vita*, which they love exceedingly: I presented to their view their two countrymen, Martin, the lord of their town, and Anthony Canabre, who was a Christian, and had lived in England fourteen years, both which I had brought home unto them: When they beheld them, and after salutations, and some conference, knew to be the same persons, whom they supposed had been long since dead, they expressed much joy and contentment: And understanding, from their own mouths, how well I had used them, they seemed to be better pleased with our coming: And, when their rude salutations to their new come countrymen were ended, I took them a-part, and thus declared the cause of my coming.

First I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sir Walter Raleigh in their country, in the reign of our late Sovereign Queen Elisabeth, when, to free them from servitude, he most worthily vanquished the Spaniards at Trinidad: burned their town; took their governor Don Antonio de Berreo, prisoner; delivered five of the Indian kings imprisoned, and bound by the neck with collars of iron; and with great labour and peril discovered the river of Oroonoko, and the countries adjoining, as far as the province of Aromaya, the country of Topiawary, and the river of Caroly beyond it. And that their countrymen called the *Oroonokoponi*, who are the borderers of Oroonoko, did then most willingly submit and render themselves under the subjection

of the late Queen; all which they well remembered, and said, that Sir Walter Raleigh promised to have returned again unto them long since.

Then I excused his not returning according to his promise, by reason of other employments of great importance imposed upon him by the late Queen: Shewing them, moreover, that, when he could not, for that cause, return himself, he sent Captain Keymis to visit them, and to bring him true intelligence of their estate, supposing that he had left no Spaniards behind him at Trinidad of power to molest them, to the end that relief and aid might be prepared for them, according to their necessities, and oppression of their enemies. Then I told them of the death of the late Queen, whereby that business of theirs was again hindered.

Moreover, I declared unto them, that our gracious Sovereign Lord King James, who now reigneth over us (being the only right and lawful heir, and successor to the crown and dignity of the realm of England, after the death of the late Queen) was throughout the whole land proclaimed King of England; and, so coming to reign over us, hath been ever since busied in ordering the state and affairs of the kingdom, which being, by his great wisdom, settled in tranquillity and peace, he, like a good, gracious, and worthy king, doth now permit his subjects to travel abroad into foreign countries and nations, to aid and assist all such as are unjustly molested by their enemies. Whereupon I, and the rest of these worthy gentlemen, my associates and friends, having intelligence by some that had been followers of Captain Charles Lee, (who was a man well known amongst them, and heretofore had taken possession of their country to his Majesty's use, and was planted divers years in Wiapoco, where he lieth buried) of the great variance and discord depending between them the allied nations, the Yaïos, Arwaccas, Sappaïos, and Paragontos, and their enemies the Caribbees (all inhabiting between the rivers of Amazonas and Dessequebe) have made a long and dangerous voyage in those parts, to appease their dissensions, and defend them against the Caribbees, or other enemies that shall molest or oppress them: And, now being there arrived, do intend to make search in those countries for convenient places, where such of our nation, as shall hereafter come to defend them, may be fitly seated to dwell amongst them; that, if any of those nations shall attempt at any time to disturb the quiet living of their neighbours, they may have store of English friends at hand and amongst them, that will not spare their pains to appease their discords, nor their lives to defend them from harm.

When I had thus declared unto them the cause of my coming, they made this answer: That with our coming they were well pleased, but our number of men they thought too great; that they wanted means to provide us bread sufficient for them all, having but a small town, few gardens, and slender provisions for their own companies, because, since Captain Lee's death, and his men's departure from them, they never made provision for any strangers.

I replied, that albeit their town was small, and their gardens few, (for the grounds wherein they plant their cassavi, whereof they make their

bread, they call their gardens) yet their country was full of inhabitants, and had store of gardens to supply our wants of bread, and was plentifully stored with other provisions sufficient for a greater number; which I desired might be weekly brought unto us, as need required, for that I meant not to take it without recompence, but would give them for it such commodities as should well please them, which they wanted: As axes, hatchets, knives, beads, looking-glasses, jews trumps, and such like things wherein they most delight.

Then they desired to consult among themselves, which I permitted, and expected their answer above two hours; which time they spent in debating the matter after their manner, and drinking Aqua Vitæ, and in the end desired my presence, and made me this answer:

That they were contented and well pleased we should live amongst them; that they would furnish us with houses to lodge in, and provide all necessaries for us in the best manner they could. But whereas I said our King would permit his people to live and abide amongst them, and defend them against their enemies; they answered, it was a thing they greatly desired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof, and said they were but words, having heretofore been promised the like, but nothing performed. To resolve that doubt, and make good my speeches, I told them that what I had spoken should certainly be performed, and to that end I would leave my brother in their country, and some of my company with him, to dwell amongst them, until a greater supply might be sent from England for their better defence. Then they seemed to give credit to my words: And so after much talk, and many compliments to please the naked people, I gave to Carasana a sword, and to the rest some other things, which pleased them well: And then, after their manner, taking their leave, they departed. The next day the Indian, Martin, went ashore, and seemed joyful that he had again recovered his own home.

The day following I took land, with my companies in arms and colours displayed, and went up unto the town, where I found all the women and children standing at their doors to behold us. The principal Indians came out unto me, and invited me into the captain's house, which, until the return of Martin, belonged unto his brother, as chief lord in his absence: I went up with them, and was friendly feasted with many kinds of their country cates; when I had well eaten, and refreshed myself, Martin took me by the hand, and said, That he had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindness towards him, in such manner as he desired; neither had he such delicate fare, and good lodging for us, as in England heretofore we had been used unto; but humbly intreated me to accept of his house in good part for myself, and the gentlemen of my company, and the rest should be lodged in other Indian houses adjoining; and that such provisions as the country yieldeth, should be provided for us. His speech was approved by the rest of the Indians present, who took me by the hand, one after another, and, after their manner, bad me welcome. I gave them many thanks, and some rewards for their kind entertainment; and then disposed my company in convenient lodgings: But yet I kept a continual guard, as in time of war.

When I had thus settled my company at this village, I went out' to view the situation of the place, and the advantages for defence thereof. It is a great rocky mountain, not accessible by reason of fast woods, and steep rocks, but only in certain places, which are narrow foot-paths, very steep and easy to be defended; whereby we were lodged as in a fort, and most conveniently, in respect the harbour was so near, for our ships did ride at anchor underneath us, over-against the foot of the hill.

Being thus arrived on the coast, I found the time of the year so unseasonable for our purpose, that (by reason of continual rains) we were constrained to lie still, and do nothing for the space of three weeks, or a month; in which idle time I conferred with the Indians, sometimes with one, sometimes with another; and, by help of my Indian, Anthony Canabre, and the Indian, John, above-mentioned, whom I used for my interpreters, I gathered from them, as well as I could, the state of their country; the manner of their government and living; how they stood with their neighbours in terms of peace and war; and of what power and strength they were. I inquired also of the seasons of the year in those parts; of their division, and account of times, and numbers; of the provisions of their country for victuals, and other necessities; and made a diligent inquiry of all the commodities their country yieldeth, and what things were of most estimation amongst them; all which I have briefly declared unto your Highness, in this following discourse.

This goodly country, and spacious empire, is, on the north part, bounded with the sea, and the great river of Oroonoko, wherein Sir Walter Raleigh performed his worthy and memorable discovery; on the east and south parts, with the famous river of Amazonas; and on the west part, with the mountains of Peru.

The westernmost branch of the river of the Amazonas, that falleth into the sea, is called Arrapoco, upon which river are seated many goodly signiorics, well deserving a particular discovery, which shall, by God's permission, be performed hereafter. To the north of Arrapoco, is the river of Arrawary, which is a goodly river, discovering a gallant country. From Arrawary, unto the river of Cassipurogh extendeth the province of Arricary, containing the signiories of Arrawary, Maicary, and Cooshebery: Of which Anakivry is principal, who, by nation, is a Yaio, and fled from the borders of Oroonoko, for fear of the Spaniards, to whom he is a mortal enemy. He hath seated himself in the province of Arricary, and now dwelleth at Morooga, in the signiory of Maicary: To the north-northwest of which, there falleth into the sea, a river, called Conawini, whereupon the signiory of Cooshebery bordereth; whereof an Indian, named Leonard Ragapo, is chief, under the subjection of Anakivry. This Indian is christened, and hath been heretofore in England, with Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he beareth great affection; he can a little understand and speak our language, and loveth our nation with all his heart. During my abode at Wiapoco, having intelligence of him, and of his country, and that certain stones were found therein, supposed to be diamonds: I sent my cousin, Captain *Fisher*, to discover the same, and to fetch some of those stones, to be of the truth.

As to his coming thither, Leonard entertained him with all kindness, not after the ordinary rude manner of the Indians, but in more civil fashion; and, with much respect and love, he furnished him with guides, to conduct him through the country to the place where the stones were found, being fifty miles southward up into the land; beyond which place there is an high mountain appearing in sight, called Cowob, and on the top thereof (as the Indians report) a great lake or pool, full of excellent fish of divers kinds. The country was as pleasant and delightful as ever any man beheld; but the stones not diamonds, yet they were topaz's, which being well cut, and set in gold by a cunning workman, do make as fair a shew, and give as good a lustre as any diamond whatsoever, which yield good hopes of better to be found hereafter; for where the topaz is found on the mountains of Tenaseren, in the East-Indies, the greatest store of diamonds are also found.

When my kinsman returned, Captain Leonard came with him to Wiapoco (being above an hundred miles from his own country) only to visit me and my company, for the great love he did bear to Sir Walter Raleigh and our nation. I much marvelled to see him, for assuredly he is the bravest Indian of all those parts.

After he had been with me a day or two, he earnestly requested me to send some of my company into his country, which he greatly commended for the wholesome air, and plenty of victuals, alledging, that the place where then we lived, by his own experience, was very unhealthful; that our men would there be subject to sickness, and die; and, for an instance, he named Captain Lee, and his company, who formerly were planted there, and almost all died by sickness in the same place: But he assured me, that his own country, Cooshebery, was of a good air, pleasant, and healthful; that there they might have room sufficient to build English houses in (for those were the words he used) that thither they should be welcome, and should want nothing. Much he persuaded to draw me to his desire, which, by his importunity, I granted, and, accordingly performed it, finding his country answerable to his report, being, for the most part, champion-ground, naturally intermixed with plain fields, fruitful meadows, and goodly woods, in such admirable order, as if they had been planted artificially, by handy labour: The fields appearing above the meadows, in pleasant and delightful manner, presenting here and there unto the eye, from stately mounts, most beautiful and lively prospects; the meadows bordering on every side, between the fields and woods; the woods growing in the lowest vallies betwixt the meadows, and commonly watered with sweet and pleasant fresh streams running through them; which strange and rare mixture of mounts, vallies, meadows, fields, and meadows, affords as excellent and healthful habitations as can be wished or desired, but is not greatly peopled.

From the river Cassipurogh, north-westward to the river of Arracow, and up further into the land towards the west and south-west, as far as the river of Arwy, which falleth into Wiapoco, above the overfalls, extend the provinces of Arracoory, and Morrownia, which also to

the landward, by the relation of my brother-captain, Michael Harcourt, and Captain Harvey, who have travelled and discovered those parts, are pleasant and delightful plain countries, like unto Cooshebery. The Arracoury country is well peopled, and their chief captain is called Ipero. Betwixt the Wiapocoories and Arracoories there is no hearty love and friendship, yet in outward shew they hold good quarter. In Morrownia there is also store of people, which are friendly Indians. In that province there is a very high hill, called Callipuny, fashioned like a sugar loaf, or a pyramid, which overvieweth and discovereth all the territories adjoining above an hundred miles.

Beyond the country of Morrownia, to the southward, bordering the river of Arwy, is the province of Norrak; the people thereof are Caribbees, and enemies both to the Morrowines, the inhabitants of Morrownia, and to the Wiapocoories, who are also under the subjection of Anakivry, the principal, and greatest lord, or cassique, of all the Yaïos in those provinces, bordering upon the sea betwixt the Amazonas south-eastward, and Dessequebe north-westward.

From the river of Amazonas to the bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the sea these rivers following: Arrapoco, a branch of Amazonas, Arrawary, Micary, Conawini, and Cassipurogh: In the bay of Wiapoco, to the east of the said river falleth into the sea the river of Arracow, and into Arracow falleth the river of Watts. To the north of Wiapoco there is a small creek called Wianary, which letteth in the sea a day's journey, westward, up into the land: Some take this creek to be a river, but they do err in that opinion, it having neither spring nor fountain from whence it falleth. To the north and north-west of the said creek there is a ridge of high mountains running towards the river of Apurwaca, the soil whereof is excellent and fertile for tobacco, and beareth the best of all those parts; so are the sugar-canes, growing there, the best and fairest that are found upon the coast; and all the tract of land, betwixt the rivers of Wiapoco and Apurwaca, is accounted the province of Wiapocoory, containing the signories of Wiapoco and Wianary. Beneath the overfalls in Wiapoco, which are forty miles distant from the sea, there is much people, both of Yaïos and Arwaccas: Of the Yaïos in this river, Carasana is chief. Of the Arwaccas Arriquona is principal. In Wianary there are few Indians, and Casurino is their chieftain.

To the north-west of the bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the sea the rivers of Apurwaca, Cowo, Wio, and Caiane. Apurwaca is a goodly river, and well inhabited; Cowo is void of inhabitants; Wio is a fair river, and leadeth many days journey into the high land, and discovereth a fertile and hopeful country. At Caiane there is an excellent harbour for shipping of any burden, which heretofore by captain Laurence Keymis was called Port Howard: On the starboard-side, as you enter this harbour, there is an island of low land, called Muccumbro, situate betwixt the rivers of Caiane and Meccoria, containing in circuit about sixteen leagues. In this island there are two hills, the one called Muccumbro, whereof the island taketh the name; the other Cillicedemo: From these hills the greatest part of the island may

be overviewed, which containeth many goodly pastures and meadows, intermixed with some woods, and is full of deer, both red and fallow.

On the larboard-side, as you enter Caiane, there is another island of high land, called Mattoory, in quantity much like unto the first; this island, for the commodious situation, is of great effect for the defence of the harbour, affording naturally two such notable convenient places for the planting of ordnance for that purpose, as no industry of art could devise better, or more available.

The inhabitants of this province of Caiane are Caribbees; their principal commander is called Arrawicary, who dwelleth at Cillicedemo, before-mentioned: We have found him trusty and faithful to our nation, but to our friend Leonard of Cooshebery he is a mortal enemy. At this man's house I left four or five of my company, thereby to hold amity and friendship with the Caribbees, to learn their language, and to keep peace between them and the Yaïos, Arwaccas, and other nations, their allies.

To the south-westward of these provinces above-mentioned, towards the high land, there are many others which hereafter shall be more exactly described by a second discovery.

These provinces and signories to the landward are not plentifully inhabited; the greatest numbers of people are seated near unto the rivers, and travel, from place to place, in canoes. There is no settled government amongst them, only they acknowledge a superiority, which they will obey as far as they please. In every province or signory there is a chief cassique, or captain, commanding all: So likewise in every town and village they commonly chastise murder and adultery by death, which only are the offences punished amongst them, and certain persons are appointed by them to execute those punishments. The Indians take wives, over whom they are extremely jealous, and expect great continency in them; for, if they take them in adultery, they presently cause their brains to be beaten out. The better sort of persons have every one of them two or three wives, or more, the rest but one, accounting him that hath most wives the greatest man. Their wives, especially the elder sort, are as servants unto them, for they make their bread and drink, dress their meat, serve them at meals, and do all the other business about the house.

These provinces are peopled with divers nations of several languages, namely, Yaïos, Arwaccas, Seppaïos, Paragotos, and Caribbees. The Caribbees are the ancient inhabitants, and the other nations are such as have been chased away from Trinidad, and the borders of Ororonoko. And, forasmuch as they have united themselves in those parts, the Caribbees have held them in continual wars; but the Yaïos, and the other nations their allies, are grown so strong, that they have constrained the Caribbees of the sea-coast to contract a peace with them, yet bear no hearty love the one nation to the other: But, with the Caribbees, inhabiting the inland parts upon the mountains, they have as yet no peace at all; for they do oftentimes come down upon them in great numbers, spoil and burn their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cause of war and

hatred amongst them; whereof our men have seen experience in Cooshebery, where happened an accident worth the observing, which I will here declare unto your highness. The Indian, Leonard Ragapo, beforementioned, is a Yaio, who, finding the country of Cooshebery slenderly inhabited, hath seized upon it for his own signiory; and, at his earnest request, I sent four gentlemen of my company to remain there with him. The natural inhabitants that dwell upon the uttermost bounds thereof, towards the south and west, are Caribbees, and enemies to him, and to his nation; for while our men, unknown to the Caribbees, staid at Cooshebery, they assembled themselves together to the number of two-hundred, or more, and came down into his signiory, burned and spoiled houses, roasted one woman, took many prisoners, and intended to assault him also; which to prevent, he armed about fifty of his Indians, with their usual weapons, which are bows and arrows, long staves sharpened at the point, and with fire hardened; wooden swords and targets very artificially made of wood, and painted with beasts and birds; he requested also our men to aid and assist him with their musquets, which I commanded them to do upon all such occasions offered: And, so being all in readiness, Leonard, as their captain, led them on to intercept his enemies; and, as I have heard by Mr. Henry Baldwin, who then was present, and, to observe the manner of their wars, gave him leave to command all, he bravely performed that exploit, in good order after their manner, and with great judgment and resolution. For, in the front, he first placed our four Englishmen, by two in a rank; next to them, two Indians armed with wooden swords and targets; then two archers: and after them two men with sharpened staves, instead of pikes; and in like manner ordered and ranked all his company. Being thus prepared, he marched against the Caribbees, who, near at hand, were coming in the same order towards him; but when they approached, and, unexpected, perceived our Englishmen amongst the Yaioes, they were much amazed, and made a sudden stand; which Leonard perceiving, guessed rightly at the cause, and instantly made good use of that advantage. He commanded his own company to keep their station; himself with a sword in his hand, which I had given him, and a target of his own fashion, went boldly towards them to parley with their captains. And, having called them out; he reproved them for coming, as enemies, into his signiory, for burning and spoiling his houses, and his people; he demanded satisfaction for the hurt done, and restitution of the prisoners taken, and warned them forthwith to depart out of his signiory, and desist from war; which if they refused to fulfil, he was there ready with his friends the Englishmen to fight with them, and revenge his wrongs: And said further, that, if in the conflict any of the Englishmen were slain, or hurt, he would then fetch all the rest from Wiapoco, and return to burn their houses, and cut them all in pieces. Thus he boldly spoke, with such a courage, shewing also our men unto them, who had their match in cock ready to discharge, that he struck such a fear into them all, by reason of our men's presence, that they presently agreed to peace, performed what conditions *he required*, and then departed home with all their company. Here

may your highness note the factions among the Indian nations, the discipline and order they hold in war, the fear the Caribbees conceived at the sight of our Englishmen, and the policy of the Indian, Leonard, to take advantage of their fear, and make our men his guard, and chief protection against them. These things in time will much avail us, being well observed, and rightly applied according to occasion. But to our former discourse.

The power and strength of these countries, being so thinly peopled, is not very great to withstand the might of foreign enemies; the usual weapons of the Indians are before described, saving that their arrows are oftentimes poisoned. But, since our trade and commerce with them, they have gotten a few good swords, musquets, calivers, and some small quantity of shot and powder, and have learned to handle their pieces very orderly, and some of them are good shot.

The seasons of the year upon this coast, and in this climate, are divers; for in the east parts of Guiana, towards the Amazonas, the dry weather, which we call their summer, beginneth in August; and the violent rains and tempestuous winds, which we count their winter, begin in February: But in the western parts, towards Oroonoko, the dry season beginneth in October, and the rains and winds in April. There is little difference of heat and cold in this diversity of seasons, being so near the equinoctial, where the day and night are always equal, the sun ever rising and setting at six of the clock, or near thereabout; which climate by the ancient philosophers (in respect of the nearness of the sun, which causeth excessive drought and heat) was accounted the uninhabitable and burning Zone: But our daily experience doth assure us of their certain mistaking in that point; for in those parts we find, that, when the sun declineth furthest from them towards the tropick of Capricorn, the air is then clearest, and the season of the year most dry; as in the eastern parts of Guiana, in August, September, October, November, and December; and, when the sun returneth towards the tropick of Cancer, then do the rains begin, increase, and decrease, from February to July: But sometimes they begin to fall, and the rivers to rise, swell, and overflow sooner or later by a month; and the year is sometimes more or less windy and wet, according to the disposition of the heavens, and of the planets; and as the sun approacheth, or declineth little, or much, even so the earth wanteth or aboundeth with water and moisture.

The reasons of these strange diversities from other regions without the tropicks, are very excellently declared by Joseph Acosta in the second book of his natural and moral history of the Indies, to which author I refer you for your better satisfaction therein: But withal I must advertise you, that, when you read his first and second books, you have regard to the place where they were written, which was in Peru, reputed by us to be beyond the equinoctial towards the south, or pole antarctick, lest you err by mistaking his meaning; for in those two books, when he mentioneth any place beyond the equinoctial, he meaneth towards the north, or pole arctick. And also you must note, that this general rule, for the heavens temperature, is only limited to the region of the burning Zone, within the tropicks.

They have no division, or account of times or numbers; they only reckon by the moons, as one, two, three, four, or five moons; or by days, in like manner. Their numbers they reckon thus, one, two, three, and so to ten; then they say ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, &c. And, to shew their meaning more certainly, they will hold up one, two, three, or more of their fingers, expressing the numbers, still making signs as they speak, the better to declare their meaning: When they reckon twenty, they hold down both their hands to their feet, shewing all their fingers and toes, and, as the number is greater, so will they double the sign. When they appoint or promise any thing to be done by a time limited, they will deliver a little bundle of sticks, equal to the number of days, or moons, that they appoint, and will themselves keep another bundle of the like number; and, to observe their appointed time, they will every day, or moon, take away a stick, and, when they have taken away all, then they know that the time of their appointment is come, and will accordingly perform their promise.

As touching religion, they have none amongst them, that I could perceive, more than a certain observance of the sun and moon, supposing them to be alive, but use no religious worship towards them, nor offer sacrifice to any thing; unless they use a superstition in their drinking-feasts, by sacrificing jars of drink: For, at the death of any of their cassiques, captains, or great friends whom they esteem, they will make a solemn feast, their chiefest provision being of their best and strongest drink, which they call Parranow, which feast shall continue three or four days, or as long as their liquor lasteth, spending their time in dancing, singing, and drinking excessively; in which vice they exceed all other nations whatsoever, accounting him, that will be drunk first, the bravest fellow. During this solemnity of their drinking, some woman, being nearest of kin unto the party dead, doth stand by and cry extremely: Thus their manner is until their drink be spent, and then the feast is ended. Whether they use any superstition in this custom, I know not; time will reveal, and also reform it. It is most certain, that their peçajos, as they call them, priests, or soothsayers, at some special times, have conference with the devil, the common deceiver of mankind, whom they call Wattipa, and are by him deluded; yet, notwithstanding their often conference with him, they fear, and hate him much, and say that he is naught; and not without great reason, for he will oftentimes, to their great terror, beat them black and blue. They believe that the good Indians, when they die, go up, and will point towards the heavens, which they call Caupo; and that the bad Indians go down, pointing to the earth, which they call Soy. When any cassique, captain, or chief man, dieth amongst them, if he have a slave or prisoner, taken from their enemies, they will kill him; and, if he have none such, then will they kill one of his other servants, that he may have one to attend him in the other world.

The quality of the land, in those countries, is of divers kinds: By the sea side the land is low, where the heat would be most vehement, *if it were not qualified and tempered by a fresh easterly wind or*

breeze, most forcibly blowing in the heat of the day. In many places this low land is very unhealthful, and little inhabited, by reason of the overflowing of the waters; but, for the most part, it hath goodly navigable rivers, a fertile soil, much people, and is a healthful habitation. Upon the mountains there is a high land, where the air is coldest: in some places it is fruitful, in others not: but, generally, is full of minerals, and mines of metals, and yieldeth as many as any part either of the East or West-Indies, both of the best, and of the basest; whereof we shall, by God's permission, give good testimony, to the benefit of our country, and honour of our nation, in time convenient: And, in most places upon the mountains, there is sound and healthful dwelling. There is also a middle sort of land, which is of a mean height, and is most temperate, healthful, fertile, and most inhabited of all others: it aboundeth in meadows, pastures, and pleasant streams of fresh water, in goodly woods, and most delightful plains, for profit, pleasure, sport, and recreation; and also is not void of minerals.

The provisions of this country for victuals are many: First, of the root of a tree called Cassaui, they make their bread, in manner following: They grate the root upon a stone, and press out the juice thereof, which, being raw, is poison, but boiled with guinea pepper, whereof they have abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholesome sauce: Then they dry the grated root, and bake it upon a stone, as we bake our oaten cakes in England. This bread is very excellent, much like, but far better, than our great oaten cakes, a finger thick, which are used in the Moorlands, and the Peake in Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

There is a kind of great wheat, called *mais*, of some it is called Guinea wheat; which grain is a singular provision in those countries, and yieldeth admirable increase, even a thousand or fifteen-hundred for one, and many times much more: It maketh excellent meal, or flour for bread; and very good malt for beer or ale; and serveth well for sundry other necessary uses for the relief of man. Of the aforesaid Cassaui bread, and this wheat, the Indians make drink, which they call *Passiaw*: It will not keep long, but must be spent within four or five days: They make another kind of drink of Cassaui, called *Parranow*, very good and strong, much like unto our best March beer in England, and that kind of drink will keep ten days: many sorts they have, which I have tasted, some strong, some small, some thick, some thin, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongst the *Yaios* and *Arwaccus*, which are the cleanliest people of all those nations.

There is great store of honey in the country, and although it be wild, being taken out of trees, and holes in the earth, yet is it as good as any in the world; of which may be made an excellent drink much used in Wales, called *meath*. The honey and the wax are also good commodities for merchandise.

There are no vines in that country, but, the soil being rich and fertile, and the climate hot, if they were planted there, they would prosper exceedingly, and yield good sacks and canary-wines, which, in those parts, we find to be very wholesome.

Many other necessary provisions, sufficient for the sustenance of man, do there abound in plenty; namely, deer of all-sorts, wild swine in great numbers, whereof there are two kinds; the one small, by the Indians called Pockiero, which hath the navel in the back; the other is called Paingo, and is as fair and large as any we have in England. There is store of hares and conies, but of a kind far differing from ours. There are tigers, leopards, ounces, armadils; maipurics, which are in taste like beef, and will take salt; baremocs, or ant-bears, which taste like mutton, and other small beasts of the same taste, coloured like a fawn; elks, monkies, and marmosites of divers sorts, both great and small; of these beasts there are innumerable, and, by experience, we have found them all good meat. Many other kinds of beasts there are, of sundry and strange shapes, which hereafter shall be figured in their true proportion, according to the life, with their names annexed.

Of fowls there are divers kinds; namely, wild-ducks, widgeons, teals, wild-geese, herons of divers colours, cranes, storks, pheasants, partridges, doves, stock-doves, black-birds, curlews, god-wits, wood-cocks, snits, parrots of sundry sorts, and many other kinds of great and small birds of rare colours, besides great ravenous fowls, and hawks of every kind.

Of fish the variety is great: First, of sea-fish; there is sea-bream, mullet, soal, scate, thornback, the sword-fish, sturgeon, seal; a fish like unto a salmon, but, as the salmon is red, this is yellow; shrimps, lobsters, and oysters, which hang upon the branches of trees. There is a rare fish, called Cassoorwa, which hath in each eye two sights, and, as it swimmeth, it beareth the lower sight within the water, and the other above. The ribs and back of this fish resemble those parts of a man, having the ribs round, and the back flat, with a dent therein, as a man hath; it is somewhat bigger than a smelt, but far exceeding it for dainty meat; and many other sorts there are most excellent. Of fresh-water fish, many kinds unknown in these parts, but all exceeding good and dainty; and I dare be bold to say, that this country may compare with any other of the world, for the great variety of excellent fish, both of the sea and fresh waters. There is also a sea-fish, which usually cometh into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season; it is of great esteem amongst us, and we account it half flesh, for the blood of it is warm; it cometh up into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth upon grass and weeds: the Indians name it Columero, and the Spaniards Manati, but we call it the Sea-cow: In taste it is like beef, will take salt, and serve to victual ships, as in our knowledge hath been proved by our countrymen. Of this fish may be made an excellent oil for many purposes; the fat of it is good to fry either fish or flesh: the hide, as I have heard, will make good buff; and, being dried in the sun, and kept from wet, will serve for targets and armours against the Indian arrows: In the wet season the store of them is infinite; some of these hides were heretofore brought into England by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The several kinds of fruits are many: the pine, plantain, potatoe, mulberry, plums of divers sorts, and many of strange kinds. The excel-

lency of the pina I cannot express, for I dare boldly affirm, that the world affordeth not a more delicate fruit: In taste it is like strawberries, claret-wine, and sugar. The platana is also a very good fruit, and tasteth like an old pippin. The potatoe is well known. The medlar exceedeth in greatness. The plums I cannot commend; for to eat much of them doth cause fluxes, which in those countries are dangerous. The nuts are good, being moderately eaten. Having thus, most excellent prince, declared the several sorts of provisions for victuals and necessary foods, it remaineth, that I now make mention of the variety of commodities found in the country for the trade of merchandise; which in a few years, by our pains and industry, may be brought to perfection, and so settled in those parts, that not only the undertakers may receive reward for their endeavours, but our country also may grow rich, by trading for the fruits of our labours.

The first and principal commodity of estimation are the sugar-canes, whereof, in those parts, there is great plenty; the soil is as fertile for them, as in any other part of the world: they do there grow to great bigness in a short time; by orderly and fit planting of them, and by erecting convenient works for the boiling and making of sugars (which at the first will require some charge and expence) may be yearly returned great benefit and wealth: The long experience of the Portuguese and Spaniards, in Brasil and the island of the Canaries, and of the Moors in Barbary, may give us certain assurapce and full satisfaction thereof.

The cotton-wool is a general commodity, beneficial to our merchants, and profitable to our country, by making of fustians, and serving for bumbast and other uses; for making of hamaccas, which are the Indian beds, most necessary in those parts; and also of a fine cotton cloth for clothing of the people. There is a natural hemp or flax of great use, almost as fine as silk, as it may be used; we have now found out the best use of it, and for making of linnen cloth it is most excellent.

There are many rare and singular commodities for dyers; of which sort there is a red berry, called Annoto, which, being rightly prepared by the Indians, dyeth a perfect and sure orange tawny in silk; it hath been sold in Holland for twelve shillings sterling the pound, and is yet of a good price. There is another berry, that dyeth blue. There is also a gum of a tree, whereof I have seen experience, that, in cloth, dyeth a sure and perfect yellow in grain. There are leaves of certain trees, which, being rightly prepared, do dye a deep red. There is also a wood, which dyeth a purple, and is of a good price; and another, that dyeth yellow. There is yet another wood, which dyeth a purple when the liquor is hot, and a crimson when the liquor is cold. Many other notable things there are, no doubt, not yet known unto us, which, by our diligent labour and observation, in time will be discovered and found.

The sweet gums, of inestimable value and strange operation in physick and surgery, are innumerable; there is yellow amber, gumma, lemoia, colliman, or carriman, barratta, and many more, which I omit. The

colliman hath been proved by Mr. Walter Cary of Wickham, in Buckinghamshire, a gentleman of great judgment and practice in physick, to be of special regard, for many purposes: this gum is black and brittle, much like, in shew, to common pitch; if you put a little of it upon burning coals, it filleth all the room, with a most sweet and pleasant savour. He further reporteth of it, that certainly, if you hold your head over the fume thereof, three, or four times a day, it cureth the giddiness of the head; and is also a most excellent comfort and remedy, for a cold, moist, and rheumatick brain: It is also good against the resolution, or, as the common sort call it, the dead palsy, whereof the giddiness of the head is often a messenger, and the foreteller of that most pernicious grief. It is also of great use for the pain, that many women have in the lower part of their backs, which is very common to such, as have had children: for remedy whereof, it is to be melted in a pewter vessel, with a gentle fire; then, with a knife, it must be spread lightly upon a piece of leather, and laid warm to the place grieved, until it come of itself. This plaister is also very good for aches, and doth greatly comfort and strengthen the sinews. Thus much hath Mr. Cary written and reported of it, and hath proved by his own experience. This gum is also approved to be an excellent remedy against the gout, and of singular virtue, in the cure of wounds.

The barratta is a most sovereign balsam, far excelling all others yet known; which, by the same gentleman's experience, is of admirable operation in the cure of green wounds; and, being burned upon coals, is of a sweet and odoriferous savour.

There are many other sweet gums of great use, for perfumes; whereof one doth make a very rare perfume, much like unto the scent of sweet marjoram, very pleasant and delectable.

For physick, there are also many excellent drugs; namely, spikenard, cassia, fistula, sene; and the earth yieldeth bole-armoniack and terra-lemnia, all which are known unto us. There be other drugs and simples, also, of strange and rare vertue, in these parts unknown; of which sort there is a little green apple, by the Indians called in their language the sleeping apple, which, in operation, is so violent, that one little bit thereof doth cause a man to sleep to death; the least drop of the juice of it will purge, in a vehement and excessive manner, as dangerously was proved by my cousin Unton Fisher, who first found it; for, biting a little of it, for a taste, and finding it to burn his mouth, in some extremity, he did suddenly spit it out again; but some small quantity of the juice, against his will, went down into his stomach, which, for two or three days space, did provoke in him an extraordinary sleepiness, and purged him with sixty stools. This apple, for the purging vertue, in so small a quantity, is like to be of good price, and great estimation, in the practice of physick; for the learned physicians do well know how to correct the sleeping quality thereof, wherein the danger resteth. There is a berry in those parts very excellent, against the bloody flux; by the Indians, it is called Kellette. The juice of the leaf, called Uppee, cureth the wounds of the poisoned arrows. The juice of the leaf called Icari, is good against the head-ach. Many other drugs

and simples are there found, of singular properties, both in physick and surgery, which, if they should be severally described, according to their value and worthiness, would contain a large volume.

Moreover, the tree, wherewith they take their fish, is not a little to be esteemed; but chiefly the great goodness of God, therein, is highly to be praised and admired. who, amongst so many admirable things by him created, and planted in those parts, hath vouchsafed to bestow upon those barbarous people so great a benefit, and natural help, for the present getting of their food and sustenance. These trees are commonly growing near unto the places of their habitation for their present use; for when, at any time, they go to fish, they take three or four little sticks of this tree, and bruise them upon a stone, and then go into certain small creeks, by the sea-shore, which, at high-water, are usually full of very good fish of divers kinds, which come in with the tide; and there they wade up and down the water, and, between their hands, rub those small bruised sticks therein, which are of such virtue, that they will cause the fish to turn up their bellies, and lie still above the water, for a certain time: in which space, they presently take as many as they please, and lade them into their canoes, and so with little labour return home, sufficiently provided.

There is also a red-speckled wood, in that country, called *pira timinere*, which is worth thirty or forty pounds a ton: it is excellent for joiners work; as chairs, stools, bedsteads, presses, cupboards, and for wainscot. There are divers kinds of stone of great use, and good price; as jasper, porphyry, and the spleen-stone.

There is yet another profitable commodity to be reaped in Guiana; and that is by tobacco, which albeit some dislike, yet the generality of men, in this kingdom, do with great affection entertain it. It is not only in request, in this our country of England, but also in Ireland, the Netherlands, in all the easterly countries, and Germany; and most of all amongst the Turks, and in Barbary. The price it holdeth, is great; the benefit our merchants gain thereby, is infinite; and the King's rent, for the custom thereof, is not a little. The tobacco that was brought into this kingdom, in the year of our Lord, 1610, was, at the least, worth sixty thousand pounds: and since that time, the store, that yearly hath come in, was little less. It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made up, fit for the merchant in a short time, and with easy labour. But, when we first arrived in those parts, we altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge how to order it, which, now of late, we happily have learned of the Spaniards themselves; whereby I dare presume to say, and hope to prove, within few months, as others also, of sound judgment, and great experience, do hold opinion, that only this commodity tobacco, so much sought after, and desired, will bring as great a benefit and profit to the undertakers, as ever the Spaniards gained by the best and richest silver mine in all their Indies, considering the charge of both.

The things, which the Indians desire from us, by way of trade, in exchange for the above-named commodities, whereby we hold society and commerce with them, are axes, hatchets, bill-hooks, knives, all kinds of *edge-tools*, nails, great fish-hooks, harping-irons, jews trumps,

looking-glasses, blue and white beads, chrystal beads, hats, pins, needles, salt, shirts, bands, linnen and woollen cloths, swords, musquets, callivers, powder and shot; but of these last-mentioned we are very sparing, and part not with many, unless upon great occasion, by way of gift to special persons.

For these toys, and such like trifling things, the Indians will sell unto you any of the above-mentioned commodities that can be gotten or prepared by them, or any thing they have, or that their country yieldeth; and will perform any reasonable labour for them. Thus have I delivered unto your Highness the particulars of the several commodities, which hitherto we have discovered, and found likely to be profitable in Guiana, whereof examples are remaining to be seen in the hands of Mr. Henry Hovenaer, a Dutchman, who, in the year of our Lord 1610, performed a voyage to Guiana, to the places where our company was seated, and now abideth in Thames-street, near unto Cole harbour; and I make no doubt, that, by continuance of time, our painful travels, and diligent observations, we shall discover and get knowledge of an infinite number of others as rich, necessary, and beneficial as these already spoken of, or any other whatsoever, if it please Almighty God to favour and bless our proceedings.

When the rains ceased, which was in July, I began to travel abroad in search of those golden mountains, promised unto us, before the beginning of our voyage, by one that undertook to guide us to them; which filled my company so full of vain expectations, and golden hopes, that their insatiable and covetous minds, being wholly set thereon, could not be satisfied with any thing, but only gold. Our guide, that vainly made those great promises, being come unto the wished place, to make performance, was then possessed with a shameless spirit of ignorance; for he knew little, and could perform nothing. What other intelligences of mines, already found, I had from other men in England, and from the master of the ship, who had been heretofore in those parts; I found them, by experience, false, and nothing true concerning mines, that was in England reported unto me.

Our greedy desire of gold being thus made frustrate, divers unconstant persons of my unruly company began to murmur, to be discontented, to kindle discords and dissensions, and to stir up mutiny, even almost to the confusion and ruin of us all; and were upon the point to shake off all obedience to their commanders; to abandon patience, peace, and unity, and wilfully to break out into all mischief and wretched disorder, only because they were deceived of their golden hopes and expectations; but, with good words, and comfortable persuasions, I pacified them for the time, and made them acquainted with my better hopes conceived of the commodities above-mentioned. I persuaded them in general from idleness, to travel abroad, to search and seek out amongst the Indians what other novelties they could (though gold were wanting) whereby we might hereafter benefit ourselves; and still I employed them, some one way, and some another, to occupy their minds by doing something, the better to prevent dissension, which commonly is bred of idleness, the slothful mother of all filthy vices.

As I daily conversed amongst the Indians, it chanced one day, that one of them presented me with a half moon of metal, which held somewhat more than a third part gold, the rest copper; another also gave me a little image of the same metal; and of another I bought a plate of the same, which he called a spread eagle, for an ax. All which things, they assured me, were made in the high country of Guiana, which, they said, did abound with images of gold, by them called Carrecoory. These things I shewed to my company, to settle their troubled minds, which gave much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied us all, that there was gold in Guiana. Shortly after that my Indian, Anthony Canabre, brought me a piece of a rock of white spar, whereof the high country is full: and if the white spars of this kind, which are the purest white of all others (for every sort of mine hath a spar, and, for the most part, white) be in a main rock, they are certainly mines of gold, or silver, or of both. I made trial of a piece of spar, which the same Indian discovered unto me, and I found that it held both gold and silver, which, although it was in small quantity, gave me satisfaction, that there are richer mines in the country to be found; but the best lie deeper in the earth, and we had not time nor power to make search for them.

Being thus informed, and sufficiently resolved of the commodities of the country, and well satisfied of the minerals, I bent all my endeavours to find out the fittest places, and most convenient for our first plantations. At the last I found out many, and some of special note, which are, for many respects, of great importance; and when time serveth, our forces and number of men being answerable, I will lay them open to the knowledge of the world: and, for wealth, I hope they shall fully answer all men's expectations.

I travelled up the river of Wiapoco, to view the overfalls, but, the waters being high and strong, I could not pass them. In August, when they are fallen, with some labour they may be passed. This river hath very many overfalls, one lying a good distance beyond another, even to the head thereof. Above some of the first falls there dwelleth an Indian, called Comarian, who is an old man, of a free disposition; by him I learned, that, a certain distance above the first fall, the river Arwy falleth into Wiapoco; moreover, that, certain days journey beyond him, towards the high land, upon the borders of Wiapoco, there is a nation of Caribbees, having great ears of an extraordinary bigness, hard to be believed, whom he called Marashewaccas: amongst these people, as Comarian reporteth, there is an idol of stone, which they worship as their God; they have placed it in a house made of purpose, for the greater honour of it, which they keep very clean and handsome.

This idol is fashioned like a man sitting upon his heels, holding open his knees, and resting his elbows upon them; holding up his hands, with the palms forward, looking upwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion he could not declare, although he hath been many times amongst them, and hath often seen it. What other nations were beyond these, he did not know, having never travelled so far, but he saith they be Caribbees, and also enemies unto them. *It seemeth there are many nations of these great-eared people; for, in*

the river of Marrawini, I heard also of the like, who dwell far up, towards the high land, as hereafter you shall hear, and, I suppose, by the trending of the rivers of Wiapoco, and Marrawini, are all one people.

Upon the fourteenth day of August I went unto a mountain called Gómeribo, being the uttermost point of land to the northward, in the bay of Wiapoco; I found the soil of it most excellent for tobacco, maiz, cotton-trees, annoto-trees, vines, and for any other thing that should be planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes; then, in the presence of Captain Fisher, divers gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the Indians also, I took possession of the land, by turf and twig, in the behalf of our Sovereign Lord King James: I took the said possession of a part, in the name of the whole continent of Guiana, lying betwixt the rivers of Amazonas and Oroonoko, not being actually possessed and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or state; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

In like manner my brother, Captain Michael Harcourt and Captain Harvey (whom I left as his associate, and he esteemed as an inward friend) in a notable journey, which, to their great honour, they performed to discover the river of Arrawary, and the country bordering upon it, near adjoining to the river of Amazonas, did take the like possession of the land there, to his Majesty's use.

The dangers and great difficulties, which they in that attempt encountered, were memorable, and such, as hardly any of our nation, in such small canoes, being only somewhat longer, but not so broad as our Thames wherries, and flat-bottomed, ever overcame the like. First, the number of their own attendants, besides themselves, was only one man and a boy: their troop of Indians sixty persons: their journey by sea, unto the river of Arrawary, was near an hundred leagues, wherein, by the way, they met with many dreadful plunges, by reason of a high going sea, which breaketh upon the flats and shoals, especially at the next great Cape to the North of Arrawary, which, in respect of the danger they passed there, they named Point Perilous. Then their discovery up the river was fifty leagues more, where they found a nation of Indians, which had never seen white men or Christians before, and could not be drawn to any familiar commerce or conversation, no, not so much as with our Indians, because they were strangers to them, and of another nation. The discovery of this river is of great importance, and special note, affording an entrance more commodious for the searching and discovery of the inland parts of Guiana, than any other river yet known upon the coast, for, trending westward up into the land, it discovereth all the countries and nations to the southward of Arricary, Cooshebery, Morrownia, and Norrack, which I have mentioned before.

Many weeks they spent in this adventure, still taking up their lodgings in the woods at night. Provision of meat they wanted not, for fish were ever plenty, and at hand; and the woods yielded either deer, *tigers*, or fowl: their greatest want was of bread and drink, which only defect did hinder, at that time, the accomplishment of that discovery.

For when the Indians perceived their bread to be near spent, and their drink to be corrupted, they could not be persuaded to proceed, having no means to supply their wants amongst the Arrawarics, the Indians of that river, who would not freely trade with them upon this first acquaintance, but always stood upon their guard, on the other side of the river, where they inhabited; yet they, desiring to obtain some of our English commodities, and make trial of our Indians friendship, afforded some small trade for their present relief, during their abode in that river: so that of force they were constrained to break off their discovery, and hasten homeward.

But here their dangers ended not, for, as they returned, arriving at certain islands called Carripoory, and, passing between them and the main land, much against the wills of all the Indians, who, knowing the dangers of the place, and more respecting their safety than their own (being themselves all expert swimmers) would have dissuaded them from that hazard; but they, being ignorant of the peril, would needs pass on, and at the last meet with such a boar, as the seamen term it, and violent encounter of two tides coming in, which, like two furious enraged rams or bulls, rushed together, and often retired back, to return again with greater violence, until the one, by force, had overborne the other; that if, next under God, the diligent care and pains of the Indians had not preserved them, they had been there destroyed, and swallowed up by that merciless boar, or breach of waters, which, God be thanked, they escaped, and returned home in safety.

Here may your Highness fitly note and observe two things; the one, the assured love and fidelity of the Indians to our nation, who, having in their power, for six weeks space, four only of our company, and two of those the chiefest of the rest; and, if they had been false and treacherously minded towards them, might easily have drowned, starved, or slain them; yet did not only forbear to practise harm against them, but did also safely row their boats, night by night prepare their lodgings in the woods, and daily use their care and best endeavours to discover and prevent all dangers that might happen to them, and to guide them, serve them, and provide them meat. Such trust and faithfulness is rarely found amongst such barbarous infidels, and yet we have had three years experience thereof. The other thing to be observed here, is the store and plenty of victuals in Guiana, where sixty-four persons together in one company, without any provision of victuals (bread and drink excepted) before-hand made, could travel abroad for six weeks space, most commonly lodging in the woods, seldom in any town or village, and yet, in all places wheresoever they came, could readily get meat sufficient for them all; which blessing God hath given to Guiana, for the comfort of all such as shall be willing to be planters there.

This, and much more, could my brother have truly avouched, if he had lived; but, since his return into England, it hath pleased God, who gave him life, and preserved him from many dangers, to take him to his mercy. But the other, Captain Harvey, surviveth, whose life hath ever suited with a generous and worthy spirit, professing arms,

and following the wars, who also is generally well known to be a gentleman, both honest and of spotless reputation; he will aver, and justify for truth, what is here mentioned. But I will now return from whence I have digressed.

When I had, as before, taken possession at Gomeribo, in presence of the said parties, I delivered the possession of that mountain to my Indian, Anthony Canabre, to have, hold, possess, and enjoy the same, to him, and to his heirs for ever, of our Sovereign Lord King James, his heirs and successors, as his subject, yielding and paying yearly the tenth part of all tobacco, cotton, wool, annoto, and other commodities whatsoever, which should hereafter be either planted or growing within the said mountain, if it were demanded. The Indians most gladly received the possession upon these conditions, and, for himself and his posterity, did promise to be true subjects unto the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors: and to pay the duties imposed upon them; and so, that business being finished, I returned again to Wiapoco.

Now, most worthy Prince, there came unto my knowledge an inconvenience happened by the careless negligence of the master of my ship, who had the charge of providing and laying in the provisions and victuals for the voyage, which was the cause that I gained no present profit by it, but left off all my discoveries in the first beginning. I had a purpose at that time to perform a business, which might have proved profitable, and honourable unto us, if I had been able to have staid the time, but it was not my chance to be so fortunate; for the master, his mates, and the steward of my ship came unto me, and told me plainly, that, if I made any longer abode in that country, I would never, in those ships, return into England, or, if I did adventure it, myself, and all my company, would starve at sea for want of beer, cyder, and water, for all my casks were spoiled, because they were not iron-bound; the wooden hoops flew off, by reason of the heat of the climate; and our beer and cyder, whereof we had good store, did leak about the ship, so that we could hardly save sufficient to relieve us, if we made a longer stay upon the coast; which was the master's fault, having had a special charge to be careful of that only point. By this default I was constrained to make a virtue of a necessity, and prepare myself for England, and leave my former purposes to be accomplished hereafter, which shall be done, God aiding me, in time convenient.

Then, disposing of my company, I appointed my brother, Captain Michael Harcourt, to remain in the country, as chief commander in my absence, and to continue the possession on the King's behalf: I gave him directions to travel abroad, as occasion served, to discover the country; to spend some time at Cooshebery, and some time also in other places; but to make his chiefest residence at Wiapoco, the only rendezvous for ships that trade upon that coast, and there to plant good store of maiz, for our relief of bread and drink, which is the chiefest thing to be respected in those parts; for other victuals we need not take much care, being always easily provided. He performed his charge with great reputation, discovered many goodly provinces, and *spacious countries*, and worthily continued the possession full three

years complete. I left with him, for his assistance, Captain Harvey, above-mentioned, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to be employed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his lieutenant I appointed Mr. Edward Gifford, a valiant and worthy gentleman; and I left also with him, of gentlemen and others, about twenty more, with all such necessities as I could spare, and thought convenient for them: and so, commending them to God, the eighteenth day of August I departed from Wiapoco, and the day following arrived at Caiane.

At my coming to Caiane, my pinnace received a leak, which would prove dangerous, if we had been far at sea; whereby, forced to attend the stopping thereof, and new trimming of the pinnace, and unwilling to be idle in the mean space doing nothing, I left my ships there to repair their defects, and in my ship-boat departed thence, the twenty-third of August; taking with me Captain Fisher, who hath ever been, since we first crept into the world, my chief companion, both in arms and travels: I took also with me his brother Unton Fisher, Mr. Cradle the master's mate of my ship, and about six more. I followed the coast to the westward, steering due west, and, passing by the river of Meccooria, I lodged that night in the mouth of the river Courwo; which hath a narrow deep entrance, and within affordeth a good harbour, which may, in time to come, for some special purpose, be of great use.

The next day and the night following, I proceeded westward with full sail, and, passing the rivers of Manmanury, Sinammara, Oorassowini, Coonannonia, Vracco, and Amanna, I arrived the twenty-fifth day at the river of Marrawini, which openeth a fair river, but is shoal upon the bar, which lieth two or three leagues off at sea, having but two fathom water: within the bar the channel is three, four, five, and six fathom deep. Five leagues within the river we passed by certain islands called Curewapory, not inhabited, for at the rising of the waters they are always overflowed, of which sort the river hath very many. We lodged that night a little beyond these first islands, at a village called Moyemon, on the left hand: the captain thereof is called Maperitaka, of the nation of the Paragotos, a man very loving and faithful to our nation, whereof we have had good proof. The next day we proceeded up the river three leagues, and staid at a town called Coewynay, on the right hand, at the house of Minapa, the chief Carib of that signiory, to provide two canoes to prosecute our journey for the discovery of this river.

The twenty-eighth day we went forward, passing many villages and towns, which I forbear to name; and, having gone about twenty leagues from the sea, we found the river in a manner barred up with rocks, over which the water falleth with great violence; yet notwithstanding we adventured to proceed, and, the further we went, the more dangerous we found the overfalls, and more in number: but when we had passed the first mountain, towards the high country of Guiana, called Sapparow, and discovered far off before us other high mountains, called Matawere Moupanana, and had proceeded six days journey up the river, which was more than forty leagues, we met with such

a shoal rocky stream, and great overfalls, that there, to our grief, our journey ended.

Being thus, for that time, debarred from our intended discovery, we prepared ourselves with patience to return towards our ships; and the third day of September we turned down the river, shooting the overfalls with more celerity than when we came up, dispatching three days journey in one, and the fifth day returned safe to Moyemon; but, before I departed thence, Captain Fisher told me of certain plants which he had then found, much like unto rose-trees, growing about half a yard in height, whereof, for the strangeness of them, I cannot forbear to add a word or two.

These plants, or little trees, had assuredly the sense of feeling, as plainly appeared by touching them; for, if you did but touch a leaf of the tree with your finger, that leaf would presently shrink, and close up itself, and hang down as if it were dead; and, if you did cut off a leaf with a pair of scissors, then all the other leaves growing upon the same tree would instantly shrink and close up themselves, and hang down as if they were dead and withered, and, within half a quarter of an hour, would, by degrees, open themselves again, and flourish as before; and, as often as you did either touch or cut off any of them, they would do the like; which did evidently shew a restriction of the spirits, invincibly arguing a sense. Howsoever this may seem strange and incredible to your highness, and to them that have not seen it, yet forasmuch as Scaliger and Bartas make mention of the like, I dare be bold to affirm it upon my credit, having seen and shewed it to forty others: I gathered two of the plants, and did set them in pots in their own earth, and carried them a-board my ship, where I kept them fairly growing almost a fortnight, until they were destroyed by certain monkeys that broke loose, and pulled them in pieces; which might have been prevented, but that I was constrained to set them in the open air, the better to preserve them.

The seventh day I went to Wiawia, a great town of Paragatos, and Yaïos, four leagues to the west of Marrawini, whereof Maperitaka, above-mentioned, and Arapawaka are chief captains. At this town I left my cousin Unton Fisher, and Humphrey Croxton, an apothecary, to bear him company, and one servant to attend him called Christopher Fisher, having first taken order with Maperitaka for their diet, and other necessaries, both for travel and otherwise; who ever since, according to his promise, hath performed the part of an honest man, and faithful friend.

I gave directions to my cousin Fisher to prosecute the discovery of Marrawini, and the inland parts bordering upon it, when the time of the year, and the waters, better served; and, if it were possible, to go up into the high country of Guiana, and to find out the city of Manoa, mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh in his discovery. He followed my directions to the uttermost of his ability, being of a good wit, and very industrious, and enabled to undergo those employments, by obtaining the love, and gaining the languages of the people, without which helps there is little or no good to be done in those parts.

When the waters of Marrawini were risen, and the river passable (*much differing from the river of Wiapoco, which is not to be travelled,*

but in the lowest waters) he began his journey for the discovery thereof, in company of the apothecary, his servant Fisher, the Indian Maperitaka, and eighteen others, and proceeded eleven days journey up the river, to a town of Caribbees, called Taupuramune, distant from the sea above an hundred leagues; but was four days journey short of Moreshego, which is also a town of Caribbees, situate upon the river side, in the province of Moreshegoro; the chief captain thereof is called Areminta, who is a proud and bold Indian, much feared of all those that dwell within his territories, having a rough skin like unto buff leather, of which kind there are many in those parts, and I suppose proceedeth of some infirmity of the body.

He understood, by relation of the Indians of Taupuramune, and also of Areminta, that, six days journey beyond Moreshego, there are divers mighty nations of Indians, having holes through their ears, cheeks, nostrils, and nether-lips, which were called Craweanna, Pawmeeanna, Quikeanna, Peewattere, Arameeso, Acawreanno, Acooreo, Tareepeeanna, Corecorickado, Peeatuncado, Cocoanno, Itsura, and Waremisso, and were of strength and stature far exceeding other Indians, having bows and arrows four times as big: what the Indians also report of the greatness of their ears, I forbear to mention, until, by experience, we shall discover the truth thereof. Moreover, he learned that there fall into Marriwini divers great rivers, called Arrennee, Topannawin, Errewin, Cowomma, Poorakette, Arrova, Arretowenne, Waoune, Anupc, Aunime, and Carapio, whereof some he hath seen himself: that it was twenty days journey from Taupuramune, to the head of Marrawini, which is inhabited by Arwaccas, Sappaos, Paragotos, and some Yaïos; and that a day's journey from thence, to the landward, the country is plain, and champaign ground, with long grass. He passed in this journey above eighty overfalls of water, and many of them very dangerous; of some of them I had experience the year before. He proceeded no further at that present, being unprovided for so long a journey, supposing that it had been nearer, than he found it, to the head of the river, by a fortnight's travel; and so returned back in six days space, intending better preparation for a second journey; but his purpose was prevented by an untimely death, for, shortly after, he was drowned by misfortune; whereby we see, that man determineth, but God disposeth.

The tenth day of September, being Sunday, I left the main of Guiana, and, in my ship-boat, stood off into the sea to seek my ships, which were forced to ride four leagues from shore, by reason of the shoals; but, as we passed over them, we were in danger to be cast away by the breach of a sea, which verily had sunk our boat, if, with great celerity, we had not lightened her, by heaving overboard many baskets of bread, of cassavi, maiz, pinas, platanas, potatoes, and such like provision, wherewith our boat was loaden; by which means it pleased God to deliver us from present destruction, and to bring us safe unto our ships.

When I came a-board, we weighed anchor, and steered away from the island of Trinidad; and, upon the eighteenth day in the morning, we arrived at Punta de Galea, where we found three English ships at

anchor, which was no small comfort unto us, considering our great defects and wants. One of these ships was called the *Diana*, belonging to Mr. Lul, a Dutch merchant, dwelling in London; the other two, the *Penelope*, and the *Endeavour*, belonging to Mr. Hall, a merchant also of London. We staid at this place six days to mend our bad casks, and to take fresh water, during which time I was kindly treated and feasted by the merchants, and had supply of all such things as I stood in need of, which courtesy I requited in the best manner I could for the present.

Upon Sunday the twenty-fourth of September we weighed anchor; so likewise did the *Diana*, the other two ships being gone two or three days before us; but the wind shifting to the north-east, forced us back again almost to the same place from whence we departed. The twenty-fifth we weighed again, and plied along the shore towards Cape Brea, about three leagues. The Cape is so called of the pitch which is there gotten in the earth, whereof there is such abundance, that all places on this side of the world may be stored therewith.

It is a most excellent pitch for trimming of ships that pass into these regions and hot countries, for it melteth not with the sun as other pitch doth.

The twenty-sixth day we stood along again, the wind being still contrary and variable, intermixed with many calms, and so continued until the second of October, when we arrived at *Porte de Hispania*.

Within two days after our arrival there, Don Sanches de Mendoso, the *teniente* for that year, with certain other Spaniards, came aboard us: we gave them the best entertainment that our means, the time, and place would afford, and had much friendly conference together. They told me, that they lately had a conflict with the Caribbees, wherein they had lost seven or eight of their men, and had many others hurt and wounded, whereof some came to my surgeon to have their wounds dressed during our abode there; and they plainly confessed, that they are very much molested by the Caribbees, and knew not how by any means to suppress them.

We staid at *Porte de Hispania* until the seventh day, in hopes to get some good tobacco amongst the Spaniards, who daily fed us with delays and fair words; but, in truth, they had none good at that present for us, which we perceiving, departed thence upon the seventh day, about one o'clock in the morning, leaving the other ships to attend their trade, and stood away for the passages called *Lessciot boccas de Drago*, and disembogued about eight o'clock the same morning. Then we steered away for an island called *Meves*, and, leaving the islands of *Granado*, *St. Vincent*, *Guadalupa*, and *Montserrat* on our starboard-side, we arrived there the twelfth day, where we stopped to take in ballast and more water, for our ships were very light.

In this island there is an hot bath, which, as well for the reports that I have heard, as also for that I have seen and found by experience, I do hold for one of the best and most sovereign in the world. I have heard, that divers of our nation have there been cured of the leprosy, and that one of the same persons now, or lately, dwelled at *Woolwich*, near the river of *Thames*, by whom the truth may be known, if any man

desire to be further satisfied therein. As for my own experience, although it was not much, yet the effects that I found it work, both in myself, and others of my company, in two days space, do cause me to conceive the best of it: for, at my coming thither, I was grievously vexed with an extreme cough, which I much feared would turn me to great harm; but, by bathing in the bath, and drinking of the water, I was speedily cured; and, ever since that time, I have found the state of my body, I give God thanks for it, far exceeding what it was before, in strength and health. Moreover, one of my company, named John Huntbatch, servant to my brother, as he was making a fire, burned his hand with gunpowder, and was in doubt thereby to lose the use of one or two of his fingers, which were shrunk up with the fire; but he went presently to the bath, and washed and bathed his hand a good space therein, which soothed his fingers in such a manner, that, with great ease, he could stir and stretch them out, and the fire was so washed out of his hand, that, within the space of twenty-four hours, by twice or thrice washing and bathing it, the soreness thereof was cured, only the eye-sore, for the time, remained. Furthermore, two or three others of my company, having swellings in their legs, were, by the bath, cured in a day. This can I affirm and boldly justify, having been an eye-witness thereof.

Hence we departed the sixteenth day of October in the afternoon, and, leaving the islands of St. Christopher, St. Martin, and Anguilla, on the starboard-side, we disembogued through the broken islands on the north side of Anguilla, upon St. Luke's day, where I think never Englishman disembogued before us; for we found all our sea charts false concerning that place, those broken islands being placed therein, to the southward of Anguilla, between it and St. Martin's, and we found them situate to the northward thereof.

When we had cleared ourselves of the broken islands, we stood away north-east, shaping our course the nearest way we could for Flores and Corves, and so continued with fair weather, the wind still mending upon us until the thirtieth day of October: about twelve of the clock that day there began a storm, with contrary winds still variable, which continued until four the next day in the afternoon. In this storm we lost the company of the pinnace in the night, but had sight of her again upon the fourth of November late in the evening, and the next day she came up unto us, at two of the clock in the afternoon. Then the wind came fair at west, and we steered away east by north, and east north-east. The seventh of November I relieved the pinnace with more bread, and left her to follow after us, not being able to keep way with us before the wind, which then blew strongly at west, for I was very unwilling to lose the benefit of a speedy passage, which the continuance of that fair wind was like to afford us. And so following our course, on the eleventh day in the morning, we had sight of Fayal, one of the islands of the Tercceras, which we left on our starboard side, and steered away for England, the wind continuing fair until the twenty-fourth day; but then it changed, first to the east by north, and then to the east south-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three days space we were not able to bear out sail, but did drive before

the wind, at the least three leagues a watch, out of our course, and the first land we made was Cape Clear, in the south west part of Ireland, where, against our wills, we arrived at Crook Haven, the twenty-ninth of November.

Our arrival there at that present was happy for us, considering our extreme wants, and great necessities; for, of all our store, we had remaining but one hogshhead of water, half a hogshhead of beverage, (all our bear being spent and wasted by leakage) six pieces of beef, and three of pork, which was all our provision: We had neither fish, butter, oil, cheese, nor pease left to relieve us, whereby we had fallen into a lamentable distress, if Almighty God had not in time brought us unto this harbour where we supplied our wants, by the help of Captain Reynolds, commander of his Majesty's pinnace called the Moon, whom we fortunately met there altogether unexpected. But the wind continuing contrary at the east, and like to hold still in that corner, presaged new wants to ensue, if a speedy remedy was not provided. To prevent the worst, I resolved to go by land to Youghall, near unto which place remained some friends and acquaintance of mine, by whom I might provide myself of means to defray my charge, until my return into England: And therefore gave commandment to the master of my ship to wage a pilot, and, upon the first shift of wind, if it favoured him in any time, to bring the ship about to Youghall, where I meant to abide his coming, resolving thence to go for Bristol. And I appointed, if the wind did hold against him, to send him money to supply their victuals, until it pleased God to alter it: But, he regarding his own private ends, more than my command and direction, upon the first shift of wind, went away with my ship, without my knowledge, to Dartmouth in the west country, and left me behind in Ireland: Whereof as soon as I had intelligence, I presently took the opportunity of a speedy passage in a barque then ready bound for Bristol, and so the next morning, being the fifteenth of December, I departed from Youghall, and arrived at Bristol the seventeenth day.

My pinnace, which we left at sea to follow after us, was likewise by the aforesaid storm, driven into the west of Ireland, to a place called Dingen le Coushe: And there remained a long time wind bound: But at the last, by God's permission, arrived at Bristol the second day of February.

During the time of my voyage, we left but one landman, who died in Guiana: And one sailor, and an Indian boy, who died at sea in our return; and, during the space of these three years last past since the voyage, of all the men which I left in the country, being in number about thirty, there died but six, whereof one was drowned: Another was an old man of threescore years of age; and another took his death by his own disorder; the rest died of sickness, as pleased God, the giver of life; for which small loss his holy name be blessed now and for ever.

Having thus, most noble Prince, declared the whole course of my voyage to Guiana, performed in the year of our Lord, 1609, I hold it needful, for the better satisfaction of the favourers, and well-willers of this action, by adding of a special note or two, and by a brief remem-

Orance of some points mentioned in the former discourse, to express the worthiness of the enterprise, being of importance, and not to be regarded lightly.

In every foreign action, undertaken by the subjects of a Christian Prince, they ought to have a special regard to three principal ends and designs: First, That it may be for the glory of God: Secondly, For the honour of their sovereign: Thirdly, For the benefit and profit of their country: Which three principal ends and intendments if they faithfully prosecute, and labour to advance with constant resolution, they shall infallibly bring their undertakings to a blessed, prosperous, and honourable end. And now, if it shall appear, that this enterprise for discovery and plantation in Guiana is chiefly grounded upon these three designs; I hope there is not any man, be he never so malicious and full of envy, that can with just expectations scandalize it, or worthily condemn it.

First, then, For the glory of God: It hath been, and ever will be held clear and unquestionable, that God cannot be more honoured, nor his holy name by any means more glorified, than by the prosperous growth and happy increase of the church, through the conversion of those that are heathen and barbarous nations, to the knowledge of him our true God, his Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, the blessed individual Trinity, and to the profession and practice of Christianity; which heavenly and ever-memorable work may, through God's good blessing and assistance (without which, indeed, all our travel therein, and all the labour of the world is but lost), be easily effected and accomplished in Guiana, the people thereof being of a loving and tractable nature towards the English, whom they love and prefer before all other strangers whatsoever; and by whom, next under God, I verily hope, and am constantly persuaded, it will be their blessed hap to be freed from the servitude of the devil, that now so tyranniseth over them, and to be led out of that infernal darkness, wherein they live, and be drawn to Christianity; for they will come unto us already at the time of prayer, shew reverence, and be very attentive all the while, although they understand nothing: They will be content that we baptise their children, and will afterwards call them by the Christian names we give them; suffer us to bring them up, and in a sort acknowledge their ignorance, and shew a kind of willingness to be instructed and reformed.

As touching the second: By what means may our gracious sovereign the King's Majesty do God better service, and honour him more, or under him be more honoured, than by obtaining and gaining the sovereignty of so many great, spacious, and goodly countries and territories, not yet actually possessed and inhabited by any Christian prince or state whatsoever? Which in that region, by the timely and worthy undertakings of his subjects (without bloodshed, and with the love and affection of the people) may be possessed, planted, and annexed to his crown, as the nations and countries beyond, by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, were annexed to the crown of Spain: Whereby, what honour and benefit the Spaniards have gained, and to what a degree of greatness they are thereby grown, these parts of the world can witness; and we, for our parts, have had trial, and might have had woeful experience of,

if our God, that always took our parts, had not crossed their bloody designs (Ann^o 1588) and put them to flight and confusion.

And, for the third, Who can deny, but that our country by this worthy action may be enriched, through divers and sundry commodities of great worth, in those parts daily found, and easily obtained ? Which before are mentioned more at large, and therefore needless here to be again repeated.

And, for their further satisfaction and greater encouragement in this enterprise, let them consider the nature and disposition of the climate in this region of Guiana, which, for healthful and wholesome air (some few places only excepted) I hold, generally, to be inferior to none other under heaven: For, notwithstanding it be situate under the equinoctial (by the ancient philosophers called the Burning Zone), yet such are the wonderful works of God for the benefit of man, that, contrary to their opinion, we find by late experience, that those regions, which were in times past by them accounted uninhabitable, through extremity of drought and heat, are now found out to be inhabited, temperate, and healthful countries, as plainly appeareth in divers parts of the East and West Indies, and especially in this country of Guiana, (whereof I have taken possession to his Majesty's use) being plentifully inhabited by people of divers nations: The climate there is pleasant and agreeable to our constitutions, and the soil fruitful, as before hath been declared, affording as many admirable helps towards the leading of an happy life, as any known part of the world; for whatsoever is necessary for the relief of man, either for food, physick, or surgery, or for clothing and architecture, is here, by the providence and goodness of God, the Creator, in plentiful store even naturally provided.

Moreover, the good inclination of the people towards our nation, being willing to trade with us, and become subjects to his Majesty our sovereign; their loving and gentle entertaining of us, desiring to have us live and abide amongst them; and their tractable conversation with us, not refusing to be instructed in Christianity, and coveting to imitate, and learn any trade or work, that they see used or practised by our men, are no small motives to persuade the prosecution of this action and plantation in Guiana.

Furthermore, all young gentlemen, soldiers, and others, that live at home in idleness, and want employment, may here find means to abandon and expel their slothful humours, and cast off their fruitless and pernicious designs; and may worthily exercise their generous spirits in honourable travels, and famous discoveries of many goodly and rich territories, strange and unknown nations, and a multitude of other rarities hitherto unseen and unheard of in those parts of the world; which may be thought incredible, but that our own experience, and the general and constant report and affirmation of the Indians, do assure us thereof.

And to conclude: We may, by the gracious assistance of our good God, gain unto our sovereign the dominions of a rich and mighty empire; which, if it may be once possessed by his Majesty, and inhabited by his English subjects, will absolutely be invincible, to the *unspeakable honour and renown of our nation in all after-ages.*

All these things respectively considered, What may be more required to move and induce all noble and worthy dispositions, loving honour and honourable attempts; all merchants desiring wealth and riches, and generally all the inhabitants of this kingdom, freely to give assistance towards the advancement of this noble action and plantation, so much tending to the glory of God, the honour of our sovereign, and the benefit of our country?

The Names of the Rivers falling into the Sea from Amazonas, to Dessequibe, and of the several Nations inhabiting those Rivers.

RIVERS.

NATIONS.

1. Amazonas	}	Caribs.
2. Arrapoco, a branch of Amazonas		
3. Arrawary	}	Yaios and Caribs.
4. Maicary		
5. Connavini	}	Arracoories.
6. Cassipurogh		
7. Arracow	}	Yaios and Arwaccas.
8. Wiapoco		
9. Wianary, a creek or inlett of the sea	}	Caribs.
10. Cowo, not inhabited		
11. Apurwacca	}	Caribs.
12. Wio		
13. Caiane	}	Arwaccas.
14. Meccooria		
15. Courwo	}	Paragotos, Yaios, Caribs, and Arwaccas.
16. Manmanury		
17. Sinammara.	}	Caribs.
18. Oorassowini, not inhabited		
19. Coonannoma	}	Arwaccas.
20. Vracco		
21. Marrawini	}	Caribs.
22. Amanna		
23. Camoure, or Comawin, a branch of Selinama	}	Arwaccas and Caribs.
24. Selinama, or Surennamo		
25. Surammo	}	Arwaccas and Caribs.
26. Coopannomy		
27. Eneecare	}	Arwaccas and Caribs.
28. Coretine		
29. Berebisse.	}	Arwaccas and Caribs.

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|------------------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| 30. Manhica | } | Arwaccas. |
| 31. Wapary | | |
| 32. Micowine | | |
| 33. Demeerare | } | Caribs. |
| 34. Nattooronnee | | |
| 35. Quiowinne, branches of
Dessequebe | | |
| 36. Dessequebe | | Arwaccas and Caribs. |

The Plantation in Guiana is most easy to be performed, as is at large expressed in the former Treatise: And may in brief appear by these Notes following, which are here added for the better Comfort and Encouragement of the Adventurers and Planters of the meaner Sort.

FIRST, the climate in Guiana, although it be hot, yet is it habitable, and affordeth healthful habitations: For in three years space, that my brother, Captain Michael Harcourt, and his company, remained in the country, of thirty persons there died but six.

The natural inhabitants of that country are a loving, tractable, and gentle people, affecting and preferring the Englishmen before all other nations whatsoever, and desiring commerce and conversation with them: With those barbarous people we may live in safety, without suspicion of treachery, or dread of danger; if wilfully we offer them abuse, and harm issue, the fault is ours; for a worm, being trodden on, will turn again. If they at any time do give offence to us, they will suffer and abide such moderate chastisements, as we, in our discretions, shall think fit to lay upon them.

The soil of the land there, as is said before, is exceeding rich, never yet broken up, nor overworn with tillage, but still remaineth in the greatest perfection of fertility.

The provisions of that country, for victuals, are mentioned before: But it is fit they be again remembered for the comfort of the ordinary people, that in person shall adventure in this action. There is great store of deer of all sorts; wild swine, hares, and conies; besides divers other beasts unknown in these parts, pheasants, partridges, wild-fowl of all sorts, and every house hath cocks, hens, and chickens, as in England; and the variety of fish is wonderful, without compare: But the chiefest comfort for our countrymen is this, that the beast called Maypury, and the fish called the Sea-cow, being severally as big as a heifer of two years old, and of which kind there are very many, are in eating so like unto our English beef, that hardly in taste we can distinguish them; and may as well as beef be salted, and kept for our provision.

There is also a beast in colour like a fawn, but fuller of white spots; in stature somewhat less than a small sheep, and in taste like mutton, but is rather better meat: The Baremo is also of the same taste.

These for the time will give us good content, until we can be stored with the breed of our English sheep and cattle.

The store of maiz, or Guinea wheat, in Guiana, is very plentiful, which grain doth make an excellent good bread, and very wholesome. So likewise doth the cassau, whereof there is also great abundance; and much more may be, as we please to plant.

Of the cassau bread, the Indians do make good drink, which, in colour, taste, and strength, doth equal our March beer in England.

Of the Guinea wheat, we may make good malt, which also maketh as excellent strong ale as can be possible.

The soil, being rich, fruitful, and never nipped with frosts, doth give us hope that in few years space, by planting vines, we shall make good store of sack, and Canary wine, which in those parts are needful, and very wholesome, and will greatly comfort and lighten the hearts of our countrymen, and make them jovial and courageous to undertake and execute the greatest labours and most difficult adventures of discovery.

The commodities already found in Guiana, are at large described in the former discourse; yet, for the better memory of those that are disposed to adventure in this action, I have again in brief remembered them. First, within a year, without much labour, there may be transported thence good store of cotton wool; divers kinds of rich dyes; sundry sorts of gums, drugs, and feathers; many kinds of rich woods; jasper and porphyry-stone; balsam, wax, honey, and tobacco. And hereafter, within few years, we shall return thence great plenty of sugars: And, I hope, discover as rich mines as ever the Spaniard found, either in New Spain, Peru, or any other part of the Indies.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased his excellent Majesty, for the planting and inhabiting of all that part of Guiana, or continent of America, lying between the river of Amazonas, and the river of Dessequebe, to grant his gracious letters patents to Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, in the county of Oxford, Esq. Sir Thomas Challener, Knt. and John Rowenzon, Esq. and to the heirs of the said Robert Harcourt, of all the said countries, lands, and territories between the said two rivers of Amazonas and Dessequebe, and of all islands, lands, and territories within twenty leagues adjacent thereunto, &c. Together with all prerogatives, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and prebeminences, both for government, trade, traffick, and otherwise, in as large and ample manner, as either his Majesty, or any of his noble progenitors, or predecessors, have heretofore granted to any adventurers, or undertakers of any discoveries, plantations, or traffick, of, in, or into any parts whatsoever: To have, hold, possess, and enjoy all and singular the premisses, to the sole and proper use of the said Robert Harcourt, and his heirs for ever. And for that divers honourable personages, gentlemen, and others, who are willing and desirous, for the glory of God, and honour of our nation, to give aid and assistance, either in person, or purse, to the undertaking of this worthy action, and plantation, may truly understand and know, how, and in what manner, they shall receive benefit and profit by their adventures, and travels therein; it is thought fit and necessary, for their better content and satisfaction, to publish these articles ensuing:

The planters, in general, are all adventurers either in person, or purse.

The meanest adventurer in person shall have five hundred acres as a single share.

Every one, that adventureth twelve pounds ten shillings, shall have five hundred acres as a single share; and so ratably according to the adventure, be it more or less.

The plantation and adventure are intended to be partly general, and partly particular.

In the general plantation and adventure, all persons of all conditions and estates, even to the poorest servants and labourers, men, women, and children, may adventure as much or as little as they please, from ten shillings upwards, and shall have in fee simple the assured ratable increase and gain, according to the quantity of his adventure; so as, for every ten shillings adventured, he shall have twenty acres in inheritance, and so much yearly profit as those twenty acres may yield.

A register shall be truly kept of the names of every adventurer in person, and of every adventurer in money, and of the sum by him adventured, to the end that they may proportionably receive the full benefit of their adventures.

During the first three years, the whole benefit shall go towards the advancement of the plantation.

At the end of those three years, a fourth part of the clear profits remaining shall be divided betwixt all the adventurers in purse or person, ratably according to their shares and adventures.

Yearly, for seven years after the first three years ended, three parts of the whole clear yearly profit, upon every return, shall be in like manner divided; and the other fourth part shall go towards the advancement of the plantation.

In those ten years the land may be surveyed, and fit distributions and allotments made thereof to the adventurers and planters.

After those ten years, it shall be free for every one to make the best of his allotment at his own discretion by himself, or else to trade and deal in common, as he did before with others, which perhaps will be most convenient for all small adventurers: And a settled order shall for that end be continued, for a continual, joint, and common trade and commerce for ever: for otherwise it might prove hard for adventurers of small sums to reap any benefit after the ten years ended: But, by a common continued commerce, they, or their heirs, or assigns, shall be sure to have it.

A treasurer-general for the plantations shall be resident in London, and, when the return of profit dividable shall be, he shall forthwith deliver to a particular treasurer, resident in every shire, the proportionable part or profit due to the adventurers of that shire, which particular treasurer shall deliver to the high constables of every hundred the proportionable part due to the adventurers of that hundred: And the high constables shall deliver to the constables and minister of every parish within their hundreds, where any adventurer shall be, the proportionable part due to the adventurers of that parish: And the

constable and minister shall deliver to every person in that parish his due, according to the proportion of his adventure.

To this end a register shall be kept by the constable and minister of each parish, of the names of each adventurer in that parish, with their several adventures, and the time when they brought in the same; so as such as be removed out of a parish where they adventured, to some other place, shall either themselves, or their heirs, or assigns, receive his proportionable profit in the parish where he adventured, without further trouble or travel.

The like register shall remain with the high constables, of the adventurers in their hundred.

And the like with the particular treasurer of that shire, of the adventurers of that shire.

And the like of all the adventurers whatsoever, with the treasurer-general for the plantation.

But yet, such as adventure not before this next intended voyage, which we account the first voyage for the plantation, or before the second, but stay longer, expecting the event, must not expect equal shares with the first adventurers: But, if his adventure come in after the second voyage, and before the third, he shall want a fifth part of that which the first adventurers shall have: And such as come in before the fourth voyage, shall want two fifth parts: And such, as come in before the fifth voyage, shall want three fifth parts: And such as come in before the sixth voyage, (which perhaps may be the last voyage in the first three years, a voyage being set forth every half year) shall want four fifth parts of what the first adventurer shall have: And so a single share for so late an adventurer, of twelve pounds ten shillings, will be but one hundred acres in inheritance, and his profit accordingly in proportion, and so for a greater or lesser rate, so lately adventured.

Every adventurer in person, if he die, having neither wife nor child in Guiana living, his next kinsman, that will go in person at the next voyage, or sending after his decease, shall have his share or part: But, if none such will go in person, then the next heir of the deceased person, in England, shall have a fifth part of that share in inheritance, being about one hundred acres; and the residue, being four hundred acres, shall be disposed of to some other that will go in person; that so, by the death of the party deceased, the number of the planters, in person, may not be diminished, and that yet his next heir here may have some competent benefit by the adventure of his kinsman's person.

If a man and his wife go, each of them shall have five hundred acres; yet so, that the share of the wife be at the husband's disposal, as is used by husbands in England, that marry women heirs, who cannot alien the same without the wife's consent.

If a man and his wife go, the survivor shall have the other's share, if they have no children born in Guiana; but, if they have children born there, then only the survivor shall have the share of the deceased, until the child be twenty-one years old, and then the child shall have it; for that the share of the personal adventure of the survivor will

be a competent maintenance, so as the child may well have the other share.

If a man and his wife, and a child of theirs go, each shall have five hundred acres.

The shares of commanders, officers, and men of place and quality, that adventure in person, are not to be rated according to single shares of inferior and common persons, that adventure in person; but according to their place, quality, and merit, in such sort as shall be fit to give them content, and encouragement to adventure their persons in so honourable and worthy an action.

Divine preachers, that will imitate the glorious examples of the apostles (who ceased not to travel amongst all sorts of heathen and savage people, for the plantation of the holy gospel) are worthily numbered amongst the persons of place and quality, and shall have such worthy shares, for the adventure of their persons, in his service of the Blessed Trinity, as shall give them good content. Thus much concerning the general adventure and plantation.

In the particular plantation and adventure, there shall be certain signories, or other portions of land, allotted them and granted to such, as like not to be partakers of the general plantation and adventure; but have, otherwise, a desire to join together in several companies, or corporations, of select friends and acquaintance; or else to plant a-part, and single by themselves, as lords of manors, or as farmers.

These signories, or portions of land, shall be conveyed and assured unto them in fee simple, with all such royalties, liberties, privileges, franchises, and commodities, as shall be fit and necessary for the advancement of their plantations, and can, by virtue of the patent, be granted unto them.

They shall plant and people the same at their own proper costs and charges, and convert the profits thereof to their own use and advantage, under the conditions following:

They shall yearly pay unto such officers as shall be appointed for that purpose, the fifth part of all ore of gold and silver, as shall, at all times hereafter, be found and gotten within the bounds and limits of the signories and lands granted unto them, which fifth part of ore is, by the patent, reserved to his Majesty.

The fifth part being deducted for his Majesty, they shall also pay to the patentees, or unto their officers for that purpose appointed, all such rents and duties, as, betwixt the said patentees and them, shall be agreed upon; and such as have been usually paid by the planters and inhabitants of the like plantations, whereof there are extant many precedents; and also, from time to time, shall observe, pay, and perform all such other customs, impositions, reservations, and limitations, as are mentioned and expressed in the said patent.

And, for their safety and defence in all the said particular plantations, they shall be aided, protected, and defended, both by sea and land, against all assaulters, invaders, and intruders, according to the power and strength of the undertakers of the general plantation, which I hope, with God's assistance, shall be sufficient to resist and repel the malice of our greatest enemies.

A TRUE DECLARATION
OF THE
ARRIVAL OF CORNELIUS HAGA

(With others that accompanied him)

Ambassador for the General States of the United Netherlands,

AT THE
GREAT CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Together, with the Entertainment unto them given by the Turk when they came to his palace, and what privileges were, by him, granted unto the said United Provinces. And, also, the copy of certain Letters, sent unto the said States of the Netherlands, from Constantinople. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch Copy.

London, printed for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his Shop in Pope's-head Palace, 1613. Quarto, containing thirty-two pages.

A true Declaration of the Arrival of Cornelius Haga (with others that accompanied him) Ambassador for the General States of the United Netherlands, at the great City of Constantinople.

THE ambassador of the States-general of the United Netherland provinces, being sent out of Holland unto Constantinople, for his nearest and readiest way, determined to have travelled thither by land, through the kingdom of Hungary; but, when he should enter into it, the pensioners of the pope and the King of Spain, who at Vienna in Austria are chiefest commanders, were so hateful and spiteful against him, that they would not suffer him to pass along that way, so that by force he was constrained to travel through an unaccustomed way, and therein fell into the hands of the Archduke Ferdinandus of Gratz; by whom he was strictly examined, and, if it had been possible, would have stopped his passage. From thence he passed along by water, from one island to another, in great danger, and many perils, for that in those parts it was then a very hard and an extraordinary winter, and having passed them, at last, after he had travelled six months together, he arrived safely at Constantinople; where, upon the first day of May, 1612, he had audience given him by the great emperor of the Turks, to the great honour and reputation of the Netherland provinces, and of the states-general of the same: the solemnity whereof was in this manner performed:

The ambassador was conveyed unto the great Turk's court by Saphiler Aga, the chief commander of all the Turk's horsemen, and Siaus Bashaw, principal of all the gentlemen in the Turk's court, accompanied with an hundred siausers, all on horseback, in such and the same manner as they use to fetch and convey the ambassadors of the greatest monarchs and Kings that are, unto his court. The ambassador having increased his train with some Netherlanders as then resident in Constantinople, by reason that at the same time there lay divers Netherland ships before the town; and, besides them, with some that were his good friends, both inhabitants, and others of other nations, whom he before had known: Whereby the honour of the Netherlands was preserved, to the great contentment not only of the Turk himself, but also of all the bashaws of his court.

The old captain bashaw, for a sign and token of great affection and honour, caused the ambassador to ride upon his own best horse, which was most sumptuously saddled and bridled, wherein the Turks, above all other nations, do specially shew their pride and power. And so, in great solemnity, the aforesaid siausers, or the great Turk's gentlemen, richly clad and apparelled in cassocks of cloth of gold, velvet, and sattin, rode two and two before him: after them followed their servants, and some janisaries on foot, with two druggermen, or interpreters, on horseback: after them followed the ambassador, accompanied on each side by the aforesaid Saphiler Aga, and Siaus Bashaw, and his own followers, who, as gentlemen, after the manner there, do also kiss the great Turk's hand; and, in that manner, rode with a great applause and concourse of people to the Seraglio, or palace of the great Turk.

In this manner entering into the first gate of the Seraglio, Siaus Bashaw left the ambassador, and rode forward before him, to certify the bashaws of his coming. In this first gate there stood about sixty capitsers, or great Turk's porters, with their captain, for a watch: then approaching to the second gate of the Seraglio, the ambassador lighted from his horse, and was led in thereat by the arm, by Peichiis Bashaw, principal of the pages, apparelled all in gold, whose office it is to conduct all ambassadors unto the presence of the great Turk. Before this gate there stood about one hundred capitsers, with four captains for a guard, and within the gate were about three hundred sub-bashaws, which are captains of the janisaries, each having a long white feather, like a peacock's feather, on their heads. There all the bashaws lighted off from their horses, and went on foot to the divan, which is the council-chamber, wherein all the bashaws, with the principal visier, representing the great Turk's person, four days every week give open audience to all suitors, and determine all causes of the whole empire.

Having passed through this gate on the one side of two long galleries, supported with marble pillars, there stood Janisary Aga, the chief commander of all the Janisaries, and of all the footmen of Turkey, with ten-thousand Janisaries; and, on the other side, Saphiler Aga, the chief commander of the horsemen, with two thousand saphers, or horsemen, who altogether, bowing down their heads, after the

Turkish manner, with great reverence, saluted the ambassador, he doing the like unto them. There met him the Kihia, or commander of all the capitlers, and Siaus Bashaw, both of them being great personages; they two led him into the divan, going before him with two long staves, or wands, of silver, and gilt over, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, which is the greatest honour that can there be done in the great Turk's court.

In the divan sat the cahimachan, with all the visier bashaws, who are chief and principal counsellors to the great Turk. Opposite, over-against the cahimachan, there was a stool set for the ambassador. On his right side (which, by the Turks, is held to be the unworthiest, as being under the sword of another) sat Mahomet Bashaw, admiral of Turkey, betrothed to the great Turk's eldest daughter; Dahut Bashaw, married to the great Turk's aunt; Joseph Bashaw, Chelil Bashaw, and Nischanzi Bashaw, married to the great Turk's niece, whose office is to set the great Turk's name to all letters patents, and publick instruments, that are granted and sent out by him. On the other side of cahimachan, a reasonable or indifferent space being left, sat the two cadileschers, or chief judges, of the whole realm of Turkey, and on a seat alone the great treasurer, being a visier also. Over against him, in a chamber a-part, there sat about three-hundred secretaries, or clerks, of the treasury, each of them being auditors of a several province, and under them their clerks.

The ambassador having, for a while, spoken and conferred with the bashaws, there were four round silver tables brought in, whereof one was set between the ambassador and the cahimachan, the second before the other bashaws, the third before the cadileschers and the treasurer, and the fourth before the Nischanzi bashaw and his company; and there they were feasted in sumptuous manner, with many sorts of meat, served in great porcelane dishes, setting but one dish down at once after the Dutch manner: the ambassador eating with the cahimachan, captain bashaw, and Dahut bashaw. In the middle of dinner, each of the bashaws, and the ambassador, drank sorbetta, in dishes of gold, which is a kind of drink made of water, sugar, and juice of lemons, mixed with amber and musk; whereof they drank but once and no more; for the Turks are very sober drinkers, and the great lords use to drink no wine. The mutpac emini, or the great Turk's chief cook, having under him above two-thousand cooks and officers in the kitchen, stood to serve at the table, and below him, stood about one-hundred teschnegers, or waiters, all with cassocks of cloth of gold, setting the meat upon the tables, and serving at them. Of them the beyes, that is, the governors of towns, and barons, are made.

The cahimachan gave the ambassador the first cut of every dish of meat; in the mean time the gentlemen and their servants were entertained in a gallery a-part, with about three hundred sorts and dishes of meat; in like sort the janisaries and saphers, and the rest that are in ordinary under the great Turk, were served. This dinner cost about six-thousand gilders, which is six-hundred pounds sterling, as the treasurer brought in his account.

Dinner, which lasted about an hour, being done, a little while after the ambassador rose up, and, after their manner, having saluted the bashaws, he went out of the divan to have audience, which, with this solemnity, was performed. When he was gone out of the divan, on the right-hand there stood the aforesaid kishaia of the capitsers, with Siaus Bashaw, accompanied with three-hundred capitsers, and five-hundred siausers, attending the ambassador's coming. On the left-hand set the chancellor of the land, with about one hundred secretaries, who all rose up on their feet to salute the ambassador. And there the aforesaid peichiis sub-bashaw met him, and led him to a seat hanged with tapistry, where being set down with the gentlemen that accompanied him, to kiss the great Turk's hand, Casnader Bashaw, great treasurer of the common treasury, presented him with fourteen cassocks of cloth of gold, but the ambassador's cassock was brought out of the chief treasury, as of special favour; Those cassocks were put upon the ambassador and the gentlemen, which they wore under their clokes, by the chief officer of the treasury, who, by the Italians, is called Capo della Guardarobba. Then the cahimachan, and all the visier bashaws one after another, went into the privy-chamber, wherein the great Turk himself sat: The ambassador rising up to salute them, and he by them being likewise saluted, he followed presently after them, led, as aforesaid, to the gate thereof. Before the chamber, in a gallery supported with pillars of marble, and paved with the like, richly furnished, on the one side there stood two-hundred teschnegers, with teschneger bashaw (who are they that carry up the meat to the great Turk's table), on the other side one-hundred cunuchs, or gentlemen of the chamber, who always serve the great Turk, and are of great authority, all apparelled in cloth of silver.

In a great gallery on the right-hand, the capitsers held up the presents openly for all men to see, every one, both great and little, by a several capitscr, according to the manner of the land, thereby to make the greater show, and so it was held to be a greater honour for many capitsers to carry the presents; who, in that sort, orderly, one after another, passed along before the great Turk. Before the presence-chamber there stood twelve capitsers bashaws, with silver and gilt wands, whereof two of them, by couples, first led the ambassador, then his druggerman, or interpreter, and then all the gentlemen by the arms, before the great Turk, to kiss his hand; who, at that time, sat under a most rich and sumptuous cloth of state, supported by four pillars of marble, somewhat elevated from the ground in manner of a bed, and serving for a seat, covered over with most rich and costly cloth of gold, which was set so full of diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious stones, that it shewed like the sky bedecked with a multitude of stars. Before him there stood a standish of ink beautified with many precious stones, all the chamber being hanged about with most costly hangings, embroidered and embossed with gold, the ground being crimson velvet, the top thereof framed like a round tabernacle all covered over with gold, with divers kinds of works therein: This chamber, being not very great (when it is decked and hanged richly for

to give audience to any ambassador) is esteemed and valued to be worth ten-hundred-thousand Hungarian ducats, in English money, at seven shillings a ducat, three-hundred-fifty-thousand pounds.

When the ambassador came before the great Turk, one of the capitser bashaws took up the skirt of the Turk's gown, which the ambassador, stooping down, kissed; and then, having done the accustomed reverence unto his Majesty, two of the capitser bashaws led him backward to the side of the chamber, where, in the side of the wall there, there is a seat furnished with rich hangings and cushions, but it is not the manner that any ambassador doth sit down in the Turk's presence. The two capitser bashaws stood still by the ambassador, then the druggerman was led before the great Turk, and brought backward again by the ambassador, and after them, the twelve gentlemen orderly one after another; that done, the first visier or cahimachan, read a petition before the great Turk, thereby briefly beseeching his Majesty, graciously to vouchsafe audience unto the ambassador.

After that the ambassador made an oration in Latin, which by the druggerman was presently interpreted in Turkish speech; and so, when the ambassador had delivered his letters of credit, together with the propositions aforesaid, in writing, in a bag of gold cloth, according to their accustomed manner, by his interpreter, to the cahimachan, he was led out of the chamber again, doing the accustomed honour and reverence, unto the great Turk, going backwards as aforesaid, without any answer from the Turk himself, or any of his bashaws, it being not their manner nor custom to do it; and so went out with a great number of courtiers and officers, until he came out of the gate aforesaid, on both sides saluting Janisary Aga, and Saphiler Aga, being by them, and the Janisaries and saphilers, likewise saluted as before. It is to be wondered at, that in the Turk's court, when they sit in council, which is ordinarily four days in a week, there assemble, at the least, thirty thousand men, all in pay, and wages under the great Turk, besides the bashaws, who stand there so quietly, and with so great silence, that in a manner they shew to be so many images, without life or soul.

The ambassador, with his train, being on horseback again, they were led a little aside, as the manner in that country is, to see the court and train of the great Turk pass along before them, partly to honour the ambassadors, and partly to shew the great Turk's power. And, first, all the janisaries, about ten-thousand in number, with a great noise, came out of the gate, and marched before him, well apparelled, but without weapons. Then followed five-hundred solachiis, or buluc-bashaw, which are corporals, and other officers of the janisaries; then about five-hundred sub-bashaws, with long white feathers upon their heads, which are captains among others. Then on horseback followed Stampol Aga, being the chief of all the samoglanes, which are certain young men and children, which are given to the great Turk as tribute; then the peichimalgis, janigseris, jagischii, the clerk of the janisaries; Solach Bashaw, commander of the solachiis; Tagerschii Bashaw, chief hunter to the great Turk; the chahagraby, or lieutenant to Janisary

Aga, and his substitute. Then on foot followed two-hundred sub-bashaws, and then Janisary Aga himself, commander over all the janisaries; after him followed one-hundred menegesiens, all with girdles of silver about one of their hands, which also are janisaries, and each of them carry a torch before the aga, when he goeth the rounds by night, through Constantinople, as all the great visiers, and bashaws, night by night, are bound in person to go the rounds, to prevent all such as seek to do any hurt or mischief, each of them having an executioner with them, to punish all those that they find doing any hurt or wickedness, or that are in the streets, according to the desert and merit of their offences, either by present death, or otherwise. All the great Turk's court having in this manner passed along before the ambassador, he was again conducted unto his lodging as aforesaid, and, for a further honour, there were by the bashaws sent unto him two peichiis or pages, belonging to the great Turk, wearing silver and gilt hats, whereof there are always a great many going about the great Turk's horse, who although they are not accustomed to wait upon any other man, no not upon the great visier bashaw, yet they followed the ambassador, on either side of him, as he was on horseback, till he came to his lodging. For this amity and friendship, made between the great Turk and the United Netherlands, all the Turks in general much rejoiced, so that, as then, it seemed to be a day of triumph, and from that time forward, when the said league was first begun to be made, they began to treat about the releasing of the Netherlands out of captivity, as also touching negotiation and traffick, to the which end, now already commandment is sent by the great Turk into Barbary, and other places, to declare the peace made between the Netherlands and the said great Turk, and to command them, that from thenceforth the Netherlands shall by them be holden and esteemed to be his friends. This treaty with the great Turk, for the which, the Lord be praised, concluded and agreed upon, with the greatest honour and reputation of the Netherlands, that may be devised, being made and signed with the great Turk's own hand, and with his oath thereunto annexed, was delivered unto the ambassador, upon the sixteenth day of July, last past, being by him before, for the space of six days, perused, read, and, in all defective places, corrected, and amended, in the presence of certain men, that understood the Turkish language, and were requested thereunto by the said ambassador.

By which means the Netherlands have obtained the best and surer privileges in Turkey, that ever heretofore have to any nation been granted; for whatsoever the Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Venetians in general, or any of them in particular, by the Turk's special favour and grace, have obtained of him, it is all specially set down in their recapitulation, and withal many other privileges more granted unto them. Their prisoners and slaves are by the great Turk, both in the treaty, as also in his letters sent unto the states of the United Provinces, declared to be free, and set at liberty, in such manner, that, of all those that have by the Turks been bought as slaves with money, they may not ask a penny of any man for their ransom, but must get their

money again, if they can, of him of whom they bought them. Which the ambassador by special favour hath procured to be granted, and so good order appointed and ordained for the same, that, by God's grace, in time, no Netherlander shall hereafter be made a slave among the Turks.

The Copy of the Great Turk's letter, sent to the General States of the United Netherland Provinces.

Sultan Achmet Cham, the Son of Sultan Mahomet Cham, always happy.

THE SUPERScription.

To the Honour and Greatness of Christendom, Chief of the Excellency and Greatness of the Law of Christ, Commanders in the Government of the common People of Christendom, Protectors of Honour and Humanity, Lords of Power and Honour, and Superiors of the Provinces subject unto them in the Netherlands, that is, of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overysse, Groning, and Groninguen; Lords over many places in the East and West-Indies; and sole Commanders of all the Places abovesaid, happy and prosperous Success.

THERE came unto our imperial court, which is the ground of all other kingdoms, in the sight of all the world, and the defence and preservation of lords and princes, the worthy person, chosen by you the noble lords of the law of Christ, Cornelius Haga, to whom we wish increase of honour, by whom your letters of amity and friendship were presented unto us. The contents and substance whereof were, that, understanding the majesticalness of our royal and princely state, you were moved and incited to seek for our intire friendship and goodwill; and to shew your great desires thereunto, have endeavoured yourselves to the same end, to write unto us, and to make an accord and friendship with us, which might always be holden and observed, declaring that your wills and desires have always been good and great in that respect, to seek and crave friendship at our imperial hands; and to shew and declare your good affections unto us in like sort, and in the same manner as other kings have done, which with us have entered into league and friendship; desiring to be holden and accounted among the number of those kings that are our friends, and that we would grant unto you our letters of agreement and consent therein, in such manner as we have given the same to other kings of Christendom. Which that it may be done with sincerity and truth, together with other things which you further desire and require at our hands; whereof the contents being imparted unto our royal council, and having fully and wholly understood your wills and meanings; we of our imperial grace and favour have abundantly granted and given unto

you by our letters patents, not only the same privileges and liberties, which we have in times past imparted to the kings aforesaid, according to your own desires, but over and besides the same, much more than you either have sought or desired by your letters of us, which, with our own hands, we have by our letters patents confirmed, and given commandment from our Majesty, that in all places and countries of our empire, wherein any of your countrymen and subjects shall be known and found to be slaves, they shall be freely set at liberty, according to the contents of our said letters patents of amity, peace, and friendship. Further, we give you to understand, that your aforesaid ambassador hath, with great honour and modesty, as also with great care and diligence, performed and done his duty and service in his said ambassage, whereon he was sent by you, in all things, having obtained the benefit of our friendship, and, in good manner and fashion, hath performed the same; and, when he came before us, was permitted, by word of mouth, to speak and pronounce the message and commission by you given unto him, to be delivered unto us; which we having understood, as also well liked, allowed, and accepted of, together with the presents by you sent, and delivered by him unto us (and which we will keep in our own presence and continual sight) having received the same, as also the said ambassador, with great love and friendship. The ancient custom of our majesty is, that all our gates of grace, favour, and good-will shall stand continually open for all, and unto all men, and at all times; but especially, to those that come unto us, with so great a desire of faithful friendship, to whom it is requisite to shew and impart all honour and good-will that possibly may be. Therefore we say, that, you having received these our letters, from thenceforth, as it is requisite, we look and desire, that you shall hold and observe the treaty and friendship, made by you with us, perpetually; according to your own letters and offers sent unto us, and in the like manner and form, as the Kings of England and France, our friends, long time unto this day, have held and maintained the like friendship and amity. Which, we hope, you will do in all points, according to your promises; and, that our friendship may continue, and hold firm and stable, our desire is, that you should, from time to time, certify us, by letters, of your estates and healths; and we, for our part, will not fail to fulfil and accomplish all whatsoever shall tend unto your good and welfare, with all favour and grace, as near as we can; and promise you further, that our good-will and friendship shall not cease continually to increase towards you, for your good, and from good to better, whereof we would not have you to doubt.

Written in the middle of the month of Gematil Elebla, in the year 1021, in the imperial city of Constantinople, which God preserve from all hurt and misfortune.

The Copy of a Letter, sent by the noble Lord Cahimachan, called Mahomet Bashaw, Commissary-General of Turkey, dated (according to the calculation of Christendom) in the beginning of the Month of July, 1612.

THE SUPERScription.

To the Honour and Greatness of Christendom, Princes of the great Government of the Law of the Messias, Governors of the State of the People of Christendom, Patrons of Courtesy, and of the Honour and Power of Princes; the Lords and States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and of all other Places subject unto them; a good End, and the Grace and Favour of God.

ACCORDING to the friendship which is convenient to be shewed unto lords of your degree, and the accustomed favour and amity of the great and mighty Emperor of Turkey, which, at this time, is given and granted unto your honours: In sign of love, and assurance of friendship, I give you to understand, by the grace and help of God Almighty, whom I beseech to preserve and defend the King; and, by the favour and power of our holy prophet, who is in glory, and resteth in peace with God, protect and save the King of all lands and seas, dominator from the east unto the west, commander over Meccha and Jerusalem, the most noble prince of the whole commonwealth of the inhabitors of the world, with grace and favour; the most righteous King, whom God long prosper and preserve upon earth, his kingdom and greatness with honour, who therein is an upholder in poverty and misery of all creatures, the refuge of all poor oppressed people, an advancer of the banner of the holy law; King of Arabia and Asia; dominator over the most mighty monarchy in the world; upholder by the power of God, wherein he is king of all kings, and who hath his trust and confidence in the favour and promise of the true and only God; the great and most puissant emperor, our gracious and mighty king, sultan Achmet Cham, protector of the Alcoran, whom God Almighty preserve and maintain in all power and imperial majesty, and suffer him to command over the whole world, for his welfare and good, &c. That there was brought unto his imperial palace, which is the upholding and preservation of honour, and the light of the world, shining above all the powers and majesties of kings, a letter, signifying your great and kind friendship and good wills, by your ambassador, Cornelius Haga, one of the chief commanders amongst you, in the law of Christendom, and of noble blood (whose honour God long preserve) who, being arrived in this imperial palace, hath declared and fully signified your honours great good-wills and meanings, as also the intire affections, which your said honours bear unto his Majesty. Which done, your said ambassador took his rest for certain days, after his long,

weary, and troublesome journey, as being not well at ease, and, after certain days of rest, communicated his intent unto me, thereby to give me to understand the effect and meaning of your affairs, according to your commission: To whom, in the behalf of our great emperor, we shewed that favour, respect, and honour, which he well merited and deserved; and therewithal took a true copy of your honours letters; and having imparted the same unto the lords visiers of this council, such as deal in matters of state, as also unto those that are wise and learned in the holy law; and having conferred and considered about the contents, and of the hearty and good affection by you therein shewed unto his Imperial Majesty, being the mirror and clear light of the world (whose noble person, and puissant dominions, God preserve and keep from all troubles and adversities, which daily happen throughout the world :) And finding your request, to be good and very reasonable, as soon as we were informed of your meanings and desires, we delayed no time to impart the same unto his imperial Majesty, who liking well, and allowing thereof, gave commandment, that all due and respective order should speedily be taken about the same, and that it should be brought to good effect, with all diligence and care; and therewithal order was presently taken, *ex motu proprio*, from the emperor's mouth, and by his own consent, that your ambassador should come unto his princely palace and presence, to salute his Majesty; and, thereupon, your honours said ambassador, accompanied and attended upon in such order, as was fitting and convenient for his honour, having humbly saluted his Majesty, and, being apparelled, both himself and his train, with honourable suits, according to the manner and custom of this country; and that honour and due respect shewed unto him, which to his place and person was requisite to be done: His Imperial Majesty gave licence and free permission unto him, to have access unto his court, for the execution of his ambassage, as other ambassadors and governors of the empire use to do, as also to consult with the lords visiers, the protectors of the law, and especially the chief judge of Turkey, which is a lord of the holy Mufti Effendi, together with the Lords Cadi Esquieri (so the great men of the land are named) and with all other his governors about the same, and, with his Majesty's advice and consent, your motion of amity and friendship, sought and propounded unto him, being well considered and advised of by them, and they having fully and wholly declared the same unto the great monarch of the world, and the most mighty and uprightest king thereof (whom God preserve) by the help and assistance of God: His Majesty freely and thankfully accepted of your good-wills and friendships, and hath placed the same among the number of those that are united unto him, in perfect amity and friendship; and hath determined and ordained, that the same shall for ever be respected and maintained by him. And therewithal his imperial Majesty hath commanded, that we should set down and record the articles of agreement and unity on both parts, according to your desires, and also to make and send you a letter in his own name.

And I also, for my part, as your good friend, have written this letter, which, with his Majesty's, we send unto your honours, wishing

that, by God's grace, and in an happy and prosperous hour, the perfect amity and friendship knit between us may in like sort long continue; which with all my heart I desire; for it is most sure and certain, that the supreme lord of the noble house of Ottomans, and the imperator of all other rulers and lords in the world, our most puissant lord and King, is so truly united in fast and firm friendship with your honours, that from henceforth all the favours and honours, that may proceed and be imparted from his imperial hands unto his friends and well-willers, shall be given and shewed unto you (as by the capitulation and agreement set down and recorded, he hath fully manifested and recorded) in such manner, that all promises and conditions, made and specified to be granted unto you on his behalf, within his kingdoms and dominions, shall be truly and faithfully observed, fulfilled, and kept. And myself, your good friend, in like manner, will not fail to shew you all the honour and respect that may be, and will by no means endure, that the least hurt or wrong whatsoever shall be done to your honours (in your subjects or vassals) within these our countries; for that the word and promise of our most righteous and honourable king (whom God preserve) is for ever firm and stable, and most powerful, in regard that his Majesty's mind hath been and is always addicted unto peace and quietness, and specially desireth that his people should live in unity and peace, that under the shadow of his Imperial Majesty they may so live happily and at heart's ease. And, seeing that the lord of all the world hath granted you so great favour and happy fortune to be united and joined in friendship, love, and amity with so puissant, great, and magnanimous a King, replenished with benignity, grace, mercy, and compassion, as our emperor is, it is most certain, and you may assure yourselves thereof, that his commandments and promises are firm and most sure, and that there shall be no contrariety found therein; and assure yourselves for certain, that it shall not fail in any manner, in regard that his Majesty's word and promises are grounded upon truth, without any pretence of contrariety, for his judgments are given with uprightness and sincerity; and, by the help of God, as long as your friendship and promises made shall be truly observed and kept, this inward and intire friendship, on his part and behalf, shall for ever be firm and stable: which is ordained and appointed to be observed among the nations that are in these parts of the world; and, throughout all the dominions and states of princes and kings subject to his Imperial Majesty, your honour shall by his Majesty be advanced, notwithstanding all their malices, and also among all other crowned kings, and mighty princes of the world, shall be esteemed with great affection. And be assured hereof, that I myself, in all your needful and necessary businesses, and serious affairs, will be and remain your secret friend and furtherer; and, in all other your important suits, will not fail, in any point, to do that for you therein, which I may or can do, as in a case of great equity, that the friendship begun (which, by my means, hath to my power been hitherto effected, inasmuch as by my office it hath passed through my hands, and by my furtherance and advice might be brought to pass) may continue firm and stable for ever; and by the aid and grace of God, together with the favour of our great

prophet, now remaining in the kingdom and grace of God (as it hath fortunately fallen out, and as we have had the good hap to bring the same unto an end) so we shall from henceforth, with all our power and will, procure, further, and be a means, that the articles of amity and friendship, already made between us, may always be observed and kept: and hereof be well assured, that, as long as there is no default on your behalfs found, concerning the breach of this peace and amity, I will be and remain your friend; and also all the rest of the lords visiers, together with the judges of the law, and the vassals or slaves belonging to his imperial chamber of divan, and also those that are in pay within the great empire of our most puissant Lord and Prince the King (whom God preserve) by the help of God, do together faithfully promise and take upon us (both great and mean of degree as we are) that, on our side, no one point of the princely treaty, made by our King's Majesty, shall, in any wise, be broken or infringed, nor any thing done to the contrary thereof.

It is also necessary, convenient, right, and great reason, that, on your side, strict commandment be given to all captains, sailors, and merchants, as also to your admirals, that no hurt or hinderance be done in any wise to our nation and people upon the seas, in their ships, neither to their men and sailors, throughout our dominions; neither to any the castles or villages under the command of his Imperial Majesty, nor unto any one of his subjects in any wise whatsoever. And, to that end, the friendship, peace, and great honour, which, by you, is shewed unto the Majesty of Kings, and to the crown of the Prince, and great dominator and dispenser of all good and favour, the great and mighty Emperor, our Sovereign Lord, is most acceptable unto him in such manner, that your honour shall, by his Imperial Majesty, be furthered and advanced before all other things which concern your affairs, and shall still be specially recommended unto his said Majesty. And forasmuch as his said Majesty's pleasure is, to have his subjects and friends maintained and governed in peace and quietness, and that whatsoever may further the same, and be a means to procure the welfare of all God's creatures to their everlasting benefit and good: we, for a conclusion, say, that if, on our side, all the articles of agreement and amity, set down and specified in the treaty concerning us, and also all that, which, on your sides, is promised concerning the peace in your letters, be well performed, maintained, and kept, according to the inward and affectionate friendship shewed and proffered by you with heart and good-will; that so, in time to come, all our affairs may the longer and the better have good and happy success, we hope and trust in God that in all the parts of the world where kings and princes reign, and shall hear and understand of the friendship and peace made between us, those that are our friends will rejoice thereat, and such as withstand the same shall feel the smart thereof. God bring this our proceeding to a good end, and for your good and prosperity.

Concerning your ambassador aforesaid, whom we must commend, we say, that not only touching his ambassage, but also in all the rest *of the things* belonging to matter of state, both in general and parti-

cular, he hath done and performed the same with as much care and diligence as in him possible was, sparing no labour, travel, nor care, neither in place nor matter, nor in any of his proceedings omitted any thing whatsoever which he knew, or by any means perceived, to be needful or necessary to be propounded or moved, to bring these affairs to a good end. And especially, coming into the presence of our most puissant Emperor, whom God preserve, he appeared there before him with such honourable behaviour, grace, and courtesy, that it pleased his Majesty exceeding well, and moved him, thereby, to take great pleasure and contentment in him; and, in all his actions, hath so behaved himself, that more could not have been done, nor required at his hands, concerning his charge. And, to conclude, such a personage as he, in the superlative degree, is fit to be an ambassador; in such sort, that all the lord visiers, my fellows, and the rest of the lords of the Emperor's court, wondered thereat, and said, that a man that should deal in publick affairs, ought to be such a one, as he shewed himself unto us to be; being altogether in great admiration to see his manner of proceedings in all his affairs, and, for that cause, being so well pleased and contented with his behaviour, were well content that he should have daily access unto his Majesty's court. Your honours shall do well to esteem much of him, for that a man of his deserts and qualities meriteth to be preferred.

Thus having, at this time, no more to say (having made a true relation of all that hath here been done and past) but only to wish health and long prosperity unto your honours, we leave to trouble you.

Written in the beginning of the month Giamari Elebla, in the year 1022, in the city of Constantinople; which God preserve.

The Copy of a Letter written by the Lord Mufti Effendi, Chief Judge of the Turkish Empire, unto the General States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

Puissant Lords of the Christian Law, and the Honour of the Nations under the Messias: my Lords, the General States of the United Netherland Provinces, and most noble Lord Prince Maurice:

MAY it please you to understand, that this year was sent unto the Imperial palace of the most puissant King, highly magnified and exalted; the executioner of the commandments given to the world in the temples, the furtherer of justice, and the upholder or restorer of towns and cities, the greatest and mightiest king and monarch of the world (whose honour I beseech God always to continue, and that his kingdom may flourish until the day of doom) your honours letters and ambassador, to treat of amity and peace, with great reverence and respect unto the high court of his Majesty's dominions; wherein your honours have done a thing worthy commendations, and exceeding well accepted of, for that all those that desire to make friendship, and to

have peace with the King of the noble house of Ottomans (whom God increase in honour, power, and Majesty unto the worlds end) until this day, have not, by any means, endured any loss or hinderance whatsoever, but have, thereby, attained to great profit and advantage, which is manifestly known unto all the world, and amongst all nations; and all those unto whom, or with whom, the most puissant King, whom God preserve, doth make peace, and contracteth amity, or that, for their parts, do endeavour themselves to observe and hold peace and friendship with him, have well experienced and tried his great favours, to whom his Majesty hath continually doubled, and shewed his special grace and benignity; which is a certain sign and token, that, in time to come, your friendship proffered and obtained shall more and more increase, and be so well ratified and established, that nothing whatsoever shall be cause to break or infringe the same. For that the great Turk will shew your honours such friendship, that, in his empire of Turkey, neither you, nor any of your ships, shall need to fear any hurt or harm to be done unto you in any thing whatsoever. To conclude, we all together will continue your perfect friends, and be friends to your friends, and foes to your foes; and, the further that you proceed therein, so much the more shall the benefit of his Majesty's favours be seen, and your advantage procured thereby; and, in this matter which by you hath been sought, all favour and friendship afford unto you, although that, in this point, it is not unknown to you, how many adversaries you have had, who, by all means and ways possible, have sought to hinder your proceedings herein, and to divert it, that it might take no effect.

Therefore, as I have said, seeing that your enemies have wrought thus secretly against you, it is great reason, that this league and contract should be surely made, and, according to your letters, the articles have been set down, certifying you, that all shall be done as you desire; and, withal, we think that it was great reason that this peace should be established; and, therefore, our most puissant Emperor hath been content graciously to accept of your friendship, and, according to your letters, the aforesaid privileges have been granted unto you; and that in all things whatsoever, past concerning them, there hath nothing been omitted that was requisite to be put in according to your desires. And, for your ambassador, Cornelius Haga, whom your honours sent hither, he hath performed his charge in that respect, in the superlative degree, and with great grace and honour gone through therewith, and hath executed the same, with as much diligence as possible he might. Wherefore I must needs say, that such a man as he is deserveth as well to be made an ambassador, as any one whatsoever of his degree, being of that judgment that he is: the reason is, for that, whatsoever he hath done concerning this business of yours, he hath done it effectually, and, therefore, it is requisite that you take care, that no scandal may, hereafter, be procured thereby unto you, and, before all things, to do your endeavours, that this peace may continue firm and stable, for that it is every way profitable and good for your honours, and your towns. And, upon condition, that your honours shall keep and firmly hold this treaty, we also will endeavour ourselves to maintain and uphold

he same for ever; for our great and most puissant Emperor, whom God preserve, is a courteous Prince, and exceeding gracious, and sheweth all the grace and favour that he can unto his friends, being an Emperor of great honour and majesty, whose custom is always to do well.

The conclusion, therefore, of our letter is, that, whatsoever hath been concluded touching this peace, you will take care to perform it to your powers. Moses Jerusalmi, a Jew, hath been a great furtherer of your affairs as much as in him lay, and hath made me acquainted with all your proceedings.

Peace with you all.

The Subscription.

By him that executeth the commandments that are sent forth to be done for the honour and authority of the puissant and most princely house of Ottomans, Mahomet, the son of G. Saalteldin.

God have mercy upon us all.

TRUE AND WONDERFULL.

A DISCOURSE

RELATING

A STRANGE AND MONSTROUS SERPENT, OR DRAGON,

Lately discovered, and yet living,

To the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent Poyson:

In Sussex, two Miles from Horsam, in a Woode called St. Leonards Forrest, and thirtie Miles from London, this present Month of August, 1614.

WITH THE TRUE GENERATION OF SERPENTS.

Printed at London, by John Trundle, 1614.

This relation breathes such a spirit of sincerity, seems so well attested, and tallies so well with what has been advanced on the same head by the best antient and modern historians, that we cannot well doubt of its truth. Since, therefore, this small piece is become now so extremely scarce, as not to be met with in the libraries, or even cabinets of the curious, and the subject of it is uncommon and entertaining, we flatter ourselves, that a republication of it will not

prove unacceptable to our readers. The style, indeed, is rude and unpolished, agreeable to the genius of the age wherein it was wrote : notwithstanding which, we could not prevail upon ourselves to modernise it, as believing this would not intitle it to so favourable a reception, amongst all true lovers of history and antiquity.

TO THE READER.

THE just rewarde of him that is accustomed to lie, is, not to be believed when he speaketh the truth : so just an occasion may sometime bee imposed upon the pamphleting pressers ; and therefore, if we receive the same rewarde, we cannot much blame our accusers, which often fals out either by our forward credulity to but-seeming true reports, or by false coppies translated from other languages, which (though we beget not) we foster, and our shame is little the lesse. But, passing by what's past, let not our present truth blush for any former falshood sake : the countrie is near us, Sussex ; the time present, August ; the subject, a Serpent ; strange, yet now a neighbour to us ; and it were more than impudence to forge a lie so near home, that every man might turn in our throates ; believe it, or reade it not, or reade it (doubting) for I believe e're thou hast read this little all, thou wilt not doubt of one, but believe there are many serpents in England. Farewell.

By A. R.

He that would send better newes, if he had it.

THERE is nothing more miraculous in nature to the shalow search of humane apprehension, than the works of the Divinitie specified in the creation, being a worke beautified with distinction, order and measure, and sifted from all confusion ; yet if we more narrowly unrip the natures and qualities of the creatures, leaving the unsearchable depth of God's essence beyond the shoemaker's last of capacitie to himselfe, we shall find that there is sufficient cause for our weake admirations : and though all things were at the first created good and serviceable to man, because God is not the author of any evill ; yet, since evill sprung from the ill of Eve, many miseries have (as his curse) falne to man, even by those creatures which were his companions in Paradice, and made to his great blessing and benefit ; inso-much that the serpent which first was familiar with Eve, and serviceable to man's use, is now turned a deadly and fatall enemie to all his posteritie, frightening the earth with monstrous and prodigious shapes ; and no doubt, in these new and presaging formes, are sent to punish our new inventions of sinne, according to the saying of a reverend father : *quia deliquimus in multis, punimur in multis.* August. 'Because we have offended in many things, we are punished in many.'

But, to omit the sanctuarie of unfurnisht wits, we will apply our *briefe abstract to the causes and originall* of these hideous creatures,

For the understanding and capacite of the simple; seeing, that as a learned man saith, that *scire est per causas scire*. 'The best way of knowledge is to know by the causes;' and first of their originall.

First, it is oraculous and plaine in Genesis, that God by his word created all things sensible and insensible: fishes, foules, beasts, and creeping things, and among them serpents: but, since the great worke of the creation, they are ingendred either naturally or prodigiously: naturally, as saith Macrobius, as in Egypt frogs and mice are ingendred, by raine and showres, so also are serpents: but I am of Aristotle's opinion, which also Pliny confirmeth, that serpents arise not from putrefaction, but by the naturall act of generation. It is a general rule, that all beasts wanting feet, and having long bodies, performe their carnall copulation, by the mutuall imbracing of one another, as lampries and serpents: and it is certaine, that two serpents, in this action, seeme to be one body and two heads: for they are so indivisibly united together, and the frame of their bodies unapt for any other manner of copulation. And although, like to fishes, they want floure to elaborate the sperme, yet have they two open passages, whereina lyeth their generative seed; which, being spread, procureth their veneriall lusts; which seed being ejaculated from the male, into cels and receptacles of the female, it is turned into an egge, which she hydeth in the earth, a hundred in a cluster, about the quantitie of a bird's egge: and this is the naturall proceeding of all serpents, except vipers, who lay no egges, but hatch their young ones in their wombe; but for their prodigious generation, as it is rare, so is it also horrible to our nature. It is reported, that, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were consuls, the mother of Claudius, in Hetruria, brought forth a serpent insteade of a childe.

And Faustina, the Empresse, dreamed, when she was with childe, but very prodigiously, that she brought forth two serpents, and one of them seemed to be more fiercer than the other, which proved allegorically true; for Commodus afterwards her youngest sonne was so tyrannicall and barbarous, that he seemed to be borne a prodigy to the destruction of mankind: and thus much for their original, natural and prodigious.

The Irish ground is most happie, and it seemeth lesse sinfull, since it is free from contagion of these venomous creatures: but, *non omnis fert omnia tellus*, 'every ground brings not forth all kind of fruites:' this land were happie if it were less fertile in these contagious kinds of serpents, which I ascribe not to the nature of the earth, but to the sinfull nature of men.

In Phrygia and Ethiopia are many dragons, and serpents, and these were, as Augustine affirmeth, in the hollow places of the earth, and not only in forraine and farre remote countries, but also in neighbouring and nere adjoyning nations: and first of all there was a serpent or winged dragon brought unto Francis the French King, when he lay at Sancton, by a countryman, who had slain it with a spade: Chisuen also saith, that, in the yeare of our Lord 1543, there came many serpents with feete, and winges, into Stiria, who wounded the inhabitants incurably.

Cardan writeth, that, at Paris, in France, he himself saw certain serpents with wings. When the river Tiber overflowed its bankes, many serpents were discovered.

As also, in the time of Mauritius, the Emperor, a dragon came into the city, after which prodigy, insued a great pestilence. Now as these hideous creatures are hurtfull to man, so also they are most inamoured of man; and, if there be any truth or veritie to be ascribed to historie, they have been most passionately affected to man, woman and childe: which shewes, that it is a worke of divinitie, as a just punishment of our sins, to turne their affable natures to a most ravenous and devouring crueltie.

And to instance this with examples, Ælian reports, that there was one Iliava, a Thessalian neatherd, that kept oxen in Ossa, hard by the fountaine Hemonius, that a dragon fell in love with, for his yellow haire, which seemed in its amiable colour to resemble gold; and often came creeping unto him like an amorous lover, licking his haire and face so gentle, as the man professed he never felt the like.

[Many other examples are produced by our author, which it is unnecessary to touch upon here. It will be sufficient to refer our curious readers to the learned and ingenious authors of the Universal History, Vol. VI. p. 837, 838. So that we shall immediately proceed to the relation mentioned in the title-page; which is as follows.]

In Sussex, there is a pretty market-towne, called Horsam, neare unto it a forrest, called St. Leonards forrest, and there, in a vast and unfrequented place, heathie, vaultie, full of unwholesome shades, and overgrowne hollowes, where this serpent is thought to be bred; but, where-soever bred, certaine and too true it is that there it yet lives. Within three or four miles compasse are its usual haunts, oftentimes at a place called Faygate, and it hath been seene within halfe a mile of Horsam, a wonder, no doubt, most terrible and noisome to the inhabitants thereabouts. There is always in his tracke or path left a glutinous and slimie matter (as by a small similitude we may perceive in a snailes) which is very corrupt and offensive to the scent, insomuch that they perceive the air to be putrified withall, which must needes be very dangerous. For though the corruption of it cannot strike the outward part of a man, unless heated into his blood, yet by receiving it in at any of our breathing organs (the mouth or nose) it is by authoritie of all authors, writing in that kinde, mortall and deadlie, as one thus saith:

Noria serpentum est admixto sanguine pestis.

LUCAN,

The serpent, or dragon, as some call it, is reputed to be nine feete, or rather more, in length, and shaped almost in the forme of an axel-tree of a cart, a quantitie of thickness in the middest, and somewhat smaller at both endes. The former part, which he shootes forth as a necke, is supposed to be an elle long, with a white ring, as it were, of

scales about it. The scales along his backe seem to be blackish, and
 so much as is discovered under his bellie appeareth to be red; for I
 make of no nearer description than of a reasonable ocular distance.
 or coming too neare it hath already bene too dearely payd for, as
 you shall heare hereafter.

It is likewise discovered to have large feete, but the eye may be there
 deceived; for some suppose that serpents have no feete, but glide upon
 certain ribbes and scales, which both defend them from the upper part
 of their throat unto the lower part of their bellie, and also cause them to
 move much the faster. For so this doth, and rids way, as we call it, as
 fast as a man can run. He is of countenance very proud, and, at the
 sight or hearing of men or cattell, will raise his necke upright, and
 seem to listen and looke about, with great arrogancy. There are like-
 wise on either side of him discovered two great bunches so big as a
 arge foote-ball, and, as some thinke, will in time grow to wings; but
 God, I hope, will to defend the poor people in the neighbourhood, that
 he shall be destroyed before he growe so fledge.

He will cast his venome about four rodde from him, as by woefull
 experience it was proved on the bodies of a man and woman comming
 that way, who afterwards were found dead, being poysoned and very
 much swelled, but not prayed upon. Likewise a man going to chase
 it, and, as he imagined, to destroy it with two mastive dogs, as yet not
 knowing the great danger of it, his dogs were both killed, and he
 himselfe glad to returne with hast to preserve his own life. Yet this
 is to be noted, that the dogs were not prayed upon, but slaine and left
 whole; for his food is thought to be, for the most part, in a conie-
 warren, which he much frequents, and it is found much scanted and
 impaired in the encrease it had woont to afford.

These persons, whose names are hereunder printed, have seene this
 serpent, beside divers others, as the carrier of Horsam, who lieth at
 the White Horse, in Southwark, and who can certifie the truth of all
 that has been here related,

JOHN STEELE.

CHRISTOPHER HOLDER.

And a Widow Woman dwelling nere Faygate,

ENGLAND'S WAY TO WIN WEALTH,

AND

TO EMPLOY SHIPS AND MARINERS:

OR,

A plain Description what great Profit it will bring unto the Commonwealth of England, by the erecting, building, and adventuring of Busses to sea a fishing: With a true Relation of the inestimable Wealth that is yearly taken out of his Majesty's Seas by the Hollanders, by their great Numbers of Busses, Pinks, and Line-boats: And also a Discourse of the Sea-coast Towns of England; and the most fit and commodious Places and Harbours that we have for Busses; and of the small Number of our Fishermen; and also the true Valuation, and whole Charge of building and furnishing to Sea, Busses and Pinks, after the Holland Manner, By Tobias Gentleman, Fisherman and Mariner.

Printed at London for Nathaniel Butter, 1614. Quarto, containing fifty Pages, exclusive of the Dedication.

This pamphlet, with the other, intituled, *The Royal Fishery revived*, are published at the request of a subscriber.

The occasion of their first writing and publication, was, a complaint, which the nation still has occasion to continue, from the Dutch usurpation on our fishery, which, if duly considered, may be thought worth the regard of the legislature, as the best nursery for mariners, and the best employment for the poor of this nation: All which is so well ascertained by this author, that it needs no further recommendation from the publisher; I shall only therefore advertise the reader, that he, being a fisherman, has rather endeavoured to make himself understood, in terms proper to explain his design, than to polish his description with art and a laboured stile.

To the Right Noble, Learned, and truly Honourable Henry, Lord Howard, Earl of Northampton, Baron of Marnhall, Constable of the Castle of Dover, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Lord Privy Seal, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

SEEING that by nature our country challengeth a greater interest in us, than our parents, friends, or children can, and that we ought, for preservation thereof, to oppose our lives unto the greatest dangers: It

is the part of every native to endeavour something to the advancement and profit thereof, and not to affect it for that we possess in it, but to love it for itself, as being the common mother and nourisher of us all. For my own part, albeit my short fathom can compass no such great design as I desire, yet from a willing mind, (as he that offered his hands full of water to great Artaxerxes) I am bold enough to present this project of my honest and homely labours, beseeching your Lordship, whose virtues have truly ennobled you, to take the same into your protection: And prefer it to the view of our most royal sovereign, recommending the good effecting thereof to his gracious favour and furtherance. Doubtless, your actions and endeavours, having all been full of virtue and goodness, are not the least prevailing motives whereby his Majesty hath so endeared you unto him. In this, then, you shall not think yourself disparaged, the matter being both honest and commendable, and in true value of as great substance, as the offer of Sebastian Cabot, to King Henry the Seventh, for the discovery of the West-Indies.

Humbly,

At your Lordship's commandment,

TOBIAS GENTLEMAN.

NOBLE Britons, forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty God to make us a happy nation, by blessing and enriching this noble kingdom with the sweet dew of his heavenly word, truly and plentifully preached amongst us; and also in situating our country in a most wholesome climate, and stored with many rich and pleasant treasures for our benefit; which also yieldeth, in abundance, all things necessary, so that we do not only excel other nations in strength and courage, but also all other kingdoms, far remote, are, by our English commodities, relieved and cherished: It seemeth that the wisdom of our gracious God hath reserved us, as some precious gem, unto himself in invironing our country with the plenteous ocean sea, and dividing of us from the whole continent of the rest of the inferior world, by our rich and commodious element of water, which, in due seasons, yieldeth to us in abundance: For, although our champion soil, by the diligence of the husbandman, be plentiful unto us, yet do these watery regions and dominions yield yearly great variety of all kinds of most wholesome and dainty fishes; so that it may seem strange and disputable, and hard to determine, which of his Majesty's dominions, of the Land or Seas, be richest. Myself being the most unworthy of all, in that I am no scholar, but born a fisherman's son by the sea-side, and spending my youthful time at sea about fisher affairs, whereby, now I am more skilful in nets, lines, and hooks, than in rhetoric, logick, and learned books; yet, in those few which I have read, besides the instinct of nature, *which maketh me to know*, that every one should endeavour himself, the

best he is able, to be beneficial and profitable to the kingdom and commonwealth wherein he is born; which was a forcible motive to incite me to think of this present discourse, the penning whereof was thus occasioned.

It was my fortune, some two years past, to be sent for into the company of one Master John Keymour, who is a man very well deserving of his country; and he, knowing me to have experience in fisher affairs, demanded of me the charge both of busses and line-boats, after the Hollanders fashion; and shewed unto me some few notes that he had gathered and gotten from other men of my trade, which he seemed greatly to esteem; for that himself was altogether unexperienced in such business: And further, I delivered to him certain principal notes, which he seemed greatly to esteem; for that he said, that he did mind to shew them unto the right honourable council; whereupon I entered into the cogitation of writing this true relation, out of my own experience and knowledge, touching the inestimable sums of money taken yearly, for fish and herrings, out of his Majesty's seas by strangers, whereby they have not only maintained their wars many years against the Spaniard, both by land and sea, he being one of the great monarchs of the world; and, at length, they have not only wearied him in the wars, and brought him to good terms and reasonable composition; but also it is most apparent, notwithstanding the huge charge of their wars so long continued, which would have made any other nation poor and beggarly, they, on the contrary, are grown exceeding rich and strong in fortified towns and beautiful buildings, in plenty of money and gold, in trade and traffick with all other nations; and have so increased and multiplied their shipping and mariners, that all other nations and countries in the world do admire them.

Moreover, whereas one haven in one of their towns did, in former times, contain their ships and shipping with infinite cost, now they have cut out two havens more to a town; and at this present are all three havens scarce sufficient with room enough to contain their ships and shipping; and, by reason of their industrious fisher trade, not one of their people are idle, nor none seen to beg amongst them, except they be some of our own English nation.

And what their chiefest trade is, or their principal gold mine, is well known to all merchants, that have used those parts, and to myself and all fishermen; namely, that his Majesty's seas is their chiefest, principal, and only rich treasury, whereby they have so long maintained their wars, and have so greatly prospered and enriched themselves.

If their little country of the United Provinces can do this, as it is most manifest before our eyes, they do, then what may we, his Majesty's subjects, do, if this trade of fishing were once erected among us, we having, in our own countries, sufficient store of all necessaries to accomplish the like business: For the Hollanders have nothing growing in their own land for that business, but they are compelled to fetch all their wood, timber, and plank, wherewith they build and make all their ships of, out of divers countries; and their iron out of other places; their hemp and cordage out of the Eastern countries; their hoops and barrel-boards out of Norway and Sprucia; their bread-corn out of

Poland, and the East parts; their malt, barley, and best double drink from England; and also all their fish and chiefest wealth out of his Majesty's seas.

The which they do transport unto the foresaid countries, and return, for the produce of fish and herrings, the forenamed commodities; whereby their ships and mariners are set on work, and continually multiplied, and into their countries is plentiful store of money and gold daily brought, only for the sale of fish and herrings.

And their country being, as it were, a small plot of ground, in comparison of Great-Britain; for two of his Majesty's counties, Suffolk and Norfolk, do equal, if not exceed, in spaciousness, all their provinces; and yet it is manifest, that, for shipping and sea-faring men, all England, Scotland, France, and Spain, for quantity of shipping and fishermen, cannot make so great a number.

Howsoever this may seem strange unto many that do not know it, yet I do assure myself, that a great number, besides myself, know I affirm nothing herein but the truth.

Wherefore seeing the great benefit that this business by the busses, bonadventures, or fisher-ships, by erecting of this profitable and new trade, which will bring plenty unto his Majesty's kingdoms, and be for the general good of the commonwealth, in setting of many thousands of poor people on work, which now know not how to live; and also for the increasing of ships and fishermen, which shall be employed about the taking of fish and herrings out of his Majesty's own streams, as also for the employing of ships and increasing of mariners; for the strengthening of the kingdom against all foreign invasions, and for the enriching of merchants with transportation of fish and herrings into other countries; and also for the bringing in of gold and money, which now is grown but scarce, by reason that the Dutch and Hollanders have so long time been suffered to carry away our money and best gold, for fish and herrings taken out of his Majesty's own streams, which his Majesty's own subjects do want, and still are like to do, if they be not forbidden for bringing us of fish and herrings: And this worthy commonwealth's business of busses, fostered and furthered by his Majesty's honourable council, and the worshipful and wealthy subjects, by putting two of their helping adventures now at the first; for that those that be now the fishermen, of themselves, be not able to begin.

Those poor boats and sorry nets, that our fishermen of England now have, are all their chiefest wealths; but, were their ability better, they would soon be employing themselves: For that it is certain, that all the fishermen of England do rejoice now at the very name and news of building of busses, with a most joyful applause, praying to God to further it: For what great profit and pleasure it will bring they do well understand, and I will hereafter declare.

First, I shall not need to prove, that it is lawful for us, that are his Majesty's own subjects, to take, with all diligence, the blessings that Almighty God doth yearly send unto us, at their due times and seasons; and which do offer themselves freely and abundantly to us, in our own seas, and nigh our own shores.

Secondly, To prove that it is feasible for us; for what can be more plain than that we see daily done before our eyes by the Hollanders, that have nothing that they use growing in their own land, but are constrained to fetch all out of other countries; whereas we have all things that shall be used about that business, growing at home in our own land, pitch and tar only excepted.

Thirdly, To prove it will be profitable, no man need to doubt, for that we see the Hollanders have long maintained their wars, and are nevertheless grown exceeding rich; which are things to be admired, inasmuch that themselves do call it, 'their chiefest trade, and principal gold mine, whereby many thousands of their people, of trades and occupations, be set on work, well maintained, and do prosper.' These be the Hollanders own words, in a Dutch proclamation, and translated into English, and the copy of that proclamation is here annexed unto the end of my book.

And shall we neglect so great blessings, O slothful England, and careless countrymen! Look but on these fellows, that we call the plump Hollanders, behold their diligence in fishing, and our own careless negligence!

In the midst of the month of May, do the industrious Hollanders begin to make ready their busses and fisher fleets; and, by the first of their June, are they yearly ready, and seen to sail out of the Maese, the Texel, and the Uly, a thousand sail together, for to catch herrings in the North Seas.

Six hundred of these fisher ships, and more, are great busses, some six score tons, most of them a hundred tons, and the rest three score and fifty tons, the biggest of them having four-and-twenty men, some twenty men, and some eighteen and sixteen men a-piece; so that there cannot be, in this fleet, of people, no less than twenty thousand sailors.

These, having with them bread, butter, and Holland cheese, for their provision, do daily get their other diet out of his Majesty's seas, besides the lading of this fleet three times a-piece, commonly before St. Andrew*, with herrings, which being sold by them, but at the rate of ten pounds the last, amounteth unto much more than the sum of one million of pounds sterling, only by this fleet of busses yearly; no King, upon the earth, did yet ever see such a fleet of his own subjects at any time, and yet this fleet is there, and then, yearly to be seen. A most worthy sight it were, if they were my own countrymen; yet have I taken pleasure in being amongst them, to behold the neatness of their ships and fishermen, how every man knoweth his own place, and all labouring merrily together, whereby the poorest sort of themselves, their wives and children, be well maintained, and no want seen amongst them.

And thus north west and by north hence along they steer, then being the very heart of summer, and the very yolk of all the year, sailing until they do come unto the Isle of Shetland†, which is his Majesty's domi-

* Thirtieth of November.

† Shetland is the greatest isle of all the Orkades, and lieth in the height of sixty degrees of northerly latitude.

nions; and, with this gallant fleet of busses, there have been seen twenty, thirty, and forty ships of war to waft and guard them from being pillaged and taken by their enemies, and Dunkirkers*; but, now the war† be ended, they do save that great charge, for they have not now above four or six to look unto them for being spoiled by rovers and pirates.

Now if that it happen, that they have so good a wind to be at Shetland before the fourteenth day of their June‡, as most commonly they have, then do they put all into Shetland, nigh Swinborn-head, into a sound, called Bracy's Sound; and there they frolick it on land, until that they have sucked out all the marrow of the malt and good Scotch ale, which is the best liquor that the island doth afford: But, the fourteenth day of June being once come, then away all of them go, for that is the first day, by their own law; before which time they must not lay a net, for until then the herrings be not in season, nor fit to be taken to be salted.

From this place, being nigh two hundred leagues from Yarmouth, do they now first begin to fish; and they do never lose the shoals of herrings, but come along amongst them, following the herrings as they do come, five hundred miles in length, and lading their ships twice or thrice before they come to Yarmouth, with the principal and best herrings, and sending them away by the merchant-ships that come unto them, that bring them victuals, barrels, and more salt, and nets, if that they do need any; the which ships, that buy their herrings, they do call Herring-yagers, and these Yagers carry them and sell them in the East countries; some to Revell, and to Rie, and some so far as the Narva, and Russia, Stockholm in Sweden, Queensborough, Dantzick, and Elving; and all Poland, Prussia, and Pomerania, Letto, Burntholm, Stetin, Lubeck, Jutland, and Denmark: Returning with hemp, flax, cordage, cables, and iron, corn, soap-ashes, wax, wainscot, clap-holt, pitch, tar, masts, and spruce deals, and hoops, and barrel-boards, and plenty of silver and gold, only for their produce of herrings.

Now, besides this great fleet of the busses, the Hollanders have a huge number more of smaller burthen, only for to take herrings also; and these are of the burthen, from fifty tons unto thirty tons, and twenty tons; the greatest of them having twelve men a-piece, and the smallest eight and nine men a-piece; and these are vessels of divers fashions, and not like unto the busses, yet go they only for herrings in the season; and they are called some of them, Sword-pinks, Flat-bottoms, Holland-toads, Crabskuits, and Yeuers; and all these, or the most part, do go to Shetland; but these have no Yagers come unto them, but they go themselves home, when they be laden, or else unto the best market: There have been seen, and numbered, of busses, and these in Brace's Sound, and going out to sea, and at sea, in sight, at one time, two thousand sail, besides them that were at sea, without sight, which could not be numbered.

It is Bartholomew-tide, yearly, before that they be come from Shetland, and the herrings, so high as Yarmouth; and all those herrings that they do catch in Yarmouth Seas, from Bartholomew-tide until St.

* Privateers from Dunkirk.

† Between Spain and the Dutch.

‡ Which is eleven days before our account of time.

Andrew, the worst, that be the rope-sick herrings, that will not serve to make barreled herrings, by their own law, they must not bring home into Holland; wherefore they do sell them for ready money, or gold, unto the Yarmouth men, that be no fishermen, but merchants, and ingrossers of great quantities of herrings, if that by any means they can get them; so that the Hollanders are very welcome guests unto the Yarmouthian herring-buyers; and the Hollanders do call them their hosts, and they do yearly carry away from Yarmouth many a thousand pound, as it is well known; but these Hollanders, with their lading of the best, which they make their best brand herrings to serve for Lenten store, they send some for Bourdeaux, some for Rochelle, Nantes, Morlaix, and St. Maloes; Caen in Normandy, Roan, Paris, Amiens, and all Picardy and Calais; and they do return from these places with wines, salt, feathers, rosin, wood, Normandy canvas, and dowlas cloth, and money, and French crowns: But, out of all the Archduke's countries, they return nothing from thence but ready money, in my own knowledge; and their ready payment was all double Jacobuses, English twenty shilling pieces. I have seen more there in one day, than ever I did in London at any time; for, at Ostend, Newport, and Dunkirk, where, and when, the Holland pinks come in, there daily the merchants, that be but women (but not such women as the fishwives of Billingsgate, for these Netherland women do lade many waggons with fresh fish daily, some for Bruges, and some for Brussels, Ypres, Dixmuyde, and Rissels, and at Sasse by Gant.) I have seen these women merchants, I say, have their aprons full of nothing but English Jacobuses, to make all their payment of: and such heaps and budget-fulls in the counting-houses of the fish brokers, which made me much to wonder how they should come by them; and also I know, that capons are not so dearly sold by the poulterers in Gracechurch-street, in London, as fresh fish is sold by the Hollanders, in all those Roman Catholick and Papistical countries*.

And, whereas I have made but a true relation of their fleets of busses, and only the herring fishermen, that are on his Majesty's seas, from June until November, I will here also set down the fishermen, that all the year long, in the seasons, do fish for cod and ling continually, going and returning laden with barreled fish.

And these be pinks and well-boats, of the burthen of forty tons, and the smallest thirty tons, and these have some twelve men a-piece, one with another; and there is of this sort of fisher-boats, beginning at Flushing, Camfere, Surwick-sea, the Maeze, the Texel, and the Fly, and the other sandy islands, about five hundred or six hundred sail, which all the year long are fishing for cod, whereof they do make their barreled fish, which they do transport, in summer, into the East parts; but, in winter, all France is served by them, and all the Archduke's countries before spoken of, both of barreled fish, and fresh fish, which they, of purpose, do keep alive in their boats in wells; and to us here in England, for love of our strong beer, they bring us barreled fish in

* I have seen a small haddock sold there for two shillings and six pence, and a turbot for a Jacobus, says the author.

winter, and carry away our money and gold every day in great quantities.

Besides all these pinks and well-boats, the Hollanders have continually, in the season, another fleet of fishermen, at the north-east head of Shetland, which are of an other quality; and there are more than two-hundred of these; and these be called fly-boats, and these do ride at anchor all the season at Shetland, in the fishing-grounds; and they have small boats within them, which be like unto cobbles, the which they do put out to lay and hale their lines and hooks, whereby they do take great store of lings, the which they do not barrel, but split them, and salt them in the ship's bulk; and these they sell commonly for four and five pounds the hundred, and these go by the name of Holland-lings, but they are taken out of his Majesty's seas, and were Shetland-lings before they took them there; and for these lings they do carry away abundance of England's best money daily.

Now having declared, according unto truth, the number of their fishermen of Holland, for herrings upon his Majesty's seas, and also of their pinks and well-boats, and their courses for taking, and venting, and selling of their barreled fish, and fresh fish, and also of their fly-boats at the north-east head of Shetland, for Shetland lings, I think it now best, truly to shew the true number of our English fishermen, and how they do employ themselves all the year long, first beginning at Colchester, nigh the mouth of the Thames, and so proceed northward.

I can scarce afford these men of that water the name of fishermen, for that their chiefest trade is dragging of oysters; yet have they, in the summer, some eight or ten boats in the north seas for cods, which, if that they happen to spend all their salt, and to speed well, they may get some twenty pounds in a summer clear: But, here by the way, I will make known a great abuse that is offered to the commonwealth, and especially to all the herring fishermen of England, only by those men of Colchester water.

For these men, from St. Andrew until Candlemas, and sometimes longer, do set forth stale-boats, amongst the sands, in the Thames mouth, for to take sprats, with great stale-nets, with a great poke; and, they standing in the Swin, or the King's Channel, on the back of the Gunfleet, they do there take, instead of sprats, infinite thousands of young herrings, smaller than sprats, and not good to be eaten; for one sprat is better worth than twenty of those bleaks or young herrings; but, because they do fill the bushel at Billingsgate, there they do sell them for sprats, the which, if that they were let live, would be at Midsummer a fat summer-full herring; and a peck is sometimes sold there for two pence, which number of herrings at Midsummer would make a barrel of summer herrings, worth twenty or thirty shillings.

If that they could take the sprats, it were good, for they be good victuals for the city; but, for every cart load or bushel of sprats, they take a hundred cart-loads or bushels of these young herrings, which are the very spawn of the shoals of the herrings that come from Scotland every summer; and, when as they come in Yarmouth seas yearly about St. Luke, and sometimes before, if that it do blow a hard easterly wind, do always at that season become rope-sick, and do spawn and become

shoten betwixt Wintertonness and Orfordness; and those fry of that spawn, those little young creatures, by the wisdom of the great Creator, seek into the shore and shallow places, there to be nourished, and also into the Thames mouth, into the sweetest waters; for that the water nigh the shore, and in the Thames mouth, is not so brine salt as it is farther off into the deep water, where these bleaks yearly seeking to be nourished, they are always at that season taken and destroyed; but, if that these men will needs use their stale boats and nets, let them go where the good sprats be; they must then stand at Orfordness, and in Donwiche-bay, where there be excellent sprats; and, for the good of all the herring fishermen of England, I wish that they might be prohibited to sell that which is not wholesome to be eaten, which is as much as to sell hemlock for parsnips.

The next to Colchester is Harwich water, a royal harbour, and a proper town, fit for the use of busses, no place in all Holland comparable; for there is both land and strand, and dry beach enough for four hundred sail; but the chiefest trade of the inhabitants of this place, is with carvels for Newcastle coals; but they have three or four ships, yearly, that they do send to Iceland for cod and lings, from March until September, and some years they get, and sometimes lose; but, if that they had but once the trade of busses, this would soon be a fine place; but those carvels and ships, which they now have, are all their chiefest wealth.

Six miles up Harwich water stands Ipswich, which is a gallant town, and rich; this town is such a place for the busses, as in all England and Holland I know no place so convenient: First, it is the best place in all England for the building of busses, both for the plenty of timber and plank, and excellent workmen for making of ships; there are more there than there is in six of the best towns in all England: Secondly, it is a principal place for good housewives, for spinning of yarn, for the making of pouldavis, for there is the best that is made; which town, with the use of making of twine, will soon be the best place of all England for to provide nets for the busses.

It is also a most convenient place for the wintering of the busses, for that all the shores of that river are altogether oozy and soft ground, fit for them to lie on in winter.

Also the Ipswich^{*} men are the chief merchant-adventurers of all England for all the East-lands, for the Suffolk cloths; and they have their factors lying all the year long in all those places where the Hollanders do vent their herrings, and where the best price and sale is continually. And, although that yet there be no fishermen, yet have they store of sea-faring men, and, for masters of the busses, they may have enough from Yarmouth and Sowld, and the sea-coast towns down their river; from Nacton and Chimton, Holbroke, Shotly, and Cowlnes, they may get men that will soon be good fishermen, with but a little use; for understand thus much, that there is a kind of emulation in Holland, between the fishermen that go to sea in pinks and line-boats, winter and summer, and those fishermen that go in the busses; for they

^{*} This town is a most fit and convenient place to make a staple town for corn for all England, for the return and sale of the busses herrings from Dantzick and Poland.

In the pinks make a scorn of them in the busses, and do call them Koe-milkens, or cow-milkens; for indeed the most part of them be men of occupations in winter, or else countrymen, and do milk the cows themselves, and make all the Holland cheese, when they be at home.

This place is also most convenient for the erecting of salt-pans, for the making of salt upon salt; for that the harbour is so good, that at all times ships may come up unto them with salt from Mayo, or Spanish salt to make the brine or pickle, and also the carvels from Newcastle with coals, for the boiling of it at the cheapest rates, at any time, may come thither.

To the north-east of this place, three or four leagues, is Orford-haven, and the towns of Orford and Alborough especially; where are many good fishermen; and there are belonging to those towns some forty or fifty North sea boats, that yearly go to sea, having seven men a-piece, and ten or twelve Iceland barks, which sometimes get something, and sometimes little or nothing; if that these men's wealth were in busses and nets, and had but once the trade, they would put down the Hollanders, for they are great pliers of any voyage that they do undertake.

About three leagues to the northward is Swold-haven, and in the towns of Swold, Donwich*, and Walderswicke is a very good breed of fishermen; and there are belonging unto those three towns, of North-sea boats, some twenty sail, and of Iceland barks some fifty sail, which yearly they send for cod and lings to Iceland: this town of Swold, of a sea-coast town, is the most beneficial unto his Majesty of all the towns in England, by reason all their trade is unto Iceland for lings, and his Majesty's serjeant-cater hath yearly gratis, out of every ship and bark, one hundred of the choicest and fairest lings, which are worth more than ten pounds the hundred, and they call them composition-fish†: but these men of this place are greatly hindered, and in a manner undone, by reason their haven is so bad, and in a manner often stopped up with beach and chingle-stone, that the wind, and the tide, and the sea do beat thither; so that, many times in the season, when they be ready to go to sea, they cannot get out, when time is to go to sea; neither can they get in when they return from sea, but oftentimes do cast away their goods and themselves: this haven, if that it had but a south pier, built of timber, would be a far better haven than Yarmouth haven, with one quarter of the cost that hath been bestowed on Yarmouth-haven: they are now suiters unto his Majesty, God grant they may speed; for it is pitiful the trouble and damage, that all the men of these three towns do daily sustain, by their naughty harbour.

To the northward of Swold-haven, three leagues, are Kirkley and Layestof, decayed towns; they have six or seven North-sea boats, but they of Layestof make benefit yearly of buying herrings of the Hol-

* Donwich, in ancient times, hath been the seat of the Kings of the East Angles, but now all ruined.

† My father lived in this town until he was ninety-eight years of age, and gave these composition lings seventy years, unto four princes, viz. King Edward, Queen Mary, Queen Elisabeth, and until the sixth year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign, which cometh to much more than one thousand pounds, for one man of that town.

landers; for likewise these Hollanders are hosted with the Layestof-men, as they be with the Yarmothians.

To the northward, two leagues, is the town of Great Yarmouth, very beautifully built, upon a very pleasant and sandy plain, of three miles in length: this town is a place of great resort of all the herring fishermen of England; for thither do resort all the fishermen of the Cinque Ports, and all the rest of the West-countrymen of England, as far as Bridport and Lime in Dorsetshire; and those herrings, that they do take, they do not barrel, because their boats are but small things, but they sell all unto the Yarmouth herring buyers for ready money; and also the fishermen of the North countries beyond Scarborough, and Robin Hood's Bay, and some as far as the bishoprick of Durham, do thither resort yearly, in poor little boats, called five-men-cobbles; and all the herrings, that they take, they sell fresh unto the Yarmouth men to make red herrings. Also to Yarmouth do daily come into the haven up to the key, all, or the most part of the great fleet of Hollanders, which before I made relation of, that go in the sword-pinks, Holland-toads, crab-skuits, walnut-shells, and great and small yeures, one hundred and two hundred sail at a time together; and all their herrings that they do bring in, they sell them all for ready money to the Yarmouth-men: and also the Frenchmen of Picardy and Normandy, some hundred sail of them at a time, do come thither, and all the herrings they catch they sell fresh unto these herring-mongers of Yarmouth for ready gold; so that it amounteth unto a great sum of money, that the Hollanders and Frenchmen do carry away from Yarmouth yearly into Holland and France, which money doth never come again into England. This town is very well governed by wise and civil magistrates, and good orders are carefully observed for the maintenance of their haven and corporation; and this town, by reason of the situation, and the fresh rivers that belong to it; one up to the city of Norwich, and another that runneth far up into Suffolk, a butter and cheese country, about Bunga and Betkels, and a third that runneth far up into Flegg, a corn country; by reason whereof, I say, this town of Yarmouth is always well served with all kinds of provision at all times plentifully, at good and cheap rates; whereby they of the town do relieve the strangers, and also do benefit themselves. To this town belong some twenty Iceland barks, which yearly they do send for cotts and fings, and some hundred and fifty sail of North-sea boats; they make a shift to live; but, if that they had the use of busses, and also barrel fish, they would excell all England and Holland, for they be the only fishermen for the North-seas, and also the best for the handling of their fish that are in all this land.

The herring-buyers of Yarmouth do profit more than do the fishermen of Yarmouth, by reason of the resort of the Hollanders; for that they are suffered to sell all their rope-sick herrings at Yarmouth, to the merchants there; and also the barrel fish, that the Flemings do bring in winter to London, do also gale them; but because that our fisher

*In all his Majesty's kingdoms there is not any town comparable unto it for brave buildings.

men may, if they please, make barrel fish themselves; and therefore I will not monee them.

The merchant herring-buyer of Yarmouth, that hath a stock of his own, so long as he can make his gains so certain, with the buying of rope-sick herrings of the Hollanders, will never lay out his money to build or set forth busses; and the fishermen are now so poor, by reason that they only do bear the whole charge of that costly haven†, the merchant herring buyers being not at any charge thereof, but all that great cost cometh out of the fishermen's labours, for the maintenance of that wooden haven, which amounteth to some five hundred pounds a year, and some years more; so that, though they be willing, yet their ability will not suffer them to do it, neither can they forbear their money for to adventure their herrings into the East countries, where the best sales always be.

To the northward of Yarmouth, eight leagues, are the towns of Blackney and Wells, good harbours, and fit for busses; and they have good store of fishermen; and these towns have some twenty sail of barks, that they do yearly send unto Iceland; but these towns are greatly decayed, to that they have been in the times past; the which places, if that they had but twenty busses belonging to them, would grow rich towns in a short time.

Then is there Lynn, a proper gallant town for seafaring men, and for men for Iceland; this is a rich town, and they have some twenty sail of Iceland ships, that they yearly send for cods and ling; and I am in hopes to see them fall to the use of busses as soon as any men.

To the northward is Boston, a proper town, and like unto Holland soil for low grounds, and sands coming in; but yet there are but few fishermen; but it is a most fit place for busses; if that they had but once the taste of them, they would soon find good liking.

Next to Boston, some twenty leagues to the northward, is the great river of Humber, wherein there is Hull, a very proper town for sailors and shipping, but there are but few fishermen; yet it is a most convenient place for to adventure busses.

There are also Grimsbey, Paul, and Patrington: in all these places now there is great store of poor and idle people, that know not how to live, and the most of all these places are decayed, and the best of them all grow worse and worse, which, with the use of busses, would soon grow rich merchant towns, as are in Holland; for to these places would be transported, out of the East-lands, all manner of commodities, for the use of busses, and houses and work-yards erected for coopers, and rope-makers, and great numbers of net-makers; and with the recourse of the ships that shall bring salt and other commodities, and ships that shall lade away their herrings and fish, these places will soon become populous, and money stir plentifully in these places, returned for the produce of fish and herrings; which places now are exceeding poor and beggarly.

* Ipswich, Lynn, and Hull.

† Yarmouth haven is the only refuge in distress of weather, for all the fishermen of the Cinque Ports, and all others that do fish in those seas; and it is built all of timber, against the violence of the main sea: it is now in great danger to be ruined, if it have not help in time.

In all these fisher-towns that I have before named, as Colchester Harwich, Orford, Alborough, Donwich, Walderswick, Swold, Yarmouth, Blackney, Wells, Lynn, Boston, and Hull: these are all the chiefest towns, and to all, that use the North-seas in summer, all these towns, it is well known, are ruined.

In all these towns, I know to be 0—0 Iceland barks, and 0—0 North-sea boats, and all these, fishermen having 0—0 men a-piece, amount to the sum of 0—0. But, admit that there is in all the west country of England, of fisher boats, tag and rag, that bring home all fresh fish, which seldom or never use any salt: say that they have 0—0 men a-piece, which make the sum of 0—0 in all England; but, in all these, I have not reckoned the fishermen, mackarel-catchers, nor the cobblemen of the north country, which, having 0—0 men a-piece, come to so many in all England*.

But so many in all England; and I have truly shewed before, that the Hollander hath, in one fleet of busses, twenty thousand fishermen, besides all them that go in the sword-pinks, flat-bottoms, crab-skuits, walnut-shells, and great yeuers, wherein there are not less then twelve thousand more, and all these are only for to catch herrings in the north seas.

Besides all them that go in the fly-boats, for Scotland lings, and the pinks for barreled fish, and trammel-boats, which come unto five-thousand more.

So that it is most true, that as they have the sum of 0—0 fishermen more than there is in all this land; and by reason of their busses and pinks, and fishermen that set their merchant ships on work, as that they have 0—0 fishermen more than we have, so have they 0—0 and 0—0 ships and mariners more than we.

Now, in our sum of 0—0 fishermen, let us see what vent we have for our fish into other countries, and what commodities and coin are brought into this kingdom, and what ships are set on work by them, whereby mariners are bred, or employed; not one: it is pitiful.

For, when our fishermen come home, the first voyage from the north seas, they go either to London, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Hull, or Scarborough, and there they do sell at good rates, the first voyage; but, the second voyage, because that they, which be now the fishermen, have not yet the right use of making barreled fish wherewith they might serve France as do the Hollanders, they are now constrained to sell in England, for that it is staple fish, and not being barreled, the French will not buy it.

But if that our fishermen had but once the use of pinks and line-boats, and barreled fish, then they might serve France as well as the Hollanders; which by this new trade of busses being once erected, and pinks and line-boats, after the Holland manner, there will be fishermen enough to manage the pinks for barreled fish, from November unto the beginning of May, only the most part of those men that shall be maintained by the busses; for that, when the busses do leave work

* I crave pardon, for that I omit the particular numbers and total sum, which I could here set down, if I were commanded, says the author.

In the winter, their men shall have employment by the pinks, for barreled fish, which men, now, do little or nothing; for, this last winter at Yarmouth, there were three hundred idle men that could get nothing to do, living very poor for lack of employment, which most gladly would have gone to sea in pinks, if there had been any for them to go in.

And whereas I before said, that there was not one ship set on work by our fishermen, there may be objected against me this;

That there do every year commonly lade, at Yarmouth, four or five London ships for the Streights, which is sometimes true; and the Yarmouth men themselves do yearly send two or three ships to Bourdeaux, and two or three boats laden with herrings to Roan, or to Nantz, or St. Maloes, whereby there is returned salt, wines, Normandy canvas, whereby the King hath some custom; but there is no money returned into England for these herrings, which cost the Yarmouthians ready gold, before that they had them of the Hollanders, and Frenchmen, to lade these ships; and, therefore, I may boldly say, not one.

And this last year, now, the Hollanders themselves have also gotten that trade; for there did lade twelve sails of Holland ships with red-herrings at Yarmouth, for Civita Vecchia, Leghorn, Genoa, Marseilles, and Toulon, most of them being laden by the English merchants; so that, if this be suffered, the English owners of ships shall have but small employment for theirs*.

Now to shew truly what the whole charge of a buss will be, with all her furniture, as masts, sails, anchors, cables, and with her fisher's implements and appurtenances, at the first provided all new, is a great charge; she, being between thirty or forty lasts, will cost some five hundred pounds.

By the grace of God, the ship or buss will continue twenty years with small cost and reparations; but the yearly slite and wear of her tackle, and war ropes, and nets, will cost some eighty pounds.

And the whole charge for the keeping of her at sea for the whole summer, or three voyages, for the filling of a hundred lasts of casks or barrels;

	£.
For one hundred last of barrels.....	72
For salt four months.....	88
For beer four months.....	42
For bread four months.....	21
For bacon and butter.....	18
For pease four months.....	03
For billet four months.....	03
For men's wages four months.....	88

335

* Note here, how the Hollanders employ themselves and their ships, first in taking of the herrings quick, and yet are not content, but catch them again after they be dead, and lie set both their ships and mariners on work, and English ships lie up a rotting.

A hundred lasts of barrels, filled and sold at ten † pounds the last, come to one thousand pounds.

Herrings....	1000
The whole charge	335
Gotten....	665

Here plainly appeareth, that there is gotten six hundred and sixty-five pounds in one summer, whereout, if that you do deduct one hundred pounds for the wear of the ship, and the reparations of her nets against the next summer, yet still there is five hundred and sixty-five pounds remaining for clear gains, by one buss, in one year.

The Hollanders do make the profit of their busses so certain, that they do lay out their own children's money, given them by their deceased friends, in adventuring in the busses: and also, there is in Holland a treasury for orphans, opened and laid out in adventuring in the busses.

The Hollanders do make both a profitable, and a pleasant trade of this summer-fishing; for there was one of them, that having a gallant great new buss of his own, and he having a daughter married unto one, which was his mate in the buss; and the owner, that was master of this buss, did take his wife with him abroad, and his mate his wife, and so they did set sail for the north seas, with the two women with them, the mother and the daughter; where having a fair wind, and being fishing in the north seas, they had soon filled their buss with herrings, and a herring yager cometh unto them, and brings them gold and fresh supplies, and copeth with them, and taketh in their herrings for ready money, and delivereth them more barrels and salt, and away goeth the yager for the first market into Sprucia, and still is the buss fishing at sea, and soon after again was fully laden borne home; but then another yager cometh unto him, as did the former, and delivering them more provision of barrels and salt, and ready money, and bid them farewell; and still lieth at sea with the mother and daughter so long, and not very long, before they had again all their barrels full, and then they sailed home into Holland, with the two women, and the buss laden with herrings, and a thousand pounds of ready money.

If that any man should make any question of the truth of this, it will be very credibly proved, by divers of good credit, that are now in the city of London.

Now to shew the charge of a pink of eighteen or twenty lasts, the pink being built new, and all things new unto her, will not cost two hundred and sixty pounds, with all her lines, hooks, and all her fisher appurtenances.

† I have rated the herrings but at ten pounds the last, which is with the least, for they be commonly sold by the Hollanders at Dantzick, for fifteen and twenty pounds the last.

And fifteen lasts of barrels will cost.....	£.
Five weighs of salt upon salt.....	10
For beer and casks.....	15
For bread.....	07
For butter.....	03
For the petty-tally.....	01
For men's wages for two more months, and all } together.....	01
	20

57

Fifteen lasts of barreled fish, at fourteen pounds and eight shilling the last, which is but twenty-four shilling the barrel, amount unto two-hundred and sixteen pounds; whereout if you do deduct fifty-seven pounds, for the charge of setting her to sea, there is still resting one-hundred and fifty eight pounds, clear gains, by one pink, with fifteen lasts of fish, for two months.

Wherefore, seeing the profit so plainly, and, by the grace of God, so certain, both by the busses and line-boats, whereby the Hollanders have so long gained, let all noble, worshipful, and wealthy subjects put too their adventuring and helping hands, for the speedy launching and floating forward of this great and good commonwealth business, for the strengthening of his Majesty's dominions with two principal pillars, which is, with plenty of coin brought in for fish, and herrings, from other nations; and also for the increasing of mariners against all foreign invasions, and also for the bettering of trade and occupations, and setting of thousands of poor and idle people on work, which now know not how to live, which, by this trade of the busses, shall be employed, as daily we see is done before our eyes by the Hollanders. And as always it hath been seen, that those, that are now the fishermen of England, have been always found to be sufficient to serve his Majesty's ships in former time, when there has been employment; which fellows, by this new trade of building, and setting-forth busses, will be greatly multiplied and increased in this land; which fellows, as we see the Hollanders, being well fed in fisher-affairs, and strong and lustier than the sailors, that use the long southern voyages, that sometimes are greatly surfeited, and hunger pined: But these courageous, young, lusty, strong-fed yonkers, that shall be bred in the busses, when his Majesty shall have occasion for their service in war against the enemy, will be fellows for the nonce, and will shew themselves right English, and will put more strength to an iron crow, at a piece of great ordnance in traversing of a cannon, or culvering, with the direction of the experienced master gunner, than two or three of the fore-named surfeited* sailors; and in distress of wind, grown sea, and foul winter's weather, for flying forward to their labour, for pulling in a top-sail, or a sprit-sail, or shaking of a bonnet in a dark night; for wet and cold cannot make them shrink, nor stain, whom the north seas, and the busses, and pinks, have dyed in grain for such purposes.

* Drunken and debauched.

And whosoever shall go to sea, for captain to command in martial-affairs, or take charge for master in trade of merchandise (as in times past I have done both) will make choice of these fellows; for I have seen their resolution, in the face of their enemy, when they have been *legamenta*, and frolick, and as forward as about their ordinary labours or business.

And, when his Majesty shall have occasion and employment for the furnishing of his navy, there will be no want of masters, pilots, commanders, and sufficient directors of a course, and keeping of computation; but now there is a pitiful want of sufficient good men * to do the offices and labours before spoken of; all which these men of the busses and pinks will worthily supply.

And to the art of sailing they may happily attain; for hitherto it hath been commonly seen, that those men that have been brought up in their youth, in fishery, have deserved as well as any in the land for artificial sailing; for at this time are practised all the projections of circular and methemathical scales, and arithmetical sailing, by divers of the young men of the sea-coast towns, even as commonly amongst them, as amongst the Thamesers †.

Besides all the Hollanders before spoken of, the Frenchmen of Picardy have also a hundred sail of fishermen, only for herrings, on his Majesty's seas every year, in the summer-season ‡; and they are almost like unto the busses; but they have not any yagers that come unto them, but they do lade themselves, and return home twice every year, and find great profit by their making but of two voyages every summer-season.

And it is much to be lamented, that we having such a plentiful country, and such store of able and idle people, that not one of his Majesty's subjects are there to be seen, all the whole summer, to fish, or to take one herring: But only the north-sea boats of the sea coast towns, that go to take cods, they do take so many, as they need to bait their hooks, and no more ||.

We are daily scorned by these Hollanders, for being so negligent of our profit, and careless of our fishing; and they do daily flout us that be the poor fishermen of England, to our faces at sea, calling to us, and saying, *Ya English, ya zall, or oud scoue dragien*, which in English is this: You English, we will make you glad for to wear our old shoes.

And likewise the Frenchmen say we are apish, for that we do still imitate them in all needless and fantastical jags and fashions; as it is most true, indeed; for that they have no fashion among them in apparel, nor lace, points, gloves, hilts, nor garters, even from the spangled shoe-latchet, unto the spangled hat and hat-band, be it never so idle and costly, but, after that we do once get it, it is far bettered by our nation.

* It is not unknown, that, this last year, there was a general press along the coast of England, from Hull in Yorkshire, unto St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, only for sailors to furnish but seven ships, for the waiting over the Count Palatine, and his most noble princess, but twenty-eight leagues.

† The navigators in the river Thames.

‡ Some of these are three and four-score tons the burthen.

|| The Hollanders do yearly take so many, as they do make more than two-millions of pounds sterling. And we, his Majesty's subjects, do take no more than to bait our hooks, says the Author.

Wherefore, seeing that we can excel all other nations, wastefully, to spend money, let us, in one thing, learn of other nations, to get thousands out of his Majesty's seas, and to make a general profit of the benefits that Almighty God doth yearly send unto us; in far greater abundance than the fruit of our trees; which, although they be more chargeable in the gathering together, yet is the profit far greater unto this kingdom, and commonwealth of all his Majesty's subjects, increasing the wealth of the adventurers; as also, for the enriching of merchants, and maintaining of trades, occupations, and employing of ships, and increasing of mariners, which now do but little or nothing; as also, for the setting of poor and idle people on work, which now know not how to live; and to teach many a tall fellow to know the proper names of the ropes in a ship, and to hale the bow-line, that now, for lack of employment, many such, by the inconvenience of idle living, are compelled to end their days with a rope, by an untimely death*; which, by the employment of the busses, might be well avoided, and they, in time, become right honest, serviceable, and trusty subjects.

Here, since my book came to the press, I have been credibly certified, by† men of good worth (being fishmongers) that since Christmas last, unto this day‡, there hath been paid to the Hollanders, here in London, only for barrelled fish, and Holland lings, the sum of twelve-thousand pounds.

And, last of all, if that there be any of the worshipful adventurers, that would have any directions for the building of these busses, or fisher-ships; because I know that the shipcarpenters of England are not yet skilful in this manner; wherefore, if that any shall be pleased to repair to me, I will be willing to give them directions, and plain projections, and geometrical demonstrations, for the right building of them, both for length, breadth, and depth; and also for their mould under water; and also for the contriving of their rooms, and the laying of their gear ||, according to the Hollanders fashion.

The States Proclamation, translated out of Dutch.

THE States-general of the United Provinces of the low countries, unto all those that shall see or hear these presents, greeting: We let to weet, that whereas it is well known, that the great fishing, and catching of herrings, is the chiefest trade, and principal gold-mine of these united countries, whereby many thousands of households, families, handicrafts, trades and occupations, are set on work, well maintained, and prosper; especially the sailing and navigation, as well within, as without these countries, is kept in great estimation: moreover, many returns of money, with the increase of the means, convoys, customs,

* The sailor's proverb: The sea and the gallows refuse none.

† Mr. William Spelling, Mr. Stephen Topley, and divers others of the company of Fishmongers.

‡ 18 Feb. 1614.

|| And for providing of their sordage, and nets, after the neatest and cheapest rates,

and revenues of these countries, are augmented thereby and prosper; and, forasmuch as there are made, from time to time, many good orders concerning the catching, salting, and beneficial uttering of the said herrings, to the end to preserve and maintain the said chief trade, in the United Provinces; which trade, by divers encounters, of some that seek their own gain, is envied, in respect of the great good it bringeth to the united countries: And we are informed, that a new device is put in practice, to the prejudice of the trade, to transport out of the united countries, into other countries, staves for herring-barrels made here, and half herring-barrels, put into other barrels, and nets, to cross the good orders and policy here intended to them of these countries, for the catching, salting, and selling the herrings, dressed in other countries, after the order of these countries, whereby this chief trade should be decayed here, and the inhabitants of these countries damnified, if that we make no provision in time against such practices; therefore we, after mature judgment and deliberation, have forbidden and interdicted, and by these presents do forbid and interdict, all, and every one, as well home-born and inhabitants, as strangers frequenting these parts, to take up any herring-barrels, or half ones prepared, or any kind of nets, in any ship, town, or haven, of the United Provinces, to be sent into other countries, or places, upon pain of confiscation of the same, and the ship also wherein they shall be found, besides the penalty of two-hundred of Netherlandish silver royals, for the first time; and for the second time, above confiscation of ships and goods, four-hundred of the said royals of silver; and for the third time, above confiscation of ship and goods, and six-hundred of the said royals of silver, corporal punishment: All which confiscations, and penalties, shall be distributed, one third part to the profit of the plaintiff, one third part to the poor, and one third part to the officers, where the said confiscation shall be demanded: and not only they shall incur this penalty, which after shall be taken in the deed, but they also, that within one year after the deed shall be convicted; and that none may pretend ignorance, and that this order may be in all places duly observed, and the offenders punished according to justice, we will and require, our dear and well-beloved estates, governors, deputies of the council, and the estates of the respective provinces of Guelderland, and the county of Satfill in Holland, West-Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Merisel, the town of Groyning, and the circumjacent places, and to all justices and officers, that they cause to be published in all places, and proclaimed, where the usual proclamation and publication is made; we do charge also the chancellors, and provincial council, and the council of the admiralty, the advocatistical, and the procurators general, and all other officers, judges, and justices of these United Provinces, and to all general colonies, admirals, and vice-admirals, captains, officers, and commanders, to perform, and cause to be performed, this order and commandment; and to proceed, and cause to be proceeded, against the offenders, without grace, favour, dissimulation, or composition: Because we have found it necessary, for the good and benefit of the said United Provinces. Dated in Hague, this 19th of July.

A DISCOURSE OF
MARRIAGE AND WIVING,

AND OF THE

Greatest Mystery therein contained :

HOW TO CHUSE A GOOD WIFE FROM A BAD.

An Argument of the dearest use, but the deepest cunning, that man may err in; which is, to cut by a thread, between the greatest good or evil in the world. Pertinent to both sexes, and conditions, as well those already gone before, as shortly to enter this honest society.

Amare & sapere vis Diis conceditur.

By Alex. Niccholes, Batchelor in the Art he never yet put in Practice.

*He that stands by, and doth the Game survey,
Sees more oftentimes, than those that at it play.*

London, printed by N. O. for Leonard Becket, in the Inner-Temple, 1615.
Quarto, containing sixty-one Pages, including the Dedication and Preface.

*To the virtuous young gentleman, and his worthily respected friend,
Mr. Thomas Edgworth, under Treasurer of Windsor, Health
and Content in his own Person, and in the happy Fruition of his
virtuous Wife.*

SIR, your felicity, the highest top of enjoyment in this kind, is become the aim, that the practick art, in this school of direction, levelleth at you being already instated (with envy and admiration) in that bliss, which others may thus toil after in most beeseeming circumstances (by many degrees) to come short of: When I enter this course of life (as, for aught I knew, I may one day marry) be it my highest ambition, with all my directions, to have one to be a near imitator of her so many religious and moral virtues, for whose happy continuance my best wishes shall be spent, that she may long continue yours, to make you a father of happy and undoubted children; sons for the earth, and saints for heaven; multiplying upon your head all the comforts in that covenant: And for this treatise, which, by your direction, comes forth to direct others to that model of happiness,

wherein you stand eminent, may it have that success, with all, that it hath had approbation with you, and as kind entertainment with the world, as those best creatures, the subject thereof, in their perfection deserve; which are the seed and seminary thereof, and which (by this means) have maintained that lasting, and yet un-ended, war against those two arch and unwearied adversaries of mankind, Time and Death, the wasters thereof, and consumers of all sublunary things; which began their siege against the first man that lived, and have ever since held on without league, or imparlance, for the space of these five-thousand five hundred years, and upwards, and which shall go on and continue the siege, to the end thereof, and consummation of all things: Wherein, if it shall be so happy (beyond expectation) the pain thereof hath been well undertaken, and your encouragement, fortunately seconded, which howsoever I leave it to the adventure, and you to your heart's best wishes.

By him that intirely is dedicated yours,

ALEX. NICCHOLES.

To the Youth and Batchelary of England, hot Bloods at high Revels, which forethought of this action, and all others, that hereafter intend this adventure.

SINCE that the meanest blessing, in man's life,
Is not the dowry of a virtuous wife;
No other wise then is the adverse cross,
To him that bears it, the most easy loss.
Therefore to you, whose weary bonds yet keep,
Severing the arms wherein you long to sleep;
That have, before-hand many a tedious hour,
Wish'd that approaching minute in your pow'r,
Which when arriv'd, most slowly brought to pass,
Cancels but parchment to inroll in brass:
What not so short a term of years shall end,
Unless one shew himself the kinder friend;
Wherein, lest your too forward haste should stray.
Here is before-hand chalked out a way:
(As conscience craveth, for so long connexion
Should not be enter'd in without direction.)
Which who so walks into the true intent,
Shall not commit that action to repent.
The ignorant by this have sharper eyes,
More deeper insight to these mysteries;
And, were their understanding dark or blind,
To pass this labyrinth 'tis here refin'd:
Here are the characters insculp'd and read,
That make a happy or a loathed bed.

What woman is, on whom all these depend,
 Her Use, Creation, Excellence, and End.
 In making choice how much to be confin'd,
 To Beauty, Riches, Parentage, or Kind;
 What are the chief disturbers of this state,
 That soonest point a man that sorest fate.
 Here are the rocks discover'd to the eye,
 That he that would not shipwreck may sail by.
 And these the rather being aforehand laid,
 Unbalanc'd pleasures to each youth and maid,
 That, when experience shall their sweetness tell,
 Instead of heaven they purchase not a hell.
 And that the joy their forward youth hath sought,
 Uncrossly match'd, may come more near their thought.
 But you whose lusts, this limit shall not tie,
 For more enlargement to variety,
 That will not any your own proper call,
 The better interested to commerce with all :
 As, when your lord and lady down are laid,
 Behind the door to woo the chamber-maid ;
 Or amongst neighbours, where you lead your lives,
 To be the more familiar with their wives ;
 Or any place where-e'er you do espy
 A pretty morsel pleasing to your eye,
 To seize it more suspectless, being known,
 Than he that hath at home a wife of's own :
 Well, take that blessing, but withal this curse,
 To walk on weak legs, with an empty purse.

THE CONTENTS.

- OF the first Institution and Author of Marriage.*
Of the Excellency of Marriage, with the Consequence and Use.
- I. *Worldly Choice what it is, or how, for the most Part, Men chuse their wives.*
 - II. *How to chuse a good Wife from a bad.*
What Years are most convenient for Marriage.
 - I. *That Conveniency and Fitness, in Choice, is more to be preferred than either Beauty, Riches, or other Additions of either Mind, or Fortune.*
 - II. *What is the chief Moth and Canker, that especially undermineth and fretteth the Marriage-Bed.*
 - III. *Advice for Choice, and whether it be best to marry a Widow, or a Maid.*
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- XI. *The best Way to continue a Woman chaste.*
- XII. *The Pattern of a bad Husband, and a good Wife, instanced in two Letters.*
- XIII. *An Admonition to Husbands and Wives, for Unity and Concord.*
- XIV. *Certain Precepts to be observed in Wiving and Marriage, as also Resolutions to Chastity.*
- XV. *Discontents in all Ages, Sexes, States, Conditions.*

If by this leuel thou a good wife hit,
Thank God, that e'er this book was bought, or writ.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Institution and Author of Marriage.

IT is not good for man to be alone * (saith the alone and absolute goodness of all goodness itself) *Faciamus ergo adiutorem ei*: Let us therefore make him a helper meet for him: So the creation of the woman was to be a helper to the man, not a hinderer; a companion for his comfort, not a vexation to his sorrow, for *Consortium est Solatium*, i. e. Company is comfortable, though never so small, and Adam took no little joy in this, his single companion, being thereby free from that solitude and silence, which his loneliness would else have been subject to, had there been no other end, nor use in her more, than this her bare presence and society alone: But, besides all this, the earth is large and must be peopled, and, therefore, they are now the crown of his workmanship, the last, and best, and perfectest piece of his handy-work, divided into genders, as the rest of his creatures are, Male and Female, fit and enabled, *Procreare sibi similem*, i. e. to bring forth their like, to accomplish his will, who thus blessed their fruitfulness in the bud: Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth. Well might St. Paul say, observing this, Marriage is honourable amongst all men, and the bed undefiled; since God himself was the author and institutor thereof, even in paradise; who gave the woman to the man, before, in his sleep, Adam lost a rib; but, now being awake, *reperit costam*, he hath his rib again, with interest and increase, branched into many veins, and ribs, and bones, and arteries of wonderful use, and admirable quality. So the creation of woman as it was for man, so it was out of man; Adam was made of the slime of the earth, and, were it not to make woman proud, I would tell her, she was of that better substance, of that well husbanded workmanship, and refined matter, refined and purified by the touch of his hands, in moulding to so excellent a proportion as man; of a bone taken out of his side (which that side ever wanteth since, as anatomists observe) to

* Gen. ii. 2.

make him the more pliable towards her; not of a bone of his foot, that she should be so low or contemptible, or of his head, so high or ambitious, but of his side, a middle part, that she might be of a middle condition, his fellow and companion, not his servant or slave, for *Socii sunt qui junguntur lateribus*, i. e. they are fellows that walk side by side; of a bone near to his heart, to put him in mind of dilection and love; from under his arm of protection and defence, &c. Now the author of this creation we find here to be the author of this mystery: He, who made the woman of the man, gave her to the man, even God himself, who, as Cassianus saith further, in the very prime and beginning of the world, *Dedit* this *Unam Uni*, i. e. Gave this one woman, to one man, and no more than one, although for the increase and peopling of all the yet uninhabited regions and kingdoms of the earth: In which, no doubt, the divine wisdom had a respect to the love, not to the lust of man; aiming hereby to advance the one, and suppress the other, for where love is divided there it is weakened, can never be strong, and as we see by experience, he who loves many formally never loves any fervently; for unity is love's number, cannot transcend, and God would have an intire affection between the husband and the wife, which he himself, in person, thus vouchsafed to honour by conjunction, that, as their bodies were then not two, so their desires should be but one; and withal to insinuate, by this his proper institution, the more respect and reverence to that holy ordination, which had so high a beginning, and so holy an end, honoured by his person, by his prophets, by his miracles, and which should so generally be exercised, throughout all estates and conditions, ages and times, to the end of the world, and desistancy of all things, which by this means (before that eternal dissolution) should run a long and continued race in despite of grave and death.

CHAP. II.

Of the Excellency of Marriage, with the Consequence and Use thereof.

THE excellency thereof doth the more manifest itself in this, in that it was an addition of beatitude and blessedness, to that happy and absolute estate that Adam had in his first creation and innocency; that it was so precious a flower, that it would not thrive but in so pure a soil; that God himself was the author to institute it, and the priest to celebrate it, before ever sin and impurity had tainted the earth, or blemished the angelical beauty of either the bride or bridegroom; and, though the consequence in that place brought sorrow and death, yet bath it a relation to a full, nay more ample joy and life in the extent and determination thereof, than it could otherwise have had in that first perseverance and fruition, from which, tho' now by sin, our beat

faculties, privileges and prerogatives, in all kinds, are so clouded, eclipsed, and fallen away, that we discern not aright the excellencies, true uses and ends of so divine a mystery in itself, notwithstanding we do yet in this twilight perceive such glimpses and sparkles of original purity and felicity unextinguished therein, that we are wedded by our own wills, and induced by so natural a coaction to the embracement thereof, for the mutual society and comfort of life, without which it could neither subsist nor continue, more than to any other duty or action therein commanded or required whatsoever.

From the excellency of the institution, come we to the excellency of the true use, the danger of the contrary, and therefore the deep regard to be had before-hand, as in the enterprise itself, being of such weighty moment and import, of which one, thus farther displaying it, writeth:

Marriage, of all the human actions of a man's life, is one of the greatest weight and consequence, as thereon depending the future good, or evil, of a man's whole after-time and days; that gordian knot, once fastened, not to be unloosened but by death; the means either to exalt on high to preferment, or cast down headlong to destruction, and the present disposer of a man's whole estate and fortune to his greatest joy or misery, and therefore with his *tale pondus* (as before) not be danced into lightly or unadvisedly, with the first that comes to hand, as a blind man lays his hold, but soberly entered upon with mature advice, years, and deliberation, consent, and counsel of parents and friends; for it is in this action as in a stratagem of war: Wherein he that errs can err but once, perisheth unrecoverably to all after advice and relief. And therefore that merry proverb is not amiss, that thus implieth: That in wiving and thriving a man should ask counsel of all the world, it being a matter of such difficulty, doubt, and danger to be resolved in; such a continual storm and tempest to those that launch not forth in a prosperous gale, having perverted their felicity therein, by running from the rule of God in their choice, that (with Jonas) such, to be delivered, were better be cast alive into the sea, to the belly of the whale, and mercy of the merciless bottomless deep, though with him they never came to shore again, than endure such a perpetual vexation it is the harbinger unto, with such a *Leviathan* of the land as is a furious woman; for, as a virtuous woman is a haven of beauty, so a wicked woman is a sea of evils, and in her tide more full than that element of monsters; worse far to live with than a smoky house, for that, for the most part, offends only the eyes in the head, but this all the senses in the body; nay, he, that hath such a familiar, hath a worse neighbour of his own than Horsam should have had, if her fabulous dragon had been true; yet, though in the curse it be subject to these evils, bless it in the true use, and it is, of all human comforts, the greatest; for, if the mutual society between friend and friend be so great, that in affliction it administereth comfort, and in joy it heapeth the measure to the brim, by detracting from the sowre, and adding to the sweet, by a sensible participation of either's quality, how much more then shall it be enlarged by such a friend, who is to us a second

self, or treasurer of our own thoughts, and therefore more nearly interested in either the one or the other.

Besides this, in thy marriage, the very name whereof should portend unto thee merry-age, thou not only unitest unto thyself a friend, and comfort for society, but also a companion for pleasure, and in some sort a servant for profit too, for a wife is all these; besides, by the excellency and blessing of this institution, thou continuest thy name, thy likeness, and thy generation walks upon earth, and so livest in thy similitude, in despite of death, when thou thyself art dead and raked up in dust, and otherwise without remembrance, unless by some ruinous stone, or ragged epitaph, and so (in some sort) makest thy body immortal, like thy soul, and not only by this dost thou add to the sons of the earth, but to the saints of heaven; besides, by this, so excellent, so honourably accounted of amongst all men, are thy wild and unbridled affections reduced to humanity and civility, to mercy and clemency, and thou thyself called back to look into thyself, and to understand the substance and truth of things; and therefore he that hath no wife is said to be a man unbuilt that wanteth one of his ribs, asleep as Adam was till his wife was made, for marriage awaketh the understanding as out of a dream; and he that hath no wife is said to be a man in the midst of the sea, perishing for want of this ship to waft him to shore; is said to be parched in the heat of the sun, that hath not this vine to rest him under her shadow; if sickness come, it brings thee a physician; if health continue, it is partly a preserver. But to go further, to equal it with the best commended virginity, where is the man this day living, whose virginity may be compared with Abraham's marriage, in whom all the nations of the earth were blessed? St. Austin opposeth it to the virginity of St. John; but the greatest authority we have, in praise of marriage, is the union of Christ with his church compared unto it; the bond whereof is the Holy Ghost, the contract the gospel, the apostles the registers, all married men except St. John and St. Paul; and Jesus Christ sealed it with his blood, the betrothing whereof is here below in the church, but the wedding itself shall be solemnised in heaven. It is likewise the original of all pairs, of all couples, *primum par, fundamentum parium*, saith one, father and child, master and servant, husband and wife, all grow out of this first union and conjunction; all kindred and affinity in the world take their birth from this root, without which men would live dispersed like savage beasts, and irrational creatures, without distinction or separation of tribe or family, which are the first parts of a commonwealth.

CHAP. III.

Worldly Choice what it is, or how, for the most Part, Men chuse their Wives.

IT is a fashion much in use in these times to chuse wives as chapmen sell their wares, with *quantum dabitur*? i. e. What is the most you will give? And, if their parents or guardians shall reply, Their virtues

are their portions, and others have they none, let them be as dutiful as Sarah, as virtuous as Anna, as obedient as the Virgin Mary; these, to the wise man, every one a rich portion, and more precious than the gold of Ophir, shall be nothing valued, or make up where wealth is wanting; these may be adjuncts or good additions, but money must be the principal of all that marry, and (that scope is large) there are but few that undergo it for the right end and use, whereby it comes to pass that many attain not to the blessedness therein. Some undergo this curse instead of blessing, merely for lust, chusing their wives most unfitly, as adulteresses; and such are said to marry by the eye, looking no further than a carnal beauty is distinguished, which consists in the outward shape and lineaments of the body, as in gate, gesture, countenance, behaviour, &c. And for such a one, so she be fair, and can kiss, she hath portion enough for such a pirate; but when this flower withers, as it is of no continuance, for diseases blast it, age devours it, discontent doth wither it (only virtue is not foiled by these adversaries) what shall continue love as then to the end? Their winter sure shall be full of want, full of discontent, that thus, grasshopper-like, respected their summer. There are others that marry to join wealth to wealth, and those are said to marry by the fingers ends; some others there are that take their wives from the report or good liking of others, and those are said to take their wives upon trust, and such, I hope, are not seldom deceived in their venture. There are some that marry for continuance of posterity, and those come nearest to the true intent, for the end of marriage is *proles*, i. e. issue; it was the primal blessing, Increase and multiply. God hath given and bequeathed many precepts and commandments to mankind, yet, of all that ever he delivered, never was there any better observed (for the letter) than this; nay, the most part are so ready to accomplish his will herein, that, for haste, many times, they overslip the true circumstances thereof, doing it, *propter intentionem, præter viam*, for God requires *liberi*, not *spturii*, i. e. Children, not Bastards; and those that thus increase it, do it more for the manner than the end, more for lust than for love.

CHAP. IV.

How to chuse a good Wife from a bad.

THIS undertaking is a matter of some difficulty, for good wives are many times so like unto bad, that they are hardly discerned betwixt, they could not otherwise deceive so many as they do; for the Devil can transform himself into an angel of light, the better to draw others into the chains of darkness; so these, his creatures, themselves into the shape of honesty, the better to intangle others in the bonds of repentance; if, therefore, the yoke of marriage be of such perpetuity, and lasting even *usque ad necem*, i. e. until death, and the joys or grievance thereon depending of equal continuance therewith, either to make a short heaven or hell in this world, it is not therefore to be undergone but upon the duest regard, and most advised consideration that

may be; and, because it is such a sea, wherein so many shipwreck for want of better knowledge and advice, upon a rock, that took not better counsel in the haven, I have, therefore, in some sort, to prevent this danger, erected, (as it were) certain land-marks and directions in the way, to give aim to such passengers as shall hereafter expose themselves to the mercy of this fury; and the rather, because our age is so adventurous, whether boldness or blindness be their guide, that mere children dare undertake with vessels scarce capable to hoist up sail, and adventure those passages, that former times, which, in their nonage, never precedent us in the like, would have thought scarce navigable; but many times this calm, that leads them forth in a sun-shine with pleasure, brings them home in a tempest, with sorrow; and, therefore (as I said) he that would not repent him afterwards, let him be advised before; for, Wise foresight, for the most part, is crowned with happy success; therefore, say not hereafter (for it is a weak remedy) *utinam saperem*, i. e. Would God I had been better advised, but be it so.

The first aim that I would give to him, that would adventure this voyage (for marriage is an adventure, for whosoever marries, adventures; he adventures his peace, his freedom, his liberty, his body; yea, and sometimes his soul too) is, that in his election, after he hath made choice of his wife, which ever I would have grounded upon some of these promising likelihoods, viz. that she be of a sober and mild aspect, courteous behaviour, decent carriage, of a fixed eye, constant look, and unaffected gate, the contrary being oftentimes signs of ill portent and consequence; for as the common saying is, An honest woman dwells at the sign of an honest countenance; and wild looks (for the most part) accompany wild conditions; a rolling eye is not fixed, but would fix upon objects it likes, it looks for, and affected nicety is ever a sign of lascivious petulancy.

Next, regard, according as thine estate and condition shall best instruct thee, the education and quality of her thou hast so elected, her personage not being unrespected; for love looks sometimes as well with the eye of the body, as with the mind, and beauty, in some, begets affection, and affection augmenteth love; whereas the contrary would decrease and diminish it, and so bring thee to a loathed bed, which must be utterly taken heed of, for the dangerous consequences that follow; therefore let thy wisdom so govern thine affection, that, as it seize not up deformity to thine own proper use, for some sinister respect to be shortly after repented of; so, likewise (for the mean is ever best) that it level not at so high and absolute endowment and perfection, that every carnal eye shall bethink thee injury, that every goatish disposition shall level to throw open thy inclosures, that thy wife shall be harder to be kept, than the garden of the Hesperides; for, as the Italian proverb is,

Whose horse is white, and wife is fair,
His head is never void of care.

Next, after thou hast thus elected thy choice, and considered her in herself, with the aforesaid circumstances, and this one more (not

being of his mind, that merrily said, speaking of his wife, Since he was to make choice out of things that were evil, he thought it most wisdom to chuse the least;) to regard, that she be not of too dwarfish a size and kindred, to store thee with a generation of pigmies, dwarfs, half-men, that want the majesty and power of height and strength, and the comeliness a good stature is, for the most part, wedded unto. After this, a little look back to the stock, from whence she sprung, for, as Ezekiel saith, Like mother, like daughter; and experience and nature approve it, that the fruit will relish of the tree, from whence it sprung, as the rose is not gathered from the hawthorn: and, as his majesty well observed, If men be so careful to have their horses and dogs of a good breed and race, which are only for external and superficial uses and pleasures, how much more should they their wives of their own bosoms, from whom they expect to raise and continue their own generations and posterities upon earth, to represent and preserve alive their own image and virtues behind them, from generation to generation, *usque ad longinquum*, &c.?

CHAP. V.

What Years are most convenient for Marriage.

THE forward virgins of our age are of opinion, that this commodity can never be taken up too soon, and therefore, howsoever they neglect in other things, they are sure to catch time by the forelock in this; if you ask this question, they will resolve you, fourteen is the best time of their age, if thirteen be not better than that; and they have for the most part the example of their mothers before them, to confirm and approve their ability; and this withal they hold for a certain ground, that, be they never so little, they are sure thereby to become no less; the effects that, for the most part, ensue thereafter, are dangerous births, diminution of stature, brevity of life, and such like; yet all these pains will they adventure for this pleasure: now as these will not stay till their youth, but marry in their childhood, before either blood or affections ripen them thereto by their early forwardness, so are there others that as much offend in the contrary, by passing over their youth for certain cautionary worldly respects, to salute this society with their age, like to him that hath suffered his house to burn down to the bottom, before he would seek to extinguish the flame, when the other as needlessly forward, as he foolishly slow, throws on water ere any fire come near it; the extremity in both is utterly distasteful, and, as I have already shewed briefly the indiscretion in either, so I might thus continue it further along in the first: that such should take upon them to govern others, that (which as may well appear in this) know not yet how to govern themselves; the latter, that they utterly abandon the right use of marriage; for, if the chief end thereof be propagation and increase, both for the kingdom of earth and heaven, why then do they defer so long till their blood be frosty, and their bones be empty, their

lamps be wasted, and their spirits consumed, hiding in the earth their talents from use, which might have been otherwise multiplied, by a lawful usury, to a happy increase and excellent end, and therefore worthy such of their just reward, which is (for the most part) to perish in themselves as the last of their name and posterity upon earth.

Diogenes being asked, what time of a man's life was best to marry, answered, in youth it was too soon, and in age it was too late, cynically insinuating thereby, that it was best never: indeed, some of our unfortunate conjunctions might have been happy, in embracing his counsel, when planets of malevolent aspect and influence are unfortunately housed, like two opposite poisons in a stomach, one ever sick of another, fearfully portending their own destruction and ruin; yet, not to discomfort any that are to enter herein, the best good and most absolute perfection that ever was in the world, and most general, never did all participate in the fruition thereof, although the greatest number did; God gave sight to all, yet all partake not the benefit thereof; health to all, yet some are daily incumbered with sickness; limbs to all, yet some we see are decrepid and lame, although the most enjoy them, these infirmities having in their being rather deficient than efficient causes; for God created not blindness, lameness, sickness, or such like, but the deprivation of their better opposites is the cause of their producement and effect: so likewise in marriage God gave a general blessing to the first institution and use thereof; he blessed it by his word, he honoured it by his presence, he confirmed it by his miracles, where he turned water into wine, to shew that those that celebrate it in the right manner, to the lawful and true end, shall have their sorrow turned into joy, their water into wine; but the contrary, their joy into sorrow, that is, their wine into water.

One saith, wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses, so that a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but the apostle saith here, Rejoice in the wife of thy youth: as thereby he would point out the fittest time; in thy youth, whilst thou hast blood in thy veins, and marrow in thy bones; health in thy loins, and security in thy sufficiency; when thou mayest beget an offspring, and by course of time be so blessed, as to see thy children's children ingrafted into the church, and common-wealth, in honourable offices and functions, to thy peace of conscience, and quietness in thy last *dimittis*: late repentance, they say, is seldom true repentance; and it is observable, that in these late marriages is seldom found that true comfort and happiness, which it is crowned withal in due season; therefore begin not the world, divide not thyself, thy love, when thou art going out of the world.

CHAP. VI.

That Conveniency and Fitness, in Choice, is more to be regarded, than either Beauty, Riches, or any other Addition of Mind, or Fortune.

IN this one and absolutely greatest action of a man's whole life, men, for the most part, are either so careless in their will, or so blinded in their judgment, or so carried away by affection, that they regard not that which most materially concerneth the peace, the welfare, and felicity of their whole life and conversation therein; for their eye, for the most part, either seizeth upon beauty, and those are such that chuse an apple for the red side, as the serpent deceived Eve, which afterwards in the taste sets the teeth on edge; or the heart upon riches, and they are rather married to the substance, than the owner: Some again marry for gentility, not respecting their own ignobility and baseness, which, for the most part, it upbraideth them with all their life long; and though all of these are joined by the ring (the emblem of wedlock) yet few understand the moral thereof, which is a representary fitness to be respected: I mean not equality or fitness of stature, for the more equal conjunction and action, but a fitness in affection; for as that being either too big, or too little, pincheth the finger, or stayeth not on; so, where this equality doth not sympathise in affection, there is either a falling off from the bond of this duty, or a shrinking up of the joy and felicity therein: The cholerick man, who, for some outward respect, maketh this, his expected heaven, a hell, by unaptly enjoining unto himself provocation and impatience, ever to kindle that fire afresh, which of itself consumes, without farther addition, the very peace and tranquillity, life and spirit of soul and body, whenas he should rather have elected, as an allayer to this fury, meekness, and endurance; such a lenitive as this should rather have wasted the malady, than augmented the misery; for what concord, or society, can be expected to be enjoyed, when natures more repugnant than the elements are joined in one: Free spirits with wiser dispositions, where they grapple and tug without ease and releasement, for breath and liberty: Heroes thoughts with dull affections, where there is no correspondence to their height or elevation: Knowledge with ignorance, where there is no zeal to communicate; old age with youth, where there is no desire of enjoyment, preventing the good by some blind inducement, which either might have claimed by their likelihood, in more suitable fitness, bearing the yoke with repining and displeasure, as pressing too heavily, which otherwise might have been supported with ease and delight, as scarce tasted or felt: Therefore, whoever thou art, know this in thy choice, that wouldest for bondage adventure thy freedom, that every good woman makes not for every man a good wife, no otherwise than some one good dish digests with every stomach: Therefore, as for thy trade, thou wilt chuse a fit servant, for thy stomach a fit diet, for thy body fit cloathing, so, for thy

inseparable, daily, nightly society, chuse a fit companion, according to the poet's rule in a lesser sense :

Eligat equalem prudens sibi quisq; ; sodalem.

Let every wise and discreet man
Chuse him a fit companion.

The thief for his burglaries takes his fittest opportunity and society : The husbandman his seasons for his seed-time and harvest : The lawyer the advantage of assizes and terms : The merchant for adventure, the tide and the winds ; and all these the fitness befriendeth the endeavour ; and shall the husband then think to establish his purpose, his peace, so great, and so greatly thereon depending, without this vigilancy and observance ? The old rule will teach him new wit, in his aptness, which saith,

He, that a fit wife to himself doth wed,
In mind, birth, age, keeps long a quiet bed.

Art thou a remnant of the age of some mispent youth, fallen from the badge of one baseness to another, as frowned out of some convenient master's favour, for not pleasing thy mistress, that now, to support thy creature, would smoak thee out a living in some blind and conscious corner, smell thee then a wife out a little tainted, the sweeter for thy purpose, and as apt to fall down as thy vapour to fly up, taking care (unless thou wilt disrank thyself, or single out from the too common shame and abuse in this kind) that she be such a one as can take it, and being light can light it.

Art thou a merchant, a mariner, a termier, chuse thee a wife of some phlegmatick humour, that, like a rich creditor, with her large stock of virtue, without breaking out, can forbear thee, upon occasion, a month or two, a year or two, a term or voyage, lest otherwise, thou abroad, she prove an actor with thy factor at home, or for thee, whilst thou labourest for this right in this case, do against thee that wrong in another, which no law can help, nor prevention hinder, nor patience bear ; if otherwise, though thou escape the perils of the sea, thou art in danger of the pirates of the land ; or thou, though thou get a judgment at the hall, shalt be sure to have execution against thee at home : And from whence else proceed these lamentable jars of households, worse than the open wars of kingdoms, that devour and eat up whole families ? Whence proceed these separations, exclamations, disjunctions ? Whence arise they, but exhaled and drawn up with the heat of this paraborical sun (the muck and mammon of the world) the beams whereof blind the eye sometimes of conscience, as well as of understanding and judgment ; whose conjoining of hands may resemble the league between the Low-Countries and Spain, where hearts can no more be brought to unity and affection one with another, that those ever vowed enemies thus taken truce ? These respects, I say, like that respect of state, and no other, have prostituted, under one covering, many a

frosty January, and youthful May; many a green desire, and gray performance; which could no more cohabit than these different seasons, otherwise aforehand meant, and afterwards satisfied, though with a shameful breaking out, to the ruin and destruction of both the one and the other; meer groans, and many of my late remembrance, lip-bearded, as witches, with their warted antiquity and age, have angled into their beds with this baited golden hook (for lucre of desire and lust) on their parties, youth whose chins have never yet fallen under the razor, less that way, by their heat and hair, expressing man than their wives (wives) nay, rather matrons, and mothers to their children prostituted, the shame and unevenness whereof hath even cracked this fore-mentioned wreath in the ring, broke Priscian's head, in the unequal conjugations, the destruction whereof hath not slowly followed, but thus quickly, like a gangrene, crept on by a careless neglect in the one, and earnest desire in the other, and a timely repentance in both: The one thus (to his precedent aim) the better supported to his wild pleasures abroad, whilst the other, with her frustrated intention and hope, all tame and penitentiary, left destitute to bewail her grievance at home. But go further, admit impossibilities, that age and youth, summer and winter, could be one, yet how would the autumn with her tempests blast the summer, and her tender buds of that season, and summer, again, contradicting her contrary melting, her snows and frosts into nothing, what pangs and travels, and throbs and throws, would they sustain one with the other, till they brought an end and confusion to both? Even so admit, that youth could assume such a habit of gravity that might like an age, and age again so shake off her unnecessaries, that she could look amiable in the fresh and green eye of youth; yet must this mixture of unequal heats be more pernicious to either, than those blasting contrary seasons one to another: From these unequal conjunctions break forth those masterful jealousies, those insupportable discontents, that have not set but even in blood and death, ruined their owners, afflicted and wrung into lamentations their friends, allies, and associates, and drawn blood from the heart of any one that had but a hand or finger in the carriage: Many instances of these we know of late times, which we may remember, whilst I overpass them, to recite one of more antiquity, as it is delivered by tradition.

An alderman's wife*, sometimes of London, her husband deceased, and she a rich widow left, but as old in years, as rich in substance, (more for desire of portion than person, was solicited to an unequal banes and marriage, by a young and courtly gentleman, and which afterwards ended her bane) whose desire being obtained, and he master of her substance, most lewdly lavished it away upon riotous and evil company, grew careless of her regard, and utterly abandoned her society, both bed and board; which when with sorrow she perceived, with her too late repentance, herself thus rifled of her goods, upbraided of her friends, forsaken of her husband, destitute of all comfort, she took the evening to her mourning, went into a spring near Shoreditch, a place that takes the name from a like fatal accident, and there ended

* Stow's Survey.

her days and sorrows by drowning; which font to this day is christened by her name, a remembrance of her misery, and warning to after-times, and called by her name Dame Annis a Clare*. And therefore whoever thou art, entering into this common garden of humanity, respect, for thy better blessing and prosperity therein, more than beauty, birth, or riches, this harmony and fitness, wherein is no jar, no strife, no discontent, nor weariness, and which shall land thee prosperously at the haven of thy rest, when this other, either tackling, fraught, or sail, may endanger to perish thee in the flood.

CHAP. VII.

What is that chief Moth, and Canker, that especially undermineth and fretteth the Marriage-bed.

PRIDE, ambition, equality with others, the example of others, variety of appetite, the unrelishness of that which is lawful, desire of that which is restrained, is unlawful; and then the oratory of the devil of darkness, in the shape of an angel of light, working upon these advantages, hath overthrown, and betrayed to this vulture, and his merciless talent, that fort and citadel, with as easy resistance as a bower of glass, that should be so unspotted, but more impregnable than a bulwark of stone; admitted treason to the heart of the city, coped with the most dangerous enemy in the world, opened those gates with weakness, and this stratagem, that an engine should not assail with strength and might; broke down the door that struck dead the owner, laid open these inclosures, that have bondaged the lord of the soil perpetually till death, to inclose his own supposed interest and use. Ambition and pride, you twin-born sisters, you, you it is, and the dependency of your estate (you true and indelicate issues of Lucifer) that have broken down this hedge of the greatest consequence and site that ever was erected, and which else had kept out the assailing and seducing enemies that batter and undermine the very supportance, root, and life-blood of chastity itself, letting in, at these casements, evil conceits, and motives more blasting thereto, than the breath of lightning, and made the vows of marriage of less stability than the oaths of drunken men. Ambition, equality, example, you forementioned evils, you foot-ball players, which short-heeled creatures, it is you that are arraigned and found guilty in this tryal.

The country damsel under the thatched roof of her natural habitation, where she scarce ever thought of so much pride as handsomeness, never beheld her hue otherwise presented than in a bowl of water, that dreamed more devoutly under that innocent covering, being asleep, than others pray in their lofty palaces, being awake; who can scarce there remember marriage, but she blushes to think what a

* Where now is kept the cold-bath at Hoxton, near Shoreditch,

shame it is to lie with a man : Yet afterwards bring her to the city, enter her into that school of vanity, set but example before her eyes, she shall in time become a new creature, and such a strong mutation shall so strangely possess her, that she shall have new thoughts; new purposes and resolutions, and, in the end, so shoulder out her modesty, that she shall not blush to do that unlawfully, which before she was bashful to think on lawfully. Come to the city, there you shall have some good amongst many bad, but should have many more, were it not for this sickness of this ill example; therefore, well were it with the world, if what were most done were most good : Such a one could be content, for any desire of novelty or change, or for any heat in her blood, more than might be lawfully allayed, to be honest, but that she knows such a friend, and such a gentlewoman, her gossip, have their variety of gowns, of gifts, of favours, and variety of pleasures too, interchanging with variety of persons, and in this regard she will be no longer her own foe, to keep herself longer without such a friend ; she sees the world takes notice of no more than it sees, and they are accounted most chaste, that can best seem so. In this resolution she pulls up the floodgates, where her tide of vanity is swelled to the brim, which immediately overflows, and drowns her therein, extinguishing all former sparks of virtue and respect, which before this conquest she debated with, and bears her along with the perishing multitude, for these brittle respects, that here she is insnared with.

The court, the very element and center of these sins, the *ne plus ultra*, for any example beyond that, being the pattern to itself, and to others, the respects, that join there, are the respects of pleasure, not of profit; the highest ambition of theirs is to be most allured, most desired, to have most servants, most friends, most favours ; and these should presage most falls, whose open outsides, bosoms, were their insides so displayed, it would be found a poor and idle sin, had not there been harboured, whose sattin outsides, and silken insides, soft raiment, and sweet feeding, so stroke the skin, and persuade the blood that it will not be persuaded.

There is a text in woman, that I would fain have woman to expound, or man either; to what end is the laying out of the embroidered hair, embared breasts, vermillioned* cheeks, alluring looks, fashion gates, and artful countenances, effeminate, intangling, and insnaring gestures, their curls and purls of proclaiming petulancies, bolstered and laid out with such example and authority in these our days, as with allowance and beseeeming conveniency? such apish fashions and follies, that the more severer out-worn ages of the world, deceased and gone, should they have but lifted up their head, in their times, would have hissed out of countenance to death: but as, to please, woman hath much starched up man from his slovenry, so to delight man (or rather his enemy) hath the woman thus increased in pride. Doth the world wax barren through decrease of generations, and become, like the earth, less fruitful than heretofore? doth the blood lose his heat, or do the sun-beams become more waterish, and less fervent, than

* Painted.

formerly they have been, that men should be thus inflamed and persuaded on to lust? Or hath this age of sin usurped such a seeming purity, or thought, that the most licensed lust hath the original from concupiscence, or some taint of sin, and therefore must be thus dragged up to this anchor, like a pitcher by the ears, by these blood near-touching witcheries, and inducements? No, rather the contrary, witness the superfluity and increase of these our times, of this our kingdom, that hath more people than pasture, more bringing forth than breeding, for that is compelled to empty itself into far distant regions and kingdoms: Is it not rather the contrary, when the youth of both sexes are daily cropped in the blossom by this forward motion, or rather headstrong devil, and unripenly pressed to that action, forestalling maturity and fitness, where a vestal should be more pointed at in a cloyster, than a comet in the air? It is not rather the contrary, when lust is grown so unbounded, so headstrong, that it will not be hemmed, nor incircled within any laws, or limits, of God, or man; when it will garbade without all respect, or controul, upon adultery, fornication, possessed, the unpossessed, the bond, the free; where care shall more possess a man to keep his fair wife from foul play, when he hath her, than jealousy did to lose her; when he first rivaled for her; where virtue shall not so disguise itself, in any habit, but vice will trace it out, and betray it. The ignorant Papists, or other sectaries of heresies, most commonly give no other reason for their seduced errors, than example of multitude, of parents, progenitors, or friends, that went before them; so the example of this evil, so common, so much made of, so cockered, so thriving, so bedecked, so admired, so dandled on the lap of greatness, of authority, draws millions to perdition after it, for the greatest part never look further, than the example of the greatest number; the coach easily runs, that is drawn with many horses, soon follows one where thousands lead the way: These have disjoined in chambers, by the devil, that were conjoined in the church by God; and yet it must be ingenuously confessed, it is but a cold comfort to go to hot hell for company. Lust, that boiling, damned putrefaction of the blood, that raging, ruling, headstrong sin of this age, that is too apt to break out, though it went cloathed in sackcloth and hair-cloth, and fed only (as saith an author) with the Capuchin * diet of grass and herbs, and such like, and suppressed with all the subjection can be imposed to subdue it, that yet, like lime, it would flash and fly out through all these impositions: But, on the contrary, we are so far from subduing that passion, and keeping it under, by any such means, that it is attired and set out in the most artful, bewitching, and enticing temptation that may be devised, whole days and nights, and thoughts and studies, and costs and cares, cast away thereon, for the better success therein, though the worse ill thereby, for the end thereof is but repentance and sorrow.

Another main enemy, to open this breach, is impatience of restraint and limitation; for that, which is most forbidden, is most desired: He

* A Capuchin is a friar of the most strict observance of St. Francis's Order in the church of Rome.

is the old devil that still tempts in that likeness, that came to Eve in Paradise, and persuaded her to eat the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, upon whom he obtained such a victory and conquest, in that first battle that ever was fought, that never since hath he distrusted the force of that stratagem: every woman is an abridgement of all woman-kind, contains the shape, the proportion, the lineaments, the members, the use of all the women in the world, and likewise so of man. Why should not desire then, being so linked in the most sufficient and wisest allowance, that God and man thought meet, couch and submit itself to these ordinances, but that concupiscence and lust inkindle desire, and it findeth not delight in that it hath, but in that it would have, according as the poet verifieth:

Lust never takes delight in what is due,
But still leaves known delights to seek out new.

It looks out of the window, where fuel is administered where temptation entereth in: edgeth itself upon one for respects that it can conceive, but not utter; upon another for something it likes, but knows not what; it makes choice of a third, for modesty baits his lust in that flame, to think with what looks it could look in conclusion, that is so fired with blushes in but proffered, concerning circumstances, though far distant and remote from either time or action: upon a fourth, for her quaint conceit, and discovers by debating how she could use it, being put to her nonplus, in the bare point of trial; with the beauty of a fifth, to conceive what a large fruition it were to be inflamed on the promontory of the hill, when the demeanors, and adjacent vallies, to that fuller surfeit, restrained not their shades nor mountains: and indeed, to conclude, there is none so ugly, none so deformed, but lust will find argument to make use of it, may it but have means to enjoy it.

CHAP. VIII.

Advice for Choice, and whether it be best to marry a Widow, or a Maid.

HE that marrieth a widow, hath but a reversion in tail; and, if she prove good, may thank death for his aim; if evil, upbraid him, and not unjustly for his occasion: he, that takes her thus half worn, makes account she hath that will pay for new dressing; she seems to promise security in her peace, yet invites many times to a troublesome estate, when the conquest achieved scarce countervails the wars; the principal of her love is perished with the use, for what is once firmly set on, can never be cleanly taken off, and he must never look to be enriched that hath her. The end of her marriage is lust and ease, more *than affection* or love; and, deserve what thou canst, the dead shall

upbraid thee by the help of her tongue, flatter'd behind his back, the more to vex thee to thy face: the best is, though the worst for thee, they are navigable without difficulty, more passable than Virginia, and lie at an easier road, as unsatiate as the sea, or rather the grave, which many times the sooner presents them thither: at the decease of their first husbands, they learn commonly the tricks to turn over the second or third, and they are in league with death, and coadjutors with him, for they can harden their own hearts like iron to break others that are but earth; and I like them the worse, that they will marry; dislike them utterly, they marry so soon; for she that so soon forgets the flower and bridegroom of her youth, her first love and prime of affection, which, like a colour laid on in oil, or dyed in grain, should cleave fast and wear long, will hardly think of a second in the neglect and decay of her age. Many precedents we have against these sudden, nay against these second marriages, derived from former times, the ages of more constancy, and shame of these latter. The daughter of M. Cato, bewailing a long time the death of her husband, being asked, which day should have her last tear, answered, the day of her death (not the end of a month or year) for, saith she, should I meet with a good husband, as I had before, I should ever be in fear to lose him; if with a bad one, I had better be without him. In like manner, Porcia, a young and honourable lady, having lost her husband, answered, solicited by another, A happy and chaste matron never marries but once. Valeria, having lost her husband, importuned by another, answered: My husband ever lives in my thoughts. Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus, King of Corinth, could not be brought to any such action, but still answered, being mindful of her husband deceased, Upon thy pillow shall never second rest his head. She died a widow, and, in memory of her husband, erected that monument, or tomb, the cost and fame whereof hath overspread the world; which wife and monument Lucinius thus farther commendeth:

Rex dudum erat, &c.

There was a king, of whom it may be read
In ancient stories, sepulchred e're dead.
More wrong you'll say they did him, to deprive
Him of his kingdom thus, he being alive,
No, he had all his rights, more than kings have,
That rul'd a kingdom, and reign'd in his grave;
A kingdom, nay a little * world and more,
A great world, and respected as before.
Nay, even a regimen that hath disturb'd,
The ablest health and policy to curb.
A woman's heart and mind, and, which more strange:
Free from variety of thought or change:
So willingly subjected to his blood,
Ne'er to depose him, whilst her empire stood.

* If a man be a little world, woman is a great world, for the greater contains the less, and not the less the greater.

Of whom all loves and laws did firm remain,
 In force, till one stone did inclose them twain.
 Of whom it may be said, now she is gone,
 There's few such tombs erected, women none.

Such a widow couldst thou marry, she were worthy thy choice; but such a one she could not be, because she would not then marry.

Compare the loyalty of our times with those of more ancient, and see how they equal thy conscience and carcase breaking; how, with thy piled-up chests, they build up monuments of remembrances to thy name and memory after death; nay, rather observe, but how their ambition, thus heated, makes them forgetful of themselves, as well as thee: knowing this, who would not, with these distracted times, to leave the purchase of a ladyship to his wife, glide like a shadow in his life upon earth, with a shrinking inside, and penurious outside, and sleep with broken thoughts and distracted dreams, together with pain, and forbear, with want, that which his living enemy may afterwards spend with pleasure, and surfeit with fulness? Who can love those living, that he knows will so soon forget him, being dead; that are but summer swallows for the time of felicity, that will hang about one's neck, as if they had never arms for others embraces, or as though extreme affection, without controul, could not but thus manifest itself, and break out; yet decease and such a Lethe of forgetfulness shall so soon overtake thee, as if thou hadst never been; nay, so little a quantity of time shall confine it, that she shall not lie in her month but she shall be church'd again, and open to another all thy fruitions, with as fresh and plenteous an appetite, as the harlot to her next sinner. Younger brothers and poor knights, may sometimes to these monsters make use of their births and titles, making them pay dear (as it cost) for their dubbing, and release of purgatory they are in with old rank and fashion to their new Elysium and instalment; and it must be confessed, unwise they were, but with good boot and addition, to refuse a virginity to accept a widowhood; and yet many times, with a Turkish fate, we pay dear for our *credo quod habemus*, that article of belief we so fondly build upon, when we pay for the jewel that another hath stolen, and in hope of treasure embrace the ransacked casket; yet they are to blame that have thus been to blame, and for their easy punishment their first night shall discover them. Be not sudden then therefore upon thy resolution in this point, because deceit, many times, lurks in a modest face, but let long acquaintance, or inquiry, the more secure thee. The country deceives the city, and the city again returns it with interest, and lust so reigns in both, that there is scarce the quantity of virgins to be found in either to match the parable in the scripture; they have faces fairer than men, but hearts more deformed than devils: it is ill building upon a broken foundation; amendment may skin the sore, but the scar will long after retain a blemish, yet no doubt free thought, which is free, and dreams and wishes, which are but shadows, though the rifling ruffians that break through all bosoms, and superficially ravish all women kind, from eight to eighty; and no doubt from actual transgressions many

may be found free, for there was never infection so general, but it spared some; never battle so great, that all were wounded; some of Eve's offspring have withstood the temptation, all have not tasted the forbidden tree; and such a one, if thou canst pray, to prey upon, she hath portion enough, without other portion, if she thus continue it, for she shall make thee a father of undoubted children; she shall not wrinkle thy thoughts with distracting jealousies, nor upbraid with a former husband thy unkindness; her maiden thoughts shall receive from thee a more perfect impression of love and duty, and return it back more legibly indorsed and written, free from all former character, inscription, or soil; her affection shall be strong, not allayed by former wearing: she shall be such a one, as it is a heaven to live withal, a misery to mourn without; she shall live to thy senses and delight, as the budding rose in the youth of the spring; nay, shall be such a one, that, He, that walketh by the door, shall point at her; and he, that dwells by her, shall envy him that hath her, and every man shall admire his hap, but he most fully rejoice and be glad that hath her, and all generations shall call such blessed.

CHAP. IX.

Since the End of Marriage is Issue, whether it be lawful for old Couples to marry that are past Hope of Children; or whether it be lawful for an old Man to marry a young Maid, or the contrary.

THE chief end of marriage is *proles*, i.e. issue; yet there are other respects in that covenant, that, no doubt, may tolerate the most ancient in this kind; God saw that it was not good for Adam to be alone, therefore he made him a helper; and St. Paul saith, Rather marry than burn: and, as it is in another place, *ex solis*: Wo to him that is alone, for, if he fall, he hath none to help him up: now those in age, to come nearest to a common and subcorrective understanding, are most defective in their members, and, therefore, most subject to fall, and so, by consequence, have most need of this help, to raise them up, of this staff for their stay; and, besides, for aught that ever I could hear, or observe, that age is most prone to scorch itself in the flames of that fire, and therefore may lawfully partake the remedy against it; and, for the latter proposition, for aught I see, the law forbids not the act, but the circumstances may breed some danger, for, if the wife be young enough, though the husband be never so decrepid, she shall not be out of all likelihood to see increase of her body; but he that thus undertakes to manage, in his age, what hath shaken the heart of youth, may be commended for his valour, but shall never be crowned for his wisdom: and for such a one, I trust, he shall not need to be jealous, for that his doubt shall be apparently enough resolved. One asked Diogenes, upon a time, for some direction how to chuse a wife, because he was a philosopher; saith he unto him, Fellow, chuse one without a head (if thou canst) without a

body, and without limbs, so her hands shall not offend in striking, nor her tongue in railing, nor her body in lusting. Another time, seeing a man in his old age going to church, to make up his second marriage, he said, O fool, hast thou so lately been shipwrecked, and wilt needs to sea again? The law of God, nor man, doth not forbid such marriages, but no policy in earth commends them; man and wife should be two in one: but can heat and cold, youth and age, be in one, and not be repugnant? He, that adventures so for sweetmeats, shall find them relished with much bitter sauce. They say, the oak would longer last, were it not for the entwining and embracing ivy; but, in this case, I intend the contrary, for the aged oak here blasteth the younger ivy, which the heat of youth must again renew, according to our poet:

No sharper corr'sive to our blooming years,
Than the cold badge of winter blasted heirs.

Many worldly respects may conjoin these marriages, but this solder will crack in the wearing; and he, that so old seeks for a nurse so young, shall have pap, with a hatchet, for his comfort.

CHAP. X.

The Difference between Love and Lust.

LUST, the destroyer of love, the supplanter and underminer of chastity, the spring-frost of beauty, the tyrant of the night, the enemy of the day, the most potent match-maker in all marriages under thirty, and the chief breaker of all, from eighteen to eight; that protests that in a hot blood, that it never performs in a cold; a regarder only of the present, and to that effect will, with Esau, sell a birth-right for a mess of pottage, no longer esteeming the object than the use; which, in like example, is thus further followed, according to the more common observance:

Friends, soldiers, women, in their prime,
Are like to dogs in hunting-time:
Occasion, wars, and beauty gone,
Friends, soldiers, women, there are none.

More dangerous, when it roves without limits, than the lion without the verge of his grate; for he but only would deprive the body of life, but this both of life and soul, and fame, subject to more opposite immediate passions and contradictions in itself, than any sense or humour in the nature of man: as now, well treated, fairly spoken, lodged where it best likes; anon, hated without enduring, cursed out of charity, thrust out of doors, and yet not only, though all this more immediately opposite, then preposterously fondly headlong, that, for

a minute's joy, will incur a month's sorrow; that for one drop of water, will mud the whole fountain that gave it; for one sweet fruit, will blast the whole tree that bare it: Whereas the effect and force of love is contrary, oppressing folly, suppressing fury, aiming to preserve, not to destroy; and, to that end, regards the end, by subduing passions and motives, that would seem to oppose the tranquillity thereof; and, in conclusion, rejoiceth in the true fruition, without discontent, without satiety, having captivated and subdued, though with some difficulty, those passions, that sense, for a time, would have been best pleased with, to triumph, at last, in more full fruition, to that purpose that one thus writeth:

Love comforteth, like sun-shine after rain;
 But lust's effect is tempest after sun.
 Love's golden spring doth ever fresh remain;
 Lust's winter comes, 'ere summer half be done.

In love, there is no envy, no jealousy, no discontent, no weariness, for it digesteth and maketh sweet the hardest labour; and, of all things, doth the nearest resemble the divine nature, for God is love; it hath in it unity without division, for true love hath not many objects; it is a fire much water cannot quench. Now lust contradicteth all these; for, whereas love is bounded with easy limits, lust is more spacious, hath no mean, no bound, but not to be at all; more deep, more dangerous than the sea, and less restrained; for the sea hath bounds, but it hath none; not woman, but all woman-kind is the range thereof, and all that whole sect, not able to quench it neither. Full of envy it is, for it envies all without his reach, and envies its own nature, that it cannot be satisfied: walking, for the most part, in similitude of an old goat, in the shape of an incontinent man.

In love, there is no lack; in lust, there is the greatest penury; for, though it be cloyed with too much, it pines for want: ambitious it is, for, where it treads, it puffs up, and leaves a swelling after it; turns low flats into little mountains, down which precipitate folly tumbles headlong to confusion; a hasty breeder of disinheritable sinners it is, such as have more pleasure in the begetting, than comfort in the bringing forth; best contented, when it loseth most labour. To conclude, though love and lust, in a half brotherhood, dwell both under one roof, yet so opposite they are, that the one, most commonly, burns down the house, that the other would build up.

CHAP. XI.

The best Way to continue a Woman chaste.

IS not the magicians Ring, nor the Italians lock, nor a continual Jealousy ever watching over her, nor to humour her will in idle fancies,

adorn her with new fangles, as the well appayed folly of the world, in this kind, can witness, but for him that would not be basely mad with the multitude; would not bespeak folly to crown him; would not set to sale that he would not have sold; for who sets out his ware to be cheapened, and not bought? That would not for his shop have his wife, for a relative sign, is to adorn her decently, not dotingly; thriftily, not lasciviously; to love her seriously, not ceremoniously; to walk before her in good example, for, otherwise, how canst thou require that of thy wife, that thou art not, wilt not be thyself; *Vis tu uxorem tuam victricem esse, & tu victus jaces?* i. e. Wouldst thou expect thy wife a conqueror, when thou thyself liest foiled at the same weapon? to acquaint her with, and place about her good and chaste society; to busy and apply her mind and body, in some domestick, convenient, and profitable exercises, according to her education and calling, for example, to the frailty of that whole sex, hath a powerful hand, as it shall induce either to good or evil.

There are of opinion, that there is, in marriage, an inevitable destiny, not to be avoided, which is either to be actæoned*, or not to be; if it be not, as is the opinion of some damned in the error of predestination, then let him take a house in Fleet-street, divide it like an inn, into as many several lodgings as rooms; make his wife chamberlain to them all, attire her like a sacrifice, paint her out like a mayor's post, or may-pole; let her have fresh youth and high feeding, lustful company to excite her, her husband absent: All these opportunities present; yet, notwithstanding, this destiny shall preserve him, to wear his brow as sleek, as he that never fetched again the lost rib to his side, as unbunched as the front of a batchelor; but, if the contrary, be she the most pure in seeming, a very sister of that sect, the opinion of the Brownists shall so near cleave to her skin, that she shall befate thy forehead in thy sleep, and kill thee dead in that image of thy grave: Be she papist, absolution shall so resolve her, that she shall sin upon presumption; nay, though thou hadst Argus's eyes, thou shalt not escape it, for

No policy, they say, can that prevent,
Whereto two parties give their full consent.

Be she what she will, in this case, it shall be all one for thee to restrain, or give liberty, where thou dwellest, or what thou doest, for thy destiny is so allotted, and it shall be accomplished: The rash opinion, and careless security of either, is worthy the reward, which, for the most part, it doth deservedly receive.

It was an error in religion, that one Ludovicus had, who had given himself over to this damnable opinion and security of the devil, that, if he were ordained to be saved, saved he should be, without any enquiry or diligence of his; if otherwise, though he toiled to death in his best endeavour, it would not help nor reserve him: In this

* Horæd.

conceit, settling himself in the most epicurean and dissolute course of living that might be, he continued, till upon a time he fell into a most grievous extremity of sickness, when sending for a physician, who, beforehand acquainted with his damnable error, came not, but sent him word, that he needed not his help, for, if his hour were come, he could not preserve him; if otherwise, he should recover, though never any thing were administered unto him; which easy application he understood himself, and that he must use the best means and endeavour, as well for the safety of his soul, as the preservation of his body, not knowing the event of their concealed ends; and so at once (by that means) was happily cured, both in mind and body.

In no less palpable error are those, that, so wittingly and violently, are carried on either side in this dangerous stream of a corrupted judgment, to the apparentest spectacle, and certainest shame, that woman may do them, making that unquestionably their dishonour by this consequence, which a sober course might have directed to a more certain end: Therefore, whoever thou art, that wouldst not wink at such a shame; that, so profit doth succeed, wouldst not regard whether hand brought it in; use good endeavour, such foresight and wariness as may provide for competency, prevent indigence and want, two great allayers of affection, and a main inciter of impatient bearers to this folly and abuse; and, above all, seek to plant in her religion; for so she cannot love God, but, withal, she must honour thee; increase her knowledge in good things, and give her certain assurance and testimony of thy love, that she may, with her's again, the more reciprocally equal thy affection; for true love hath no power to think, much less act amiss: And these, discreetly put in practice, shall more preserve at all times, and temptations, than spies, or eyes, Jealousy, or any restraint, for these sometimes may be deluded, or overwatched, or prevented by opportunity, but this never.

CHAP. XII.

The Pattern of a bad Husband, and a good Wife, in two Letters instanced.

FAIR mistress, what so long I have expected,
 And, till this opportunity, neglected,
 Is now so happened, as it would invite
 Me to enjoy my absolute delight.
 Your husband absent, and your servants gone,
 And you, but with your maid, left all alone.
 Where, lest sad care, or melancholy, grieve you,
 My best endeavour's ready to relieve you.
 What female comfort can one woman find,
 Within the bed with other woman-kind?

What tedious gate the irksome hours do keep,
 When there's no joy to wake, no mind to sleep ?
 Besides, the fearful terrors of the night,
 Which women, and weak minds, do much affright:
 All which, fair love, if you'll be rul'd by me,
 We will convert so far, from what they be,
 That those, which now are bitter for to think,
 Shall taste like Nectar, that the gods do drink.
 The strangest monster that was ever bred,
 That seas have nourish'd, or else desert fed,
 Transported from his solitary den,
 A common object to the sight of men,
 Loseth his admiration and delight,
 In little time, and pleaseth not our sight:
 Our appetite, the viand ne'er so good,
 Cloy'd with one dish, will so distaste her food:
 That musick, of all other, best we deem,
 If ever in one key, we harsh esteem:
 Man's nature doth desire to hear and try
 Things that are new, to taste variety;
 And I of women this opinion hold,
 They are not much in love with things are old;
 Which makes me thus more boldly to discover
 My self unto you, your new friend and lover:
 In hope to be accepted, for whose pleasure,
 I'll spend my best life, and my dearest treasure.
 Object not, you already are enjoy'd,
 With Venus' pleasures dull'd and overcloy'd.
 Why joyful Widows, when their husbands die,
 Might this object, but yet you see they try;
 Because they think, variety of men
 May make old pleasures new delights again.
 She, that contents herself with any one,
 For many nights, as well might lie alone.
 Less difference is not 'twixt the virgin life,
 And state of pleasure, being call'd to wife,
 Than is between the elysium of one bed,
 That's crossly fated, to that's largely sped.
 I have a wife myself, I tell you true,
 Yet in the old kind seek for pleasures new:
 Taking not now delight that I have took,
 To shake the tree that I so oft have shook.
 We see, in any country that we dwell,
 The air, the earth, nay all that others tell:
 Yet notwithstanding 'tis our common'st fashions,
 To seek out other kingdoms, other nations.
 Each woman doth abridge all woman-kind,
 But yet one woman fits not each man's mind:
 Nor every man, experience too, too common,
 Can fit, can please, or satisfy each woman.

Since then the sense, the appetite and mind,
 In fresh variety all pleasure find;
 Let us then meet, all nice respects to smother,
 And fully satisfy and joy each other:
 So shall I rest, by your obligation due,
 A secret friend and faithful servant true.
 The world can judge no further than it spies,
 And where we act shall be from sight of eyes;
 Windows nor walls can neither hear nor see,
 And, for the bed, 'tis try'd for secrecy:
 Then seem but chaste, which is the chiefest part,
 For what we seem each sees, none knows the heart.
 And so your husband and the world will deem
 You to be that you are not, but do seem.
 Your husband he's abroad, where, I'am afraid,
 He hath deserved to be so appaid.
 My chain here take you, were it for my sake,
 And, as you find me yours, account so make.
 And here's my ring in earnest of a friend,
 The latest token that my wife did send.
 And here's my purse, within it store of gold,
 Able to batter down the strongest hold:
 Your dainty limbs shall be more neatly clad,
 In costlier raiment than they erst have had:
 And, for your stomach, it shall not digest
 Any thing, but the rarest and the best.
 These daily from me with a pleasing chear,
 Which husbands grudge to part with once a year.
 Though for their maintenance I sell my land,
 Disherit heirs, for that I will not stand:
 So you be mine in that sense I conceive you,
 Which, till your answer manifest, I leave you.

HER REPLY.

ABUSED sir, much griev'd am I to see,
 That you so long have tarried time and me,
 And now, when both your good seem to conspire,
 They should in no sort answer your desire:
 My husband's absence seemeth to import
 In your conceit some hope to scale his fort;
 But know by that you small advantage find,
 For he is always present in my mind:
 The thought of whom, whate'er his person be,
 Is able to repulse your battery.
 And for the hours that you so tedious deem,
 That by your presence would so shorten'd seem:

I cannot tell with others what't might do,
 With me 'twould rather make one hour seem two :
 And, for the fearful terrors of the night,
 What could affright me worse than would your sight ?
 My maid and I, a pleasure not repented,
 Will tell old stories long ago evented
 To pass the time ; or, when such watch we keep,
 We'll think good thoughts, or pray until we sleep :
 For know my untaint'd mind did ever hate,
 To buy damnation at so dear a rate :
 To taste sweet nectar for a day or hour,
 And ever after to digest the sour.
 'Tis not variety I seek or crave,
 My whole delight is in the one I have :
 And she, that's not contented with her lot,
 I hold more monster than the sea hath got.
 The friendship which you proffer me preserve,
 For those that will your kindness more deserve.
 The objection here you alledge is fondly strange,
 That women, though old cloaths they love to change
 And fancies too, in something, doth't infer
 That in this gross point they must therefore err ?
 I am another's parcel, I confess,
 And you by your acknowledgment no less ;
 Now, what a sin were this unworthy life,
 I so to wrong my husband, you your wife ?
 My husband, who dares swear that I am just,
 Should I so much deceive his honest trust ?
 Your wife, although a party I not know,
 I hope, imagines likewise of you so.
 For shame go then repent, and be not naught,
 Be worth her good opinion, honest thought.
 Let fleshly widows, when their husbands die
 They ne'er did love, seek new variety :
 For me, I vow, if death deprive my bed
 I never after will to church be led
 A second bride, nor never that thought have,
 To add more weight unto my husband's grave,
 In second husband let me be accurst,
 None weds the second, but who kills the first.
 You have a wife you write, give her your love,
 And that will all your wand'ring thoughts remove ;
 You love her not, by these effects I see,
 For, where love is, there's no satiety.
 Can you so far forget humanity,
 As, having shak'd the fruit, despise the tree ?
 It is not love, but lust, that thus abuses,
 To make it weary of the walks it uses.

Those, who to foreign countries do repair,
 Change not their minds, although they change the air *
 Preferring still, through novelty desire,
 Their country's smoke, before another's fire.
 Like use observe unto yourself to take
 From the objection that you seem to make:
 That, though you see of beauteous women many,
 And you, by choice, possess the mean'st of any,
 More to respect her, you your wife have made,
 Than others sun-shine, to your proper shade.
 Suppress that lust, that soul and body wounds,
 For, where it once breaks o'er, it hath no bounds:
 One woman doth abridge all woman-kind,
 The volume then, at large, why would you find?
 For, sure, I think, where that doth bear no prize,
 The book at large might weary, not suffice.
 Another argument, to back your suit,
 You alledge that walls and windows will be mute,
 And that the world hath no such piercing eye,
 The secret of the dark to search and try:
 As if there were not one, whose power imparts,
 To see through doors, and windows, and through hearts;
 From whose bright eye, no secrecy can hide
 That which is guilty, and would not be spy'd;
 Then what avails to have the world acquit us?
 When our conscience, like a fiend, shall fright us.
 And, for the bed, although it cannot tell,
 Yet out their shame will break that do not well.
 My husband, he's from home, I must confess,
 Whose acts you measure by your guiltiness;
 But, wheresoe'er he be, well may he speed,
 E're any such thought from my heart proceed:
 Admit he were in evil so compact,
 Would I revenge the wrong by such an act?
 If that I should, were't not a helpless part,
 To kill my soul, because he breaks my heart?
 Your chain of gold here back again I send,
 I'll have no earnest sure of such a friend:
 And there's your ring, full little doth she know,
 That sent in love, that you would use it so:
 And there's your purse, and all your gold therein,
 They're wicked angels * that would tempt to sin.
 My fort is more impregnable than they,
 That much persuade, although they little say.
 As for my body's homely cloathing-weed,
 It keeps me warm, sufficeth nature's need,

* Cælum non Animum, &c.

† English coin of gold, that were current in those days.

Which scarce more costly do ; and, for my fate,
 My dishes wholesome, though they homely are.
 Let those, that discontented do abide,
 Go wrong their husbands to maintain their pride ;
 For me, the meanest rag would hide my skin,
 Should better please me, than rich robes of sin ;
 Which, when I ask, my reason shall be such,
 No husband in the world shall need to grudge.
 Then, for your heirs, reserve your lands to them,
 They shall not curse my bones who did undo them.
 Call back yourself, and think I am your friend,
 That thus would stay you from your wilful end :
 Call back yourself, or I may safely tell
 You're running down the steepest hill to hell ;
 As, when cold blood, and better thoughts, shall shew,
 You'll hold me then your friend, though now your foe :
 And more rejoice, in that I did refuse
 Your lawless pleasure, than consent : Farewel.

CHAP. XIII.

An Admonition to Husbands and Wives for Unity and Concord.

IN that you are bound, you must obey, for this knot can neither be cut nor unloosed, but by death ; therefore, as wise prisoners, inclosed in narrow rooms, suit their minds to their limits, and not, impatient they can go no further, augment their pain by knocking their heads against the walls ; so should it be the wisdom both of husbands and wives, that have undergone either this curse, or blessing, as the success or use may make it unto them, to bear it with patience, and content the asswager of all maladies and misfortunes, and not to storm against that which will but deeper plunge them in their own misery ; for what madness were it for any one to cross himself daily, because another hath crossed him once ? Or, because another hath vexed him, therefore to vex himself ? Who is so weak in discretion, that, by some disaster having blemished one eye, for grief thereof will weep out the other ? That mother tries a merciless conclusion :

Who, having two sweet babes, when death takes one,
 Will slay the other, and be nurse to none.

Therefore, seeing it is so, whosoever thou art in this disaster, seek to plant an affection and love, at leastwise a patience to that which must of necessity be endured ; for there is nothing so easy, that the want of this may not make hard ; nor so harsh, that this may not better temper : There are many occasions, that this age administereth, more than former have done, of the use of this armour (though all other rust by the walls of peace) introduced by the over-curious

respects of secondary causes, by secondary persons, that for these uses perish the principal, by joining hands, where hearts are more disjunctive than different sectaries; and what is the issue of this, but a weary patience, or sudden destruction? Others conjoin themselves by untimely folly, and these, many times, have a timely repentance when pleasures ebb, and sorrows begin to flow. As, for instance, a youth of able means, hopeful expectation, equal carriage, regardfully befriended, carefully watched over, purposed to better destiny, pricked on by some rebellious blood, and guilty opportunity, strikes down all these hopes in the heat of his lust with a greasy kitchen-wench in a corner, and seizeth her to his proper use for unlucky consequences; this being done, oppressed in mind, forsaken of his friends, shall he the more augment his misery, by thought of this his perverted felicity, with rage, and evil suffering? No, rather let him love her, since it was his fortune to have her, and his fault to take her, and endeavour so to work and husband that cross beginning, to a more happy continuance and ending, taking St. Paul's counsel to his practice, which thus adviseth, Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter unto them: Love them for your own peace, for your own profit; dwell with them according to your wisdoms, as with the weaker vessels; for there is no offence where love is, for love covereth the multitude of offences, of dislikes, and because, the rather, that God instituted it, who himself is Love; setting aside contention, domestick, civil, uncivil strife, the forerunner of ruin, and the purgatory upon earth; remembering whoever they be, that fall into this predicament, they have, before God and man, by joining of hands, taken an everlasting peace one of another, more inviolably to be kept, than the leagues of nations; for, as nothing is more odious in the sight of God or man, than self-violence against a man's own person, and there was never any enraged that way, but wanted either reason, or faith, in the deepest discontent; so then, by this consequence, he must either be mad or desperate, that shall, to that end, lay hands on his wife, being part of himself, for they are no more two, but one. As Adam and his rib at first were but one side, till severed and divided from him; so after by marriage it was joined again to as absolute unity as before, after which he pronounceth and thus witnesseth of himself: She is flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone; he the head, and she as part of the members; which so being, to be divided and at odds were as the hand to lift up, or the foot to kick against the head, the king and governor, or the head against these his instruments, supporters, and ministers, the harmony whereof, in this little world of man, may instruct, in example, all household commonwealths in the world, to unity. Commonwealths I say; for every married man, for the most part, hath three commonwealths under him; he is a husband of a wife, a father of children, and a master of servants; and therefore had need of government in himself, that must govern all these, and, to that purpose, cannot take unto himself a better practice or precedent, than from this uniformity of the body, where the head stands aloft like a king in his throne, giving direction and command to all his subjects; biddeth the foot go, and it goeth, the hand fight, and it fighteth; the members assist; and they assist it; and this harmony

preserves the whole man, which otherwise would destroy it; so must it be between man and wife, that mystical head and member, or both perish; and, for that reason, shall a man forsake father and mother, (the nearest that else could be) and cleave to his wife, being then no more two, but one; and whom he taketh from her parents and friends, not to offer her violence, but to tender that love with increase, which, for his sake in these she parteth with, and she likewise to him, which, besides the profit, hath the applause both of God and man, according to the allusion of the Psalm cxxxiii. *Ecce quam bonum & jucundum fratres habitare in unum*, i. e. Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. Therefore, avoid discord, thou that wouldst see the fruit of thy labours, for unity gathereth what discord disperseth; avoid jealousy, that unresolved vexation, that labours to seek out what it hopes it shall not find; that many times foreruns that evil, which it causeth to follow after, being the author of disension, distaste, misery, and sometimes of murder too, as many examples testify; of which I have here inserted one of most ancient truth, and lamentable action, of a king that had a son, by whose sword it was prophesied his own father and mother should perish, who, therefore, to prevent that fatal destiny, forsook his inheritance, and went into a far distant country to inhabit, where, fortune yet favouring, he increased to great honour and riches, and, to augment his greater felicity, was espoused to a wife, right noble, rich, and exceeding beautiful; of whose welfare and happy success, his father and mother afterwards hearing, (being deposed of their kingdom, and in extreme misery) travelled to visit, for relief and succour; and happening to his house in his absence, where making themselves known unto his wife, to be her husband's father and mother, she kindly entertained them, and having well replenished their bodies by food and sustenance, to rest them the easier after their travel, she laid them both in her husband's bed; after which he, suddenly entering in, possessed with this deadly jealousy, and missing his wife, goes into the chamber, where perceiving two in his bed asleep, he so enraged with passion, (taking it to be his wife and some adulterer with her) drew forth his sword, and slew them both thereon at once; who, when he perceived his father and mother, heavily repented, with sorrow and woe, and shortly after died with grief and pensiveness. And, besides all this, because it is thought, for the most part, to call a man's own guiltiness into question, as Petrarch, to that purpose, well observeth, who thus noteth:

There's no man jealous, I durst pass my word,
Nor fears the scabbard, but hath struck with th' sword.

If children, which are the very pledges of love, make you parents, relish their years with learning and piety, let God's law be the seasoning of their first thoughts, for we know by experience, green vessels long relish of the first liquor they receive, and by instruction they may be as soon taught to say Hosanna to Christ, as Bald-pate to Elisha; as soon a good word as a bad scoff: Affect not one more than another, *love them all, but dote upon none*, with the folly of the most; let them

be children, not wantons; walk before them, especially their riper years, with the more observant example, which will be better to them than many good lessons. Repine not with the wicked worldling, who had rather see his counting-house invironed with upbraiding bags, than his table with this blessed garland of children, but be thankful for them, whatever thy poverty, for, as they are *pignora*, pledges, so are they *benedictiones*, blessings; and it shall be more pleasing to thy conscience, upon thy death-bed, to seal them as treasure for the kingdom of heaven, to yield up thy spirit in the midst of their invironing, than to unseal so many bags of evil heaped treasure, too near after performed legacies, every piece wherein shall rend thy heart in pieces at that hour, to think of the guilty atchieving thereof: Besides, he, that hath much riches, is subject to many cares, many fears, dread of oppression of violence; but he, that hath many children, hath even a peace in war, a security even in greatest danger, for he shall speak boldly with his enemies in the gate; they are as so many swords in thy defence, so many arrows in thy quiver; arrows, as saith one, because they may be so levelled, by good education and example, to shoot at thine enemies, as by the contrary against thyself. I do not see but that natural reason and meer carnal man may be gravelled, incumbered, and disquieted, in many circumstances of carriage in this business; but those must be debated and forethought, before the entering therein, not repented of afterwards: If thou hast laid thy hand to this plough, become a husbandman in this exercise; thou must not by any means look back, for then the allure-ment of other beauties will breed a dislike of thine own, in which that thou mayest be the better contented, have some part in thine own portion, for as the saying is:

Who takes a woman foul unto his wife,
Doth penance daily, yet sins all his life.

The charges of children, the unfaithfulness of servants, the disquietness of neighbours, would wish for a former liberty and releasement, and nothing digesteth this course of life more than constancy and perseverance; and, because it is a trade of such mystery and art, therefore, as a famous man of our time writeth, those, that have but seven years to learn any other, have three times seven to acquaint themselves in the labyrinth of this, and the management thereof, before they undertake it; therefore having this notion make use thereof, either discharge it willingly and contentedly, or undertake it not at all.

CHAP. XIV.

Certain Precepts to be observed either in Wiving or Marriage.

1. WOO not by ambassador.
2. Make not thy friend too familiar with thy wife.

3. Conceive not an idle jealousy, being a fire, once kindled, not easily put out.

4. Affect him not, that would ill possess thee.

5. Blaze not her beauty with thine own tongue.

6. If thy estate be weak and poor, marry far off and quickly; if otherwise, firm and rich, at home, and with deliberation.

7. Be advised before thou conclude, for, though thy error may teach thee wit, it is uncertain in this, whether thou shalt ever have the like occasion to practise it.

8. Marry not for gentility, without her support, because it can buy nothing in the market without money.

9. Make thy choice rather of a virtuous than a learned wife.

10. Esteem rather what she is of herself, than what she should be by inheritance.

11. *Intactam queris, intactus esto.*

Be that example to thy wife, thou wouldest have her to imitate.

For he, that strikes with the point, must be content to be beaten with the pommel.

12. She whose youth hath pleased thee, despise not her age.

13. That thou mayest be loved, be amiable.

14. Sail not on this sea without a good compass, for a wicked woman brings a man to repentance, sooner than a surfeit, sooner than suretiship.

15. It is the greater dispraise to children to be like to wicked parents.

16. It is more torment to be jealous of a man's wife, than resolved of her dishonesty.

And the more misery, that a man may be assured of her vice that way, but cannot be of her virtue.

17. True chastity doth not only consist in keeping the body from uncleanness, but in withholding the mind from lust; and she may be more maid that hath been unwillingly forced thereto in body, than she that hath barely consented in heart.

18. A true wife should be like a turquoise stone, clear in heart in her husband's health, and cloudy in his sickness.

And like a tortoise, under her shell ever bearing her house upon her back.

19. Defer not thy marriage to thy age, for a woman, out of her own choice, seldom plucks a man, as a rose, full blown.

20. Marry so thy body, that thou mayest marry thy mind; which, that thou mayest the better do, thus meditate:

1. That, if thou had'st, in variety of women, out-paralleled Solomon, thou shouldest, in the end, give up thy verdict with his; That all is but vanity, and vexation of spirit.

2. That it is in lust, as in riches, where to desire nothing, and to enjoy all things, is but one: To uncover more several nakednesses than the Turk from his decimary Seraglio hath authority for, with an unsatiate illimited appetite, and to desire none, at leastwise, no variety, is the same, ay with advantage.

3. That, if thou shouldst, thus seeking to please thine appetite in a thousand, but want one thou desirest, thou shouldst more grieve for that little want, than rejoice in all thy former plenty.

4. Then, since what thou can'st enjoy, consume thy oil to the socket, and thy substance to a morsel, will not be one to thy pleasure for ten thousand that escape it, the variety is so large, never to be gathered into one bundle of thy fruition, to set up thy rest, but, the more thou pursuest it, the more thou art distracted: Content thyself within thy lawful limits, and destroy not thyself to run after that thou can'st never overtake; which, the faster thou followest it, the swifter it flies from thee.

5. That it were a grief to die for the full pleasure of any sense, but a torment for a taste to a greater distemper; like to him that should purchase, at a dear rate, salt water to quench his thirst, which, the more he should drink, should but the more increase it.

6. That, if beauty, or wisdom, or any other portion of the body or mind assail thee, refel them with this thought, That they are but shadows of that substance, which should the more allure thee: But pictures, which, if they please, are but that the pattern should be the more desired.

Think, that as each day is an abridgment of all time, presents the same light, the same use, the same sun and firmament, and the ending of this renews but the same to-morrow: So each woman, an abridgment of that whole sex, and infirmity, how mean soever, expresseth the same substance, the same mould and metal, proportion, quality, and use, of all other in the world: Who then would be so mad against sense, though they would persuade otherwise by title, by trapping, by copious adulterating all parts, to believe, as they would be thought, that they are other than what they are, other than the same, unless worse than other: The same way, and the same fashion, leading to the harborough of the same site, of the same condition and quality, though a little more circumstances, in some than other, beats the bush, and ushers it on. Know this, that the end of all such variety is no more than one dish, dressed and presented by a several cook; and fashion the same, in all one, but in circumstance and carriage: Who would be thus mad, without reason, to toil after the whole alphabet of women, when the least letter in the row expoundeth all that text and coverture? And, for title, or tomb-like bravery, well may they work upon the eye of folly, but never besiege the heart of understanding: And, as it was lately well observed by one, who, to that effect, thus further noted their vanity:

Things were first made, then call'd, woman the same,
With, or without, false title, or proud name.

And, if this be not yet enough, take with thee, besides, for a conclusion, and bar to all the rest, this motto, or sentence, to lead thee home: That,

Since all earth's pleasures are so short and small,
The way, to enjoy most, is to abjure them all.

CHAP. XV.

Discontents in all Ages, Sexes, States, and Conditions.

UNMEDITATED joys here to no man befall,
 Who least, hath some; who most, hath never all:
 I have examin'd, from the king on 's throne,
 To him that at his chained oar doth groan,
 Every estate, condition, and degree,
 Situate between this large extremity:
 Yet, wheresoever that I cast mine eye,
 I never was so fortunate to 'spy
 That man, that had so great a blessing lent him,
 That had not somewhat in 't to discontent him.
 The rich man, with his cares and fears oppress'd,
 In all he hath, can find but little rest:
 Ill creditors, unthrifty heirs, and losses,
 Or else the gout, or something worse, all crosses.
 The poor, in want, forsaken of his friends,
 Thinks, that, where wealth is, there all sorrow ends:
 But yet, as here, immediately I show,
 The rich, that hath it, doth not find it so.
 One tradesman, he dislikes his own vocation,
 And on a worse he sets his admiration.
 The single man commends the married life,
 That hath the sweet fruition of a wife:
 That opens all her beauties, and her treasure,
 In hills and dales, that he o'er-walks at pleasure:
 That may unstarted, and unfear'd, partake,
 Whole nights together, that which he doth quake
 To snatch in corners, when he must away,
 Sometimes disturb'd, when he would longer stay:
 Banish'd like Tantalus, in his forced haste,
 To touch the sweetness that he may not taste.
 The married man, whom all these dainties cloy,
 Thinks that the sauce the sweetness doth destroy:
 And that to purchase is so wond'rous dear,
 That he had rather fast, than find the cheer.
 Then children come, and they augment his charges,
 And jealousy, sometimes, all these enlarges:
 That what th' other thinks doth heaven excell,
 He, that enjoys it, finds it but a hell:
 And wisheth now, but that it is too late,
 That with the batchelor he might change his state.
 Therefore, methinks, his application fit,
 That to a publick feast compared it;

Where those that long have sat, and cloy'd with meat,
 Would fain rise up, as others fain would eat.
 Th' ambitious youth, lest folly over-sway him,
 Hath tutors, rod, and parents eye to stay him :
 Noting the liberty of riper years,
 With more impatience his restrainings bears :
 When elder times again (the more 'tis strange)
 Would fain creep back again, and with him change.
 The busy lawyer beating of his brain,
 To make rough points by precedencies plain ;
 Who, from a judgment wrongfully gone out,
 Doth sometimes bring another's right in doubt,
 By judging by it, let the first but stray,
 And all go wrong, that are adjudg'd that way :
 Noting the merchant, how, from foreign shores,
 The winds and waves land wealth unto his dooms :
 That where he sleep, or wake, or rest, or play,
 So airs be prosperous, he grows rich that way :
 Dislikes his choice. The merchant he in danger,
 T' whom rocks, and shelves, and pirates are no stranger :
 That tries the wonders of the unknown deeps,
 Whom, but a three-inch'd board from danger keeps :
 Trafficks with unknown airs, and unknown friends,
 Leaving his wife at home to doubtful ends :
 Who, in his wat'ry pilgrimage is said
 To be with neither living nor the dead :
 Commends the lawyer that hath power and skill,
 Either to make or mar, to save or spill
 A man's whole revenue, and therefore need,
 Either for speech or silence, to be feed.
 The empirick uncredited that tugs,
 With forceless herbs, and with effectless drugs,
 Commends the church-man for his happy share,
 Securely freed from temporary care :
 When he, again, with discontents full many,
 Thinks the physician's happiest life of any ;
 For, by how much the body's better deem'd,
 Than is the soul, so much more he's esteem'd ;
 Which is by much, for let the body grieve it,
 There's nothing unattempted may relieve it.
 But, for the soul, although it die and languish,
 We ne'er regard the dolour, nor the anguish :
 But, to the greatest danger, do reply,
 It will recover, or, it cannot die :
 Therefore, to him that doth the physick bring,
 To this regardless disesteemed thing,
 Hath a poor meed more recompens'd his merit,
 That cures the body, than appl'ies to th' spirit ;

And what, in health, men grapple and retain,
If sickness comes, it flies to ease their pain.
He, that by avarice, and damn'd extortion,
Hath heap'd up many a pound, to his heirs portion,
So far from thought of doing any good,
That, what it was, he never understood ;
Sets up his rest, for ever here to dwell,
And, therefore, thinks no other heaven or hell.
Yet, when this serjeant, death, comes to assail him,
To thee he opens, hoping thou can'st bail him :
And, though thou can'st not, do but seem to assent,
And he'll reward thee to thine own content.
Therefore, this art and trade, whoe'er neglect it,
Let him exchange with me, that do affect it.
He that a weary languish'd youth hath led,
To think what pleasures are in marriage-bed ;
That hath intreated hours and years to haste them,
To cancel bonds, that he may come and taste them :
When there arriv'd, not finding to content him,
What expectation did before present him,
Let him appease his thoughts upon this ground,
That, in this world, that purchase is not found.
There's discontent in every sex and age,
As well in childhood, as in parentage.
There's discontent in every man's vocation,
Therefore pursues it newness, innovation.
There's discontent, from scepter to the swain,
And from the peasant, to the King again.
Then whatsoever in thy will afflict thee,
Or, in thy pleasure, seem to contradict thee ;
Give it a welcome, as a wholesome friend,
That would instruct thee to a better end :
Since no condition, sect, nor state is free,
Think not to find in this what ne'er can be.

THE
TRADE'S INCREASE *.

London, printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Walter Burre. 1615,
Quarto, containing Sixty-two Pages.

TO THE READER.

GENTLE reader, I commend unto you a Polydorus's treasure, yet without either murder or theft, but else as rich; so, I confess, without leave: Neither may the author be offended, if what I have borrowed for my private use I have paid to the service of the commonwealth, in that what he intended, at the instance of one, being written, is behoveful to every one.

The Pithius, a crafty Sicilian, finding an honest Roman gentleman, called Clanius, desirous of a pleasant garden in the island, he invited him to his; and conducted divers poor fishermen to attend that day his banks with boats and nets, and to bring in plenty of fish, and to lay them at his feet. The guest, asking what that meant, was answered by the fhuuckster, that it was the royalty of that place; there was more fish thereabouts, than in any other stream of Syracuse; and, as oft as he repaired thither, that service was due, and done unto him. The poor gentleman was taken with the nets, and presently dealeth with the owner for the garden; who, suffering himself to be much importuned, at the length was intreated to sell it full dearly. The day following, the buyer, disposed to shew the magnificence of his purchase, inviteth divers friends to accompany him thither; and, missing the concourse and confluence of his expected homagers, the fishermen (for there was neither boat, oar, net, or fin of fish to be seen) asketh his new neighbour, whether it were a holiday for fishermen? the plain folk answered, none, they knew of; and further wondered at the former resort, for they never saw before boats, or fishermen there: In a word, he was cozened. But it is not so in this fishing-project, to the which you are now invited frankly and plainly: *Nullæ hic piscatorum feræ*; we may always fish here without fear of any Sicilian purchase, or scarcity of the Roman Macrobius's table, where there was *Piscis*, but *paucorum hominum*. Here is fish, the king of fish, the meat and merchandise of both remote and neighbour nations. To persuade hereto, the author

* This is the 168th number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

hath dealt by way of comparison, not thereby to derogate from other trades, but to advance this mystery, and indeed to shew, that they may all receive true nourishment from this nursery. Let, therefore, no man take that with the left-hand, which is offered with the right: And though, by the opinion of some of understanding in those faculties, there is a reasonable survey given of our sea-trades, state, and breeding; and, out of others judgments, there is even *candor animi* in all particulars, without either suspicion of any personal taxation offered, or any state's blot suspected; yet I desire also to profess the author's true and fair meaning herein, and to make good the oversights, that may be committed in the particular traverse, with that of the poet:——— *Ubi plurima nitent, non ego paucis offendor maculis.* Of the subject itself I will only say thus much: That, if *Aurum portans* hath been always welcome, hence you may receive gold, pay the King's duties, and do your country service; and so I leave these businesses to their own abilities, and take my leave of you, with this conclusion of them: *Nisi peracta luduntur.*

J. R.

SEEING by chance a late treatise intituled, England's Way to win Wealth, &c. and being easily invited to read the same, even for the title's sake; I must confess myself so affected with the project, that I presently resolved to go a fishing, withal concluding with myself, that as there is no fishing to the sea, so there was no fish in the sea like to the herring; and for that my estate is but mean, and myself a fresh-water soldier, it requireth cost, and I would have company; the sea is large enough, and hath room enough for us all, and there are herrings enough to make us all rich: for that I say, a man may run a course this way to enrich himself, to strengthen his country, to enable his prince more honestly than many late sea-courses can warrant us in, more easily, more safely, more certainly than any other sea-course can persuade us to whatsoever; I could not chuse, out of my allegiance to my prince, out of my duty to my country, out of my love to my neighbour, but commend these motives concerning the same to a further consideration, consisting,

In the necessity, facility, profit, and use of fishing.

The necessity out of want of shipping, mariners, employment of men.

As concerning ships, it is that which every one knoweth, and can say, they are our weapons, they are our ornaments, they are our strength, they are our pleasures, they are our defence, they are our profit; the subject by them is made rich, the kingdom through them strong, the prince in them mighty; in a word, by them in a manner we live, the kingdom is, the king reigneth. If the sea fail, the Venetians they fall; and if we want ships, we are dissolved. Æsop's shepherd kept his flock well so long as he nourished his dog; but when the wolf had persuaded him, that he was superfluous, he cowed him easily of all

his sheep. It is the kingdom's case in shipping, which made that heroical king of Denmark, at his view of the King's Majesty's navy at Chatham, confess he then saw the strength of England, the greatness of our king, *In sola tanta est fiducia nave.*

Concerning the want of shipping, though to press the consideration thereof be very material, yet the point itself is to be handled very tenderly; for that, as I have no pleasure to touch our own wounds, so I am loth in this case to discover our own wants; for that I fear the enemy will sooner take the advantage of them, than we will be stirred up thereby to make supply. To give therefore the true and faithful subject a dark lanthorn, whereby he may only see himself, and he not be seen, setting the contemplation of the King's royal navy aside, so mighty, so well conditioned, which hath so many good officers, and such worthy overseers, which is so chargeable to his Majesty to maintain, as I hope it will never be safe for the enemy to meddle withal; seting, I say, this aside, our merchant's navy consisteth in the ships.

For the Streights. Spain. France. Hamburgh and Middleburgh. The Sound. Newcastle. Island. New-foundland. The East-Indies.

I have not named Muscovy, because we have in a manner lost that trade, the troubles of that kingdom, and our desire of security, having deprived us thereof, which we may the more lament, because I have heard merchants affirm, that in these uncomfortable days of adventuring, it was one of their best trades, and with no small marvel yet upheld, and most providently followed by the Hollanders, we being scared away from so good and profitable trade, as birds from cherry-trees, with the shew of dead carcasses, or shout of boys, whilst other lusty lads have wilily beat away the children, beat down the scare-crows, and stolen the fruit away, to their great gain, and our disgrace, there repairing not thither above two ships English instead of seventeen of great buren for the company formerly, besides interlopers, to the great decay of our merchants and shipping; whereas the Hollander, according to a credible report made, between the ward-house and the east-ward, at Tippeny, Kilden, Olena, and the river Cole at Colmograve, and at St. Nicholas in Russia, had above thirty-five sail of their ships the last year. Happily some will say, that they made so poor a voyage that they had been better kept themselves at home; and it is very likely; yet the year before they had some thirty sail, and now this year they have again repaired their navy, renewed their adventure, and sent near as many, as neither dismayed with troubles, nor yet discouraged with loss; and to make it more strange, that they should thus prevent our trade, and increase their own: As it was after us that they came thither even by leave, as it were, to glean with our reapers, for the fields were ours, the discovery of the land, and trade wholly ours, found out by Chancellor and Willoughby, and ever since continued by our merchants, so again their best trade thither is maintained even by our own commodities, as tin, lead, coarse cloths and kersies; the inconvenience whereof, together with the prevention, I leave to the sensible consideration, to the sufficient ability, of the Muscovy

merchant, who I fear can scarce hear me, being, as I said, gone so far as the East-Indies; and if I should send to him, I fear I should not find him at leisure, having thither transported much of the Muscovy staple. For the merchants that formerly used the Muscovy trade are now there seated; and because, as we know it is warmer there, and as they find it, it is very profitable, we will also by compass travel thither ourselves; that as Valeria, a fair lady, answering to Scylla in the theatre, being demanded, why she pressed so near, said, That thereby she might have some of his felicity; so by being in their company, we may communicate with them of their good fortunes, or commune with them of our wants.

So then to begin our journey at the noblest place for worth, and one of the newest in knowledge, the worthiest in former remembrance, the worst in present reputation, for the bottom of the Streights, the first in name, and for some time a very material business of merchandise: I do find this trade but easy, and the difficulties many and new, the trade itself being lessened by the circumvention of the East-India navigation, which fetcheth the spices from the well-head; and I find the rest of the benefits allayed, by charges, by insultation of pirates, and infidelity of servants. These make presents and profit of their masters goods abroad, so far, that some of the owners become lame at home: Pirates meet with that, whereby others are extremely hindered, and by the charges the rest are exceedingly discouraged; so that the merchants return is but poor, and the navigation much lessened, the employment thitherward failing in near thirty ships, and those of such burden, that they were of defence and renown to the kingdom. I heard a worthy merchant in his time, Thomas Cordel of London, say, that on the first beginning of the Turkey trade, his self with other merchants, having occasion to attend the late Queen's Majesty's privy-council about that business, they had great thanks and commendations for the ships they then built of so great a burden for those parts, by the earls of Bedford and Leicester, and other honourable personages, with many encouragements to go forward, even to use their own words, for the kingdom's sake, notwithstanding it was then to their great benefit likewise, whose ordinary returns at the first were three for one, which I speak not out of envy. For as all callings are, and ought to be maintained through the profit that ariseth thereby, labours rewarded, dangers recompensed by the sweat and sweet of gain; nay, in our most liberal professions, the divine for his spiritual nourishment hath temporal food; the physician for the care of the body asketh the comfort of the purse; and the lawyer must be paid for his plea; so merchants, of all companies the most liberal, are likewise of all sorts the most worthy to gain, *Ut qui per unicum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes & aridam*; to use that hopeful prince, in his time, King Edward the sixth's words in a letter to foreign princes, in Sir Hugh Willoughby's behalf. But, to end my long parenthesis, I speak it I say out of pity, to see now the return so mean, the merchant so discouraged, the shipping so diminished: and to conclude this point without love or anger, but with admiration of our neighbours the now Sea-herrs, the nation that get health out of their own sickness, whose troubles begot their liberty,

brought forth their wealth, and brought up their strength; that have out of our leavings gotten themselves a living, out of our wants, make their own supply of trade and shipping there; they coming in, long after us, equal us in those parts in all respects of privilege and port; that have devanched us so far in shipping, that the Hollanders have more than one hundred sail of ships that use those parts, continually going and returning, and the chiefest matters, they do lade outward, be English commodities, as tin, lead, and bales of such like stuff as are made at Norwich.

For the rest of the Streights, one side, as the coast of Barbary, serves only for places and cities of refuge, not after the divine Levitical law, when one hath killed a man, by chance, there to be succoured: But after that diabolical Alcoran, when any have robbed and murdered abroad, thither they may repair, be in safety, and enjoy.

The other side, as Naples, Genoa, Leghorn, and Marseilles, employ some twenty sail, and they most with herring. For the ports near to the Streights mouth, as Malaga, &c. we have some store of shipping, as about thirty sail, that begin in June to set forth some for Ireland, to lade pipe-staves in their way to Malaga, they returning Malaga wines. But the Hollanders likewise have found out that trade, and be as busy amongst the Irish, as ourselves, for pipe-staves; nay, by your leave they have been too busy there of late with some of our poor countrymen's wind-pipes; but that is besides the matter here. But, for Malaga itself, the inhabitants there have, through our plentiful resort thither, planted more store of vines, so that, on our recourse thither, our merchants have withdrawn themselves much from Cherris.

For Andalusia, Quantado, Lisborn, and Portugal, it is easily known what shipping we have there, by our trade, which is but mean, consisting in sack, sugar, fruit, and West-India drugs, which may employ some twenty ships. Amongst these Cherris sacks are likewise brought into England, especially in Flemish bottoms.

For the bringing in from thence any store of salt by us, it is excepted against, we being by report furnished principally by the Hollanders with most of the salt that our fisher-towns do use for the salting of Iceland fish, and all other fish for herring and staple-fish, as the ports of London, Colchester, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynne, Hull, and Scarborough, can testify. Alborough men were wont to bring it in, especially employing some thirty or forty sail belonging to it, of some seven or eight score, or two-hundred tons; which, for the most part, were set on work all the year long, with transporting of coals from Newcastle to France, and fetching salt from thence; which trade is now much decayed with France, by the double diligence of the Hollanders, who serve us principally from Spain.

For our trade to Bourdeaux, it is lightly as great as ever it was: For I do not think there was ever more wine drunk in the land. Yet that voyage appeareth not to be so beneficial in regard of the small rate, that the owners and seamen have thither-ward. France may every where employ, and those most small vessels, some three score ships and barques.

To Hamburgh and Middleburgh, there are belonging six or seven ships to each place, and they lade for the company, and are called appointed ships; every three months in all the year, there may be laden some thirty odd ships, and they but fourteen or fifteen bodily. But as they make, as is said, two voyages the ship, how it standeth with them, or how they will stand, it is uncertain in regard of the manner of the altering of trading with their cloth. Once for certain the merchant-adventurers ships have been always formerly the sure stay of merchants services both for their readiness, goodness, and number of shipping, touching the commonwealth's affairs.

For Dantzick, Melvin and Quinsburgh, there are not above five or six ships of London, that use those places, as many more of Ipswich; and so likewise from Hull, Lynne, and Newcastle, the like proportion resorteth thither for trade. These make some two returns, in the year; but in all those places the Hollanders do abound, and bring in more commodities by five times to us, than our own shipping. And, for Liefland, the Narve, Rye, and Revell, the Hollanders have all the trade in a manner; the commodities from these former places being corn, flax, soap-ashes, hemp, iron, wax, and all sorts of deal.

For Norway, we have not above five; and they above forty sail, and those double or treble our burden, even for the city.

The next is Newcastle trade, and, for certain, the chiefest now in use, for maintenance of shipping, for setting sea-faring men on work, and for breeding daily more; there may be about some two-hundred sail of carviles, that only use to serve the city of London, besides some two-hundred more that serve the sea-coast towns throughout England, small and great, as barques and other shipping of smaller burthen, and more might easily be: For hither, even to the mine's mouth, come all our neighbour country nations with their ships continually, employing their own shipping and mariners. I doubt me whether, if they had such treasure, they would not employ their own shipping. The French sail hither in whole fleets, some forty or fifty sail together, especially in summer, serving all their ports of Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne, even as far as Rochel and Bourdeaux, with their own ships and sailers from Newcastle. So they of Breame, Embden, Holland, and Zealand do serve all Flanders, and the archduke's countries, whose shipping is not great: These paying no more than his Majesty's own natural subjects, if they transport any coals. Which imposition, say our men, made our countrymen forbear their carrying any more coals abroad, because the Frenchmen would not give above their old rate; and which was worse, whereby they sold away their ships, some to France, some to Spain, some to other countries. Whereby sure their faults are more apparent than their ill fortune, in that though their gain was less at the instant, by the imposition, than formerly; yet to leave the trade argued neither good spirits, nor great understanding, nor any special good mind to their country. For whence I pray you came such a necessity to leave the trade and to give over shipping, as if they could not live thereby; when presently foreign nations fell to the trade themselves, as is formerly set down, and fetch away our coals

on the same terms which we do refuse? And by report, notwithstanding the five shillings imposed, the French do sell in France one chauldron of coals for as much money as will buy three or four of Newcastle. Had they held to with patience, either they might have brought the stranger to their price, or else, by due order, and discreet fashion, opened the inconveniency to the state, of the stranger's stomach in refusing their coal, and fetching them themselves; so as they might easily have wearied them, and won their trade and gain again; whereas now they are beggared, and our country dis furnished of shipping. The stranger, keeping his coin at home, bringing hither bare and base commodities; their shipping and mariners are employed and increased, and, notwithstanding the Argus's eyes of the searcher, carry gold away with them, always bringing more in stock with them, than they carry away in commodities.

For to make a motion, to have this five shillings excused in our own nation, is rather profitable than necessary, in regard we see the stranger thriveth, notwithstanding it, and it being done out of his Majesty's royal prerogative, & *ex causa lucrativa*, as is apparent by what the stranger gaineth; and the like is willingly embraced here in other transportations, as beer, &c. were, methinks, undutiful likewise. But to mention a motion very lately made, and generally amongst his Majesty's loyal subjects embraced: Might it please his Majesty to make and ordain a staple-town in England for sea-coal; and we have many fit places and harbours more near and proper than that of Tinmouth, at Newcastle; and herein, as I am bound in affection to wish well to London, so I must, out of many men's judgments, commend Harwich, *Statio bene fida carinis*, and then lying fit for the Low-Countries, and indeed open to all nations by the benefit of the large sea, which washeth it, whereby strangers shall be restrained from further trade to Newcastle, and shall all repair to the said staple-town to fetch their coals: Besides that it would be an exceeding benefit to his Majesty, it would likewise help us in this our complaint of want of shipping. For by this means, our English bottoms, bringing all the coals to the staple-town, shall not only be set on work, but increase will follow in shipping. The Venetians, some time passed being outgone by those of Zant in their custom, drew the trade from the Grecians, and planted, as it were, a colony of currants at Venice. If for a little custom, and to pull down their suspected subjects swelling minds, they did so, why should not his Majesty for the increase of his shipping, and the relieving of the prostrate estate of his faithful and humble subjects, take this warrantable course?

Iceland voyage entertaineth one-hundred and twenty ships and barques.

Newfoundland employeth some one-hundred and fifty sail, from all parts, of small ships, but with great hazard; and therefore, that voyage feared to be spoiled by heathen and savage, as also by pyrats.

Now followeth the consideration of the East-India trade, into whose seas, not only the river of Volga, as before you heard, disembogueth itself, but even the bottom of the Streights is emptied, to fill up those gulphs; and not so only, but, besides that, many of our best merchants

have transported their staples thither; it hath also begot, out of all callings, professions, and trades, many more new merchants. Then, where there is increase of merchants, there is increase of trade; where trade increaseth, there is increase of shipping; where increase of shipping, there increase of mariners likewise; so then rich and large East-Indies. The report that went of the pleasing notes of the swans in Meander-flood, far surpassing the records of any other birds in any other places whatsoever, drew thither all sorts of people, in great confluence, and with great expectation, to hear and enjoy their sweet singing. When they came thither, they found, instead of fair white swans, greedy ravens, and devouring crows; and heard, instead of melodious harmony, untuneable and loathsome croaking. In indignation that they were so received and deceived, instead of applauding, they hissed, and, of staying, fled away. You are now, brave East-Indies, Meander-flood; your trade is the singing of swans, which so many journey so far to enjoy: God forbid you should be found so discoloured, and we so ill satisfied. And howsoever, that I may be sure to avoid any detraction, whereby my nature might have any imputation; or by calling up more spirits into the circle, than I can put down again, I might incur some danger, and be taxed likewise of indiscretion, for that we only hitherto have complained of the want of shipping; we desire now but herein to survey the store, and see how you help the increase. You have built more ships in your time, and greater far than any other merchant ships; besides what you have bought out of other trades, and all those wholly belonging to you, there have been entertained by you, since you first adventured, twenty one ships, besides the now intended voyage of one new ship of seven-hundred tons, and happily some two more of increase. The least of all your shipping is of four-score tons; all the rest are goodly ships, of such burden as never were formerly used in merchandise; the least, and meaneast of these last, is of some hundred and twenty tons, and so go upward, even to eleven-hundred tons. You have set forth some thirteen voyages, in which time you have built of these eight new ships, and almost as good as built the most of the residue, as the Dragon, the Hector, &c. so that, at the first appearance, you have added both strength and glory to the kingdom, by this your accession to the navy: But where, I pray you, are all these ships? Four of these are cast away, of the which, one was of three-hundred tons, another of four-hundred, the third of three hundred, and the fourth of eleven-hundred; two more are docked up there, as pinnaces, to trade up and down; the rest are either employed in the trade in the Indies, or at home out of reparations; which, if true, if the kingdom should have need of them, on any occasion, it shall surely want their service; and so then, there is not only no supply to the navy this way, but hurt even to the whole kingdom, the woods being cut down, and the ships either lost, or not serviceable. Surely stories can shew us, which we may read in the courses of commonwealths, how tolerable, nay how laudable it is, in all states, to enlarge commerce. Merchants, whom we should respect, can tell us of the *casualties* which not only the ships, but their estates, are subject to by adventures. Mariners, whom we must pity, can teach us of the

ordinary dangers not only that ships and goods, but their lives, are subject to by sea. I must not then exprobate that to them, which is to be imputed to the sea; nor are they to be blamed out of reason, for that which deserveth, in humanity, commiseration; nor is England, bounded by our horizon, to go no further than we see. We have learned, long since, that *mercatura si tenuis sordida, si magna splendida*; the stranger the country, the greater the adventure; the more famous our nation, the more worthy the merchant. Before we were, even Horace writ, *currit mercator ad Indos*. Loth then am I to borrow that saying of Demosthenes, on his courting of Lais, to pay it to the Indian trade, by alledging, that *non tanti emam penitentiam*, only having now in common that Roman proviso, *Ne quid detrimenti resp. capiat*. Let us examine that which may move patience, that our woods are cut down, and the ships either lost or not serviceable: Our woods, I say, cut down in extraordinary manner, neither do the ships die the ordinary death of ships. Our woods extraordinarily cut down, in regard of the greatness of the shipping, which doth, as it were, devour our timber. I am able, out of sufficient testimony, to affirm, that, since the Indian trade, and merely through their building of their ships of so great burden, and their repairing (the building, notwithstanding, began but five years since), that timber is raised in the land five shillings, and more, in the load, nay, almost, not to be had for money; which the company, no question, being sensible of, very wisely seek to help themselves in, by building of ships in Ireland for their service; yet, it seemeth, their encouragement that was, is but necessitous, in regard, by their own saying, besides the hazard, the charges are little less; and, which is worse, that kind of timber is but untoward for that use, being so extremely heavy, that a ship of small burden draweth much water. If, in five years space, their building, together with their repairing of ships, almost equal to building, beget such a scarcity, what will a little continuance bring forth? Bring forth, I cannot say aught, but a privation will follow, even of all our timber-wood. The King's navy must be maintained, other merchants, of lower rank, must have shipping, and the sea-trade may increase; and then either we must trade without shipping, or make ships without timber.

When the Norman conqueror, having subdued the most part of the kingdom, passed from Essex into Kent, which then made head against him, the Kents having, by the advice of their politick bishop, and their stout abbot, cut down great boughs, and, with them in their arms, marched towards the conqueror; whereby, besides the novelty of the sight, the army appeared double as big. William himself so conceiving it, as also amazed to see woods walk, more feared and discontented with that sight, than otherwise assured with his former success, condescended to what demands soever were made by those people, to have such weapons laid down, and to gain such ingenious subjects; whereby, to their eternal benefit and credit, their persons were never in bondage, nor their laws altered. In this their land-stratagem, I see our sea-arts, in that, and these woods, being the fatal instrument of our fortunes; boughs of trees kept the Kentish men out of servitude, when

they held them in their hands, and but for shew; their bodies will keep us in liberty, when they contain us, and are for service; and, by their moving on the water, they will amaze both French and Spanish, and whomsoever, and keep them, and all others, from coming near us: out of which provident foresight, our most worthy princes, formerly reigning, have made divers laws, in favour of timber-trees; and our most noble king hath provided thereto, with new accessions, for the preserving and increasing of them; but that a parricide of woods should thus be committed by building of ships, it was never thought on by any of our royal Solons, and therefore there was no proviso for it: Nay, this inconveniency was so little suspected, that our said famous princes have provided clean contrary, with great bounty and indulgence, having encouraged, by reward out of their own purses, the builders of great ships; as bestowing on the builders five shillings on the ton, for every ton that is built above one hundred ton in a ship, so necessary did the prince think his maintenance of shipping, the accession thereof consisting much in their greatness, to the honour and safety of the kingdom, and such use, he made account, he should have of them; whereas now this way he contributeth to the spoil of his woods, to the loss of his ships, and to the hurt of the kingdom. I heard a ship-wright say, on the loss of the Trade's Increase, that, if you ride forty miles from about London, you could not find sufficient timber to build such an other. It was a ship of eleven-hundred tons; for beauty, burden, strength, and sufficiency, surpassing all merchants ships whatsoever. But alas! she was but shewn; out of a cruel destiny she was overtaken with an untimely death in her youth and strength, being devoured by those iron worms of that country, that pierced her heart, and broke many a man's, withal memorable in her misfortune, only redounding to the commonwealth's loss; for as to the merchants, though I pity their adventures with all my heart, yet, in this, their part of loss was least, for all their goods were on shore, and she had brought abundance out of the Mecca fleet, which she did both tithe and toll; and, thanks be to God, they are more than savers by what is returned from her; and more than that often, by the grace of God, will come from her to the merchants gain.

The like untimely fall had the other three of great burden, gallant ships, never having had the fortune to see their native soil again, or the honour to do their country any service, in respect of all other ships that wander ordinarily to other countries; therefore, I may justly say, that they die not the ordinary death of ships, who commonly have some rest, and, after long service, die full of years, and at home, much of their timber serving again to the same use, besides their iron work, and the rest otherwise serviceable; and not in this bloody and unseasonable fashion, rather, indeed, as coffins full of live bodies, than, otherwise, as comfortable ships: For the rest that live, they come home so crazed and broken, so maimed and unmanned, that, whereas they went out strong, they return most feeble; and, whereas they were carried forth with christians, they are brought home with heathens. What the profits are to the merchants, for so great an adventure, I know

not; I am sure amends cannot easily be made for so great a loss, even in this point, which is our special subject now, for waste of woods, and spoil of shipping.

And thus we have surveyed all the fountains whence our shipping, especially, doth flow; which, before I shut up, I remember me of a new spring in Greenland, that batheth some ships, and burdeneth them likewise with her own natural freight, with the which the whale is so ichly laden withal. This place is but of late frequented so especially, and hath employed, this last year, some fourteen ships, and more would do, but that the poor fishermen, who, though they knew the place before, yet, being, belike, afraid of the whale, are now swallowed up in the whale's ships.

I cannot find any other worthy place of foreign anchorage; for the Bermudas, we know not yet what they will do; and for Virginia, we know not well what to do with it; the present profit of those not employing any store of shipping; and, for this other, it is yet but embryo; no question, a worthy enterprise, and of great consequence, much above the merchants level and reach. And sure, in regard of the great expences they have been at, and the poor return that is made, they are much to be regarded and commended, for holding out so long: I could wish, that, as many of the nobility and gentry of the land have willingly embarked themselves in the labour, so the rest of the subjects might be urged to help to form and bring forth this birth, not of an infant, but of a man; nay, of a people, of a kingdom, wherein are many kingdoms. When Alcmena was in travel with Hercules, the poets say, Jupiter was fain to be midwife; and sure, as we have the countenance of our earthly Jupiter, so we are humbly to implore the propitious presence of our heavenly God, toward the perfection of this so great a work. And, so leaving to meddle further with what we have nothing to do, let us return to our ships, out of whose entertainments we may either rejoice at their increase, or, by other observations, prevent their decay; and, because we propounded to ourselves the necessity of our home fishing, out of the want of our shipping, we will affirm, that, by this our superficial view, we find a decay thereof, and that out of two reasons; because that, in places formerly frequented, our shipping lesseneth, and, in places new found, they do not succeed: We have given reasonable probability of these already, without any pleasure, and there is no need of repetition; and it will be more apparent, in the preferring of this desire of fishing, out of the examination of the next inducement thereto, which is, want of mariners.

Mariners, they use the weapons, ships; they wear the ornaments, ships; out of them ships, are strength and pleasure, otherwise, they are but pictures, that have but a shew, or are as carcasses bereft of life. It is the good pilot that bringeth the ship to the haven; it is the wise master that governeth the men in the ship, but, without men, the master cannot govern, nor the ship go: What is a leader without an army, and that of soldiers? the same reason of seamen in a ship; the body must have life, blood, and flesh, the same are seamen to a ship. Columbus found out the new world; Drake brought home the hidden

treasure in a ship; but they were both provided well of men, and governed well; therefore, as ships are manned, and as masters use their men, so ordinarily their ships succeed. As for this last matter of government, it is besides our business, we will leave that to whom it concerneth. Now then, though we cannot use shipping, without men, and therefore they must go together, yet we must consider the one after the other; and having looked into the strength of the one, we will view in them the state of the other; in the which we will not be long, for that the subject is unpleasant, and our tale is half told already, for the consequence is necessary: As ships are employed, so men are busied.

For Muscovy, it is apparent that the shipping thitherward is decayed; so neither mariners are well employed that way, nor any seamen almost bred. The fleet, that went ordinarily thitherward, entertained three or four novices in a ship, and so bred them up seamen, which might make up the whole happily some four-score men yearly, which was well for their parts. Now then there were some five-hundred mariners and sailors employed withal: So then this way there is want.

The like reason of the Streights in their proportion, the very bottom of the Streights failing in thirty ships, maketh yearly seven-hundred seamen and mariners at the least, seek some other courses which were that way employed, besides the under growth hindered of some hundred and forty seamen yearly. And, but that I am loth to renew our complaints, I would say it were great pity of this so great an ebb of our men in these seas; for that, besides the voyages were of encouragement even to the fry, all in general commonly went and returned in good health; a ship seldom losing a man in the voyage; nay, I heard a proper master of a ship say, that in eighteen years, wherein he frequented those parts, he lost not two men out of his ship; and whatsoever may be imputed to the incontinency of our men, or the unwholesomeness of the women in other places, surely in those parts I hear the common sort of women to be as dangerous, and the generality of our men as idly disposed.

Naples, Leghorn, Marseilles, and those parts of the Streights, may employ some four-hundred men, and breed of these about forty.

Malaga employing, besides, some four-hundred men; the employment that may come by all other places, in Spain and Portugal, not arriving to four-hundred men, in regard to the poverty of the trade, and the superfluity of the commodities; it being indeed rather entertained, because they will not be idle, otherwise than that they are well busied, like food that keepeth life, not else maintaineth strength; yet it hath a pretty mystery in it, that, though the gain scarce provideth for the merchants livelihood, yet the commodities make the land merry; and howsoever, I am of the opinion, that the former hostile state busied more seamen, than twice the trade of Spain can nourish; yet I differ from those, that would rather by reprisal make soldiers, than, by nourishing commerce, increase mariners.

Our shipping into France is not such as it hath been, but nurseth many young men, or rather sheweth them the sea, and may busy some seven or eight-hundred men.

Hamburgh and Middleburgh always have been counted the ancient maintainers of mariners, for the states service on all occasions, being ready at hand; and therefore as we wished well to their ships, so we desire encouragement to the men. There may be belonging to their employment some four or five-hundred mariners and seamen.

Norway and the Sound may breed and employ some four-hundred men, those parts being most frequented, those commodities most brought in by the Hollanders.

Newcastle voyage is the next, and if not the only, yet the especial nursery, and school of seamen: For, as it is the chiefest in employment of seamen, so it is the gentlest, and most open to the landmen: They never grudging in their smallest vessels to entertain some two fresh men, or learners; whereas, on the contrary, in the ships that voyage to the southward, or otherwise, far out of the kingdom, there is no owner, or master, that will ordinarily entertain any landman, be he never so willing, as being bound by their charter-party to the merchant, as they say, not to carry but sufficient men, and such as know their labour, and can take their turn at the helm, top, and yard. It is by great favour others slip in, and they very likely; and therefore, whereas in former adventures I allow them the bringing up of two or three men in a voyage, it is in general to be understood, that they were first trained up, either amongst the colliers in this journey, or else came out of fishermen's boats, and yet but novices to those seas and sailors; so then this trade, without all exception, admits of all sorts that never saw the sea before; whereby are yearly bred and employed, out of the great store of ships busied therein, some two or three thousand people. A great comfort to youth, and men that want employment; and a great stay to the sea state, that shall have need, on all occasions, of their help. I have shewed my good-will enough, being so private, to further their employment, and, being so ignorant, I must not be bolder.

Iceland entertainment asketh and nourisheth some two-thousand five hundred men, after the number of shipping and barques set down, and ordinarily employed.

Newfoundland may breed and employ some fifteen-hundred; but, seeing what discouragements they have, what casualties they are subject to, we may judge of their uncertainty.

Out of the extraordinary number of all people busied in these two former employments, it is no unnecessary observation, that in any trade in particular, our coal excepted, our special employment, nourishment and increase of seamen, is even in this foreign fishing, which I hope will prove but petty, when it cometh to be balanced with our home fishing.

The last consistence of shipping propounded, was that of the East Indies; which, though youngest, was found in shew and state to have over-topped all the rest, as a bird that maketh herself gay with the feathers of all other fowls: having borrowed, nay, having bought the best ships out of other trades, to honour their voyage, and plumed even Constantinople herself, of her shipping; therefore, that men are entertained extraordinarily in this voyage, it is apparent out of the

greatness of their shipping; the entertainment of them increasing, it should be a consequent that seamen increase this way: But that we may not by ambages triumph in their loss, or our calamities, we see this way that our ships perish, and therefore our men they shrink. Nay, though ships come home, yet they leave the men behind; so, in this voyage, there is a two-fold way towards our want of mariners.

In that ships, nay, great ships, are extraordinarily subject to be cast away, and then there must be a loss likewise of men; in that, though they come, they come home emptied of their men.

By the loss of four ships, we have lost at the least four-hundred and fifty men; and, in the adventure of some three-thousand that have been employed, since that voyage began, we have lost many above two-thousand.

David refused to drink of the well of Bethlehem, which the strong men had fetched, when he thirsted and longed, because it was the price of blood. This trade, their commodities are at a far dearer rate, being bought with so many men's lives.

But happily some will say, that the greatest loss of these men was at the beginning, whenas all things are difficult; but since, our men framed to a better composition of themselves, to the variety of this climate, and heartened the tediousness of this voyage, have better endured and overcome those difficulties, and returned more comfortably: Herein the latest voyages will inform us best, and we will instance it in the three last that have made returns.

The first was under Sir Henry Middleton, whose former government, in that kind of voyage, had approved his wisdom and moderation. His ship was that famous and unfortunate vessel of eleven-hundred tons, his company in that ship some two-hundred and twenty men. After four errors up and down the sea, wherein he underwent many constructions at home, and overcame strange difficulties abroad; having, to his eternal reputation of policy and courage, outgone the perfidious Turk, and revenged their barbarous wrongs, to the merchants gain, and the kingdom's repute. After he and his, had, I say, been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril; that worthy commander, with many a sufficient mariner, with the whole number (ten excepted) of his live Cargazon, perished in that Aeldama, in that bloody field of Bantam.

Nicholas Dounton, the vice-admiral of that fleet, returned, and of seventy he carried forth, brought home some twenty; the rest, their labours and lives were sacrificed to that implacable East-Indian Neptune; the Darling of that voyage is yet there, nor never will the master, an approved seaman, return, with divers others.

The second was that of Captain Saris, and Captain Towerson, men formerly exercised in those journies, and therefore thought meet to command. Whether they were short of the opinion conceived of them or no, I know not; if they were, I should attribute part of the loss of their men to their insufficiency, but that the destiny of the country challengeth it all to itself. Cap. Towerson, who first returned, having left behind, of some hundred and twenty carried forth, fourscore and

five; and Capt. Saris, of ninety and odd, not having brought home above two or three and twenty; the Thomas, of that voyage, which went forth with some sixty men, was brought home by way of a wreck; you know the destruction of men that name importeth.

The third, that of Capt. Thomas Best, admiral of the fleet, a man whose former behaviour in sea-affairs drew into that journey with great expectation; and, which is very seldom and hard, his carriage in this employment went beyond the great expectation of a reposed demeanor, indulgent to his men, vigilant in his charge, his courage like to his carriage, and his fortune above all: He checked the Indians, he mated the Portuguese: Those honour our king, these fear his forces: He settled a trade in Cambaya, reduced things in order to Bantam, brought riches home for the merchants, and kept reputation for himself; yet for all this he had *nemesis in dorso*, the Indian vengeance haunted his ship, even to our coasts; of some hundred and eighty men under him, when he went forth, depriving him of one-hundred and odd men for ever. Some four or five and twenty of the remainder are left, on the desperate account of men, for the countries factorage; only thirty are returned. In two great sea fights with the Portuguese and their galleons, which continued four whole days, he lost not four men. It was not then the fortune of the war; neither out of want of aught that victuals and good government could afford; imputations to some other voyages: Nor had the length of time any fault, part of others bane; he having made the voyage in shorter space than others ordinarily; the dog-star of those climates, the stench of those countries, were his fatality.

As one swallow maketh no summer, so it is not much to be marvelled, that in all these voyages some one ship hath not been scarred, and not else much hurt in this journey; she indeed but even seeing those coasts, and presently on so great a glut of our men and ships, with the which it seemeth the sea and land was then busied and full; whenas Captain Newport returned with little loss, and in a short time.

Now then, as we have said before, that the Indian ships die not the ordinary death of ships; and that we have shewed likewise before, that men do not die extraordinarily in this voyage, which is almost incredible; they are distressed likewise after their death, and that is very apparent, by the mean account made to their heirs of what they had in possession in their life-time, by what should otherwise be due to them in their purchase, by the calamities of their wives, children, and friends, after their death. Fabulous and fantastical legends have been made of the restless death of many concealed extortioners and murderers, whose ghosts have been said to walk in pain and penance. On the contrary, how many live bodies, indeed the true images of the deceased, complain on the death, call for the due of their friends, fathers, husbands, children, kinsfolks, and creditors? Poor Ratcliff, Limehouse, Blackwall, Shadwell, Wapping, and other sea-towns abroad, can sensibly tell. The merchant he is at home, and therefore he cannot embezzle the goods abroad; and it is likely, that what is directly proved due, is paid here to theirs. Then is the calamity of

that journey more fearful, because out of his own ill planet it maketh so many miserable. How this is recompensed, it is neither my purpose, nor my part to examine: For certain, there is want of trade; the Hollander would grow greater, if he had all this trade in his own hands. The King's customs are now advanced: This way shipwrights are set on work, which must be maintained; and other mechanical trades live hereby, with a number of poor busied. And surely, he that would not have the poor to live, I would he might beg: And he that would not advance the King's profit in all liberal manner, and merchandise in a fair means, I would he might die; and he that regardeth not his country's good, it is pity he was ever born. I desire not, like a second Phaeton, to make a combustion. All that I would inforce at this time is, that in this trade our men are consumed, and thereby more want of mariners. Let the Streights men and the Lisbon merchants complain of their hinderance this way, and say, their traffick before was more beneficial by much, and more certain to the custom-house than the Indies be now. Let others report, that the foundation of this trade was laid in the ruin of a carrick that Sir James Lancaster took in the first voyage, and that the main of this after-jollity proceeded from the forced trade driven with the Mocha fleet by Sir Henry Middleton, whereby divers durst not go presently after to the Streights, as the Angel, and other ships, out of rumour of revenge for violence offered by our Indian men to the Turks in the Red sea. Let the common people say, that their commodities are unnecessary: Ask the tradesmen, nay, all men, what they have cheaper: Look into the price of victuals, how it riseth out of their great provisions. Let the whole land murmur at the transport of treasure, and bring in Charles the fifth's opinion, speaking to the Portuguese of their trade to the East-Indies, who said, that they were enemies to Christendom, for they carried away the treasure of Europe to enrich the heathen. Let go the speech of the small relief thereby to the poor, and they, whom it doth concern, may suggest the Indian home state and particular profit. Once I am sure, that, as Vespasian the emperor said, He had rather save one citizen, than kill one-thousand enemies; so his Royal Majesty had rather have his subjects than custom for them; and you see plainly, that his Majesty's subjects, our countrymen, fall this way, and this way is want of mariners.

Greenland ships, which before I had forgotten, entertain some mariners, and help to breed others; as of late, being fifteen sail, employed some four-hundred men, and may breed of those some fourscore, which help somewhat, and may be, by reasonable encouragement, far more beneficial, if it be more publick.

And thus we have run over the material trades state and condition in them of seamen. In all in general we conceive want, in regard of the small increase of what is needful to furnish this great machine, this goodly engine of our sea-state, either by supporting their own members (the Newcastle trade excepted) or all joined together, to make up the great body of our land's navy; witness, that general press that was made of men from all the coasts, to man the ships that were to
and that matchless pearl, that peerless princess, the lady Elisabeth,

her grace, with her hopeful and happy mate, the illustrious palatine, at their departure: and our nakedness, that would appear, if there were sudden occasion to furnish some six of his Majesty's ships: All which maketh for the furtherance of our proposition of fishing.

The third motive hereto was want of employment.

As the cosmographers in their maps, wherein they have described the habitable globe, use to set down in the extremity of their cards, on unknown regions and climates, that beyond those places they have noted, there is nothing but sands without water, full of wild beasts, or congealed seas, which no ship can sail, or Scythian live in; so may I write in the map of employment, that out of it, without it, is nothing but sordid idleness, base condition, filling the mind with a hundred chimera's, and gross fantasies, and defiling both body and mind with dissolute courses and actions; like fat ground neglected, that bringeth forth a thousand sorts of weeds, or unprofitable herbs. And with this disease is our land affected, our people infected; whereby so many come to an untimely and reproachful death in the land, and many more live so dissolutely, and so wickedly, on the seas. I do not think, that, in any two kingdoms in Europe, there are so many justified for murderers and felons yearly, as in England. And, above all nations, we are most infamous for piracies; wherein, against the law of sea robbers, or, at least, besides ordinary example of any other nation, we forbear not to prey on our own countrymen; nay, we forbear not our own acquaintance. Sure the want of grace, and fear of God, is much in most of these: But that men should leave their wives, children, and family, and rebel against their own sovereign's laws, and make war on all people, proceedeth more out of want of means, want of employment at home. Besides, how many that have more grace, and the same wants, are straitened in their fortunes, notwithstanding their abilities of body and mind; and are, as it were, damned to poverty? And more than all these, that have a little grace, and less means, that lead the loathsome life of begging?

Now if the means may be found, nay, if the means, long found, already be offered unto us, to redeem us out of this disaster: Why should we not understand them? Why should we not apprehend them? Why should we not be industrious in them? We are not those rebellious Israelites, that could not see the flowing land, much less enjoy it; we have this place in possession, and if my Ephemerides fail me not, I dare say, *Natam inde esse artem*, that shall not only take away all those discontents and miseries, that want of employment breeds in any of our unfortunate countrymen, but that shall also repair our navy, breed seamen abundantly, enrich the subject, advance the King's custom, and assure the kingdom; and all this in our own seas, by fishing, and especially out of herrings. Towards the which, apparent necessity having hitherto made us the way, we are to persuade you to follow in it by the facility, profit, and use of this fishing.

The facility, in that the means are in our own hands.

The place, our own seas.

The art, well known.

The means in our own hands, in that we have all things that shall be used about this business growing at home in our own land, pitch and tar excepted; whereas the Hollanders, having nothing growing in their own land for it, are fain to go to six several countries, and those remote, and under divers princes, to furnish themselves, merely with the barter of fish and herrings taken out of our seas.

Then the place is not far removed, if in our own seas, if in his Majesty's dominions, on the coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is this principal fishing; for by the report of many exercised in this mystery, and the relation of two especially, painful herein by their treatises, Hitchcock and Gentleman,

The Herrings first, and towards the ending of summer, shoot out of the deeps on both sides of Scotland and England; and begin to do first so, on the Scots coast at Midsummer, when is the first and worst fishing.

The second and best is about Bartholomew-tide, from Scarborough in Yorkshire, till you come to the Thames mouth.

The third, from the Thames mouth through the narrow seas, but not so certain, for that extreme weather maketh them shoot on both sides of Ireland; likewise on the coast of Ireland, is good fishing for herrings, from Michaelmas to Christmas.

On the north-west seas of England, over-against Carlisle, about Warkentown, is good fishing for herrings from Bartholomew-tide, till fourteen days after Michaelmas. So then it appeareth by these reports, that this fishing for herrings is especially on his Majesty's dominions. And to this end ask the ancient custom of the Hollanders and Flemings, that before they began their fishing for herrings, craved leave of Scarborough aforesaid; which easily obtained, they then laid their nets. And howsoever it pleaseth his Majesty to allow of his royal predecessor's bounty, in tolerating the neighbour nations to fish in his streams; yet other princes take more straight courses. For whereas till Christmas, on the coast of Norway, called the Mall Strand, all strangers do fish, as Hitchcock writeth, they then paid a youhendale on every last of herrings, to the King of Denmark. And I can likewise remember, that certain of our merchants of Hull had their goods and ships taken away, and themselves imprisoned, for fishing about the ward-house, and not paying the duty imposed on them by the King of Denmark.

The place, our seas likewise, for other necessary and profitable fishing; on the coast of Lancashire, from Easter to Midsummer, for cod and hakes; betwixt Wales and Ireland, from Whitsun-tide until St. James's-tide, for cod and ling; about Padstow, within the Land's end of Severn, from Christmas to middle Lent, and in seven or eight several places more about the coasts, and within his Majesty's dominions, the which is largely set down by Hitchcock.

Now besides this fishing-treasure lieth easily to be found in our own seas: What good harbours fitting thereto lie open to us in our own coasts, as Colchester, Harwich, Ipswich, Yarmouth, with a number of others, set down painfully by Gentleman, together with the com-

modities they afford for timber, workmanship, furnishing and harbouring busses, nets, and men?

As the havens lie open to us, as the seas be our own, and as we have all things almost fitting for such a business at home, and naturally, so that nothing may be wanting to us but ourselves; the art is well known to us likewise. Masters for busses may be had from Yarmouth and Sould, and the rest of the coasts down the river. Use maketh fishermen, and these places afford store of seafaring men for the purpose. In Orford haven and Alborough, be many good fishermen, whose abilities, exercised in busses, would, by Gentleman's report, put down the Hollanders. The like may be said of Sould, Dunwich, Walderswich, which breed fishermen. In all these, and many other places, is this rich art known, but not used. In all these, and all others, the Hollanders swim like elephants, we wading like sheep. We keep the banks and shoals, whenas they are in the depth.

Besides, to encourage us the more, the charges are not great, the pains are not great, the time is not long, the hazard is nothing at all. This is very apparent, and exactly set down in Gentleman's treatise, whom I shall but obscure to contract; neither is he long.

The next motive to this fishing was that of profit; wherein, if ever it were true, that a good cause maketh a good orator, here is a subject to enable all mean rhetoricians. Every man almost is taken with the attention to profit. Love doth much, but money doth all. Here is money, here is profit in abundance, and divers ways. In abundance, for that the whole charge of a buss, with all furniture and appurtenances, between thirty and forty last, will cost about five hundred pounds; the charges, for keeping her a whole summer at sea, may be some three hundred three score and five pounds; the whole summer filling her three times, with making one hundred last of barrels, amounteth to one thousand pounds; whereby, allowing one hundred pounds for wear of ships, and reparations of nets, there are gained five hundred sixty-five pounds by one buss in one year, and this is after ten pounds the last, which was so rated in Hitchcock's time, which is some thirty-three years ago; the Hollanders, now, selling them for fifteen, twenty pounds, and upward the last, at Dantzick. Hence one may gather of the great gain, that even riseth to a private purse, by this fishing, with a small adventure, busses being the main, and those likely likewise to continue, by God's grace, some twenty years. So then her charges returned for keeping her at sea; the first year also she quitteth her own self, and there are, I say, five hundred sixty-five pounds, as long as she liveth afterwards, *de claro*. I would fain know, not desiring to be too curious in a strange commonwealth, but rather to invite my countrymen into this society, what trade in the land did ever in its strength promise so much; howsoever, never any, I am sure, performed so much, so easily, so continually.

When Antiochus in his shew to Hannibal of his glorious army in battle-range, his elephants being most richly adorned, and all his soldiers in very brave and costly harness and habiliments, willing to draw some acknowledgment from him of his power and strength, asked his opinion of it; the warlike soldier replied again, That it was

an army able to satisfy the most covetous enemy. No question, though the Carthaginian noted the people of cowardice: yet it would require great charges, and cost some blood, to overcome such an army.

In the best trade in appearance now that is, and in those countries, certain there are infinite riches, you see how remote it is, and with what cost of purse, and loss of people followed, yet without such satisfaction. Here is wealth enough to satisfy the most thirsty thereof, without much cost, without any spoil; even almost *salmacida spolia*; if not, *sine sudore, sine sanguine*, and not for a time, but permanent. All other trades are far-fetched, as it were, out of a well, out of the deep, I mean from far; here is a mere spring which is in superficies hard by us, out of our own inexhaustible sea, from the everlasting store of herrings, whence only the Hollander reapeth a million of gold yearly; besides the most gainful fishing with other vessels for cod and ling. Hitchcock long ago discovered the same, his book is extant; and fore-named Gentleman hath very plainly set down, and in a very probable and particular manner disclosed the mysteries thereof. And the conceit the Hollanders have of it, calling it their chiefest trade, and gold mine; and the confidence they have in it, as laying out their children's money given them by friends, in adventuring in busses; and fathers likewise putting in their children's portions into busses; presume of the increase that way, and so proportion a sum certain out of that gain, in a certain time; as also, that there is for orphans laid out, and so increasing that way, for the maintenance of them. Here then we may get treasure in abundance, and certainly; and besides the gaining of it, we shall stay the unnatural tide of the departure and transportation of our gold; a mischief, which, notwithstanding our royal King was sensible of, in the raising of it, yet it still departeth with *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, out of the lazy and disgracious merchandise of our coasters, that give away our coin to the stranger for our own fish; which unseasonable and unprofitable humour of cauponation is this way to be diverted only.

But some will say, that our men are not so apt, nor disposed thereto; which cannot be, in regard of the store of fishermen that our coasts nourish, which live as hardly, and take as great pains, in their fashion, only wanting the use of busses, and seem to rejoice at the name of busses; and may on very good reason; for that this buss-fishing is more easy than any other kind of fishing, which now we use in crayers and punts, as being armed this way better against all weathers, which others suffer and perish in, in other vessels, yearly; and, as their provisions are better, and the dangers less, so their pains are likewise less.

Again, who will not be exceedingly encouraged with the benefit of such gain, in so honest a manner, when once the sweet is tasted of? Whenas, otherwise, our countrymen run such laborious and desperate courses, especially out of want.

Others will say, that our land will not utter them in any quantity, in regard that the feeding on herring and fish doth not taste us, nor is so received, as amongst those Holland and Zealand Mermaids: and, sure, if those necessary laws, provided by our advised state for the keeping of

fish-days clean through our land, were better observed, it would be more wholesome for our bodies, and make much for the advancing of our fish, and plenty of other victuals; besides the dearness of our fish-victual, which more hurteth our purse than our appetites, for that the price is, within these twenty years, almost trebled, which, indeed, maketh the true distaste, as all housholders find, and thereon feed their households with flesh and otherwise; this fish-victual being now obtained by merchandise, which, indeed, is our own staple commodity, whereon groweth this penury to the poor, this great price to others, this disuse to all, and in these the King's, the kingdom's loss. Yet, notwithstanding, there is such quantity of herrings, besides other fish, consumed amongst us, that Hitchcock alloweth ten-thousand lasts for our provision of herrings to be spent here in the realm; so that it would save at home one hundred thousand pounds of treasure, which, to our great shame and loss, the Hollanders carry away, even for our own provision; besides, that provision is of the worst, such as they call roop-sick, and such as they are forbidden to bring home. Now, to be served of our worst, whereas we might be our own carvers, and to give our gold for that we may have for nothing, judge of the loss, of the indignity. And, as we may easily remedy this by our own industry, so we cannot otherwise excuse the fault, our gracious prince, no question, being ready to assist us herein by the same favourable authority, which other trades, for their benefit, taste most plentifully of, by forbidding the sale and uttering of herrings to his loyal subjects, by any foreigner or stranger whatsoever. And, in Holland, it is not lawful for them to buy any of our herrings, if they be brought thither: nay, if we bring any thither, they are burned. Besides what other effects of his incomparable clemency would bless our industries herein, he being lord paramount of these seas, where this fishing-food groweth, and which now is taken by strangers? And therefore he would not, questionless, allow strangers to eat up the food that was provided for the children; the crumbs we would not envy them, though we are now fed under their table.

Now farther it may be alledged, that we can utter no such quantity, nor can afford any such pennyworth. For the first, that must arise out of our diligence. No question, we once attaining the art of the Flemish usage of these herrings, they will be in as great estimation as the Hollanders, in Normandy, Nantz, Bourdeaux, Rochelle, and other such countries; for which, return is made of wine and woad, for which is always paid ready gold, with a number of other commodities. They will be in as great estimation in the east countries, Revel, Rie, Russia, Dantzick, Poland, Denmark, the returns whereof are set down in Gentleman; and the quantity of herrings, that these forenamed countries consume, is infinite. Therefore, though the Hollanders spend more fish and herrings by much, in their countries, than we do, yet it is their foreign trade with all other nations, that is their basis, else they could never employ so many ships, nor gain such wealth, nor get such strength thereby: and in all these places we can and do trade, and all their returns we need and use, and therefore may utter them in as great a quantity as they do.

Then, for the affording of herrings and fish at as good a rate as they can, let any consider of the likelihood in our behalf. First, it standeth with reason, if we have the like vessels, we can go with as few men; and our fishermen on the coast, by divers reports, can live as hardly as they: and let any judge of the hardness, when the principal time of fishing for herrings is in September and October, and a six weeks time, and they are almost in sight of our own coasts; and, besides good provision of butter and cheese and beer, they have the plenty of the sea-fish; then, this way, we may afford as good pennyworths as they. But I go further, and say, that we have great advantages of them.

The seas be our own, therefore we journey not so far as the Hollander doth, whereby likewise our travel and charge must be lighter: our ports, harbours, and roads be at hand; nay, which is more, all utensils and appurtenances belonging to shipping, as is before shewed (pitch and tar excepted) are found in our own land, whereas they, with great cost, pains, and hazard, fetch them from six several places: so then we shall be able to afford better cheap, than the Hollanders; and so we may sell, when they cannot, and so the English shall and may weary them, and wear out those flouts, wherewith our poor fishermen are scorned. For, if they be put by the uttering of their herrings abroad, they will be driven to leave their great ships, and fish in smaller vessels near the shore, to serve their own turns, as heretofore they have caused us to do; whenas, likewise, on every tempest, they openly triumph over us for not taking the blessings of God poured into our laps.

These hindrances objected taken away, we may now resort again to the sweet fountain of profit; which, besides that it watereth our private estates with the continued spring of great gain, keepeth in our treasure, which exceedingly now wasteth, and bringeth in all commodities, that either the east and north countries, France or Flanders, afford, even for this barter: it runneth into the sea of the King's custom. The venting only of ten thousand lasts of herrings beyond sea cometh to five thousand pounds, after the rate of the ordinary poundage, besides the custom of cod and ling, very near as valuable as the benefit of herrings; the particular view whereof is set down by him whom I have so often named, and in whose book you may see the greatness of the custom amounting to above fifty thousand pounds sterling, that accrueth to those countries out of this fishing trade: and yet all this, to them, is nothing. Their keeping in their treasure, their carrying away our treasure, their abundance with all other commodities, the greatness of their custom this way is nothing, in regard of their profit, honour, safety, that their increase of shipping, increase of mariners, this way begetteth to themselves, amongst all nations, to their state.

The life of the sea is in shipping; nay, one may say to ships, *mare non est mare, vos estis mare*. The beauty of the sea is in shipping; and sure the poets, affirming Venus to be the daughter of the sea, might mean a ship by her; for, *hec una Venus omnium surripuit veneres*; and

this little land of the Hollanders, exceeded in quantity by Norfolk and Suffolk, hath gotten this sea, hath gained this Venus; England, Scotland, France, and Spain, for shipping and sea-faring men, not answerable to them; and all spawned out of fish and fishing.

There hath both been numbered, in sight, two thousand sail of busses, and other good vessels, gone out to sea, at once, of the Hollanders; and there have been found, by computation, some thirty-seven thousand fishermen, in divers sorts of vessels, at one time, employed herein. Hence proceed their great undertakings, and prodigious adventuring to all places; hereby they outgo us, and overbear all trades where-ever they come. We think the West India gold to be the cause of the pride and presumption of Spaniards; we may assure ourselves, that our North Indies countervail that treasure, and are the only confidence of the Hollanders, even by breeding seamen, and increasing of shipping, in that abundance, as that hereby they both swarm every where, and France, Spain, and the East countries are full of their shipping. Hence they fetch our coals, and carry them abroad: from Norway and Dantzick they bring us all commodities, and carry forth ours, at a far better rate than we can ourselves: they have filled Muscovy, whence we are emptied, with thither shipping, and the Straights abound with them, once our possession. They go into, nay they arm in the West Indies, where we may not be seen; and, in the East Indies, they have had long settled factories before us, and have four men to one of our's there, and go beyond us as far, besides the number, in store of goodly shipping; whereby, as they hinder our trade, so they forbear not, which I cannot but write with stomach, the honour of our King and kingdom, as presuming sometimes to call themselves English, and pretend ambassage, and presents from his Majesty, which they did to the King of Siam; in other places calling the crown and state of England into comparison, which made the King of Achem ask Captain Best, Whether the King of England, or the King of Holland, were the greater monarch?

Besides, what an infinite number of ships and men of war have they always in readiness at home. And as the inn-keeper of Chalcis said to his guest, admiring *tantam ferculorum varietatem*, it was, with art, all cooked out of pork; this their store, this their abundance, is raised all out of fishing. Who then would not be moved? Who would not be stirred up therewith? Who would not go a fishing? You see what want we have of shipping, what want we have of mariners, what discouragements we have in trades, what wants our men are in. When Naaman, the Syrian, complained to Elisha of his leprosy, he was bid to wash himself in Jordan seven times. He looked for other miraculous courses to be taken by the prophet, and could hardly be persuaded thereto, because Abna and Pharphar, floods of Damascus, were better. Naaman was a heathen, and had never any experience of God's Jordan, yet he was, in the end, persuaded. To supply our wants, to satisfy our hunger, to heal our diseases, there is not a river, but a sea shewn us, and that not in another kingdom, but in our own; we are but bidden, go and take fish out of it; we are Christians, and it is God that hath provided this remedy; and we see, by experience, no water

like ours, and we see our neighbours, from every place, resorting thereto, and healing themselves thereby. You see how it concerneth us; let us, in the end, likewise be persuaded. What the number is of our seamen, bred and employed by all sorts of sea-trades, our petty fishings excepted, may easily be guessed at, and whatsoever it may amount to. If, out of our whole land, there be but four hundred busses built, and set forth, of seventy tons the piece, there are, in two years, nine thousand mariners more than was in the land before; let men of experience and state judge of the proportion, by the way of comparison; every one can perceive the increase simply. Besides, by the report of some of our best mariners, these, thus bred, prove not only equal, but better able, than any bred otherwise, for sea affairs, and public service.

On this publick profit of fishing, thus spread abroad, the maintenance of havens, and haven-towns in England besides, have no small dependency, and are so material to the land, so plainly understood of all his Majesty's subjects, and so well wished to by Hitchcock and Gentleman, that it is enough for me but to point at them; we all know the use of them, they shew the decay, and this art, the reparation and maintenance of them.

The use of this fishing is implied much in the profit, but more eminent, by the consideration again of the infinite number otherwise of idle people, and out of employment. Only by this art, it is reported, not one goeth a begging in all the Low Countries: and what a number of people have we, that, now destitute of means, may, this way, have a calling? It is a grievous sin, idleness, and bringeth forth, as we see, horrible effects: to get a living by the sweat of our brows, is the ordinance of God, and this way there is a recompence. There were found in Yarmouth, the last year, three or four hundred, and those of honest disposition, that wanted means: and how many hundreds more are there, in other places, that would gladly be thus used? Hitchcock alloweth, to every one in this employment, twenty pounds yearly, besides his diet, for his reward; a good savour to honest men, that now have no means; and this only out of two voyages for herrings. A number of carpenters and shipwrights shall be set a work, coopers busied, numbers of people making lines, ropes, cables, dressers of hemp, spinners of thread, makers of nets, bred: many salt-houses set up, besides what store of poor people, all along on the sea-coasts, which are now very poor and idle in England and Wales, to be used in splitting of fish, washing of fish, packing, salting, carrying, and re-carrying of fish. And on these foresaid occupations depends an infinite number of servants, boys, and daily labourers, for the use of things needful. Nilus, whose fertility is envied, affordeth not so many sorts of fish, of monsters, as this fishing entertaineth sorts of people: which humbly committing to the high disposer of all hearts, and to the due consideration thereby of his ministers here on earth, I will leave further to enlarge, and shut up this abrupt discourse, with the allusion of that of Basil to this sea business, *Putei, dum hauriuntur, speciosiores*.

Now for a corollary to all these imperfect lines. Whereas, in the superficial survey of want of shipping, we find most of our sea trades,

either decaying, or at a stay; let me, out of themselves, without offence, propound the consideration of one remedy thereto; even by a freedom of traffick for all his Majesty's subjects to all places. Hereby his Majesty's customs will increase, the navy and seamen will receive nourishment, out of more employment; the whole incorporation of merchants reap comfort, in that they may communicate with all adventures; and the universal body of the subjects of the land content, in that they may become merchants, being very ready, in this adventurous world, to make new discoveries; whereas, now otherwise, merchandise, sorting and settled in companies, confineth merchants into those limits that private orders tie them in, so that they may not help themselves, through any discouragements in one trade, but by suit and submission of themselves to the other; though, I say, their trades fail them, and others have too much; nor may any else of the kingdom come amongst them, though never so able and well disposed, unless they come in on such conditions, as the victor pleaseth to propound. A thing, in ordinary sense, somewhat harsh to fellow-subjects, and equal citizens, in this great monarchy, to be so serviceably tied, and subject one unto the other; and, the rather, for that those privileges, by the indulgence of the prince, being granted as a reward to some for their industries, and exemplary to others encouragements, are strictly used, to the eternal benefit of a few, and the wrong of all the residue.

The French company manifested this plainly; which, if it had continued (and it began but the other day) had undone all the western men.

The Muscovy company declareth the same, as being granted on condition of serving his Majesty of all materials (as flax, oil, wax, tallow, and cordage) belonging to shipping; whereas now it is supplied by strangers, even ten for one ship, and those double our burdens; and notwithstanding they do not perform, and have let fall their trade, yet none may enter but on their conditions.

The Greenland company, out of pretence of their first whale-hunting, keep all fishermen (notwithstanding they knew and used those seas) from further resort thither; and some merchants of Hull were taken by them in that journey, and brought back, notwithstanding, as I am informed, those countrymen found it first.

The Virginia company pretend almost all that main, betwixt it and Newfoundland, to be their fee-simple, whereby many honest and able minds, disposed to adventure, are hindered and stopped from repairing to those places, that either knew, or would discover unfound, even for fishing.

The East Indiamen, not able to furnish those places they resort to, keep out others from coming amongst them; and to look into those parts they know not, and would give out of their largeness and riches entertainment to all the merchants in the land. Besides, how tedious and costly they, and all other companies, make it to their own associates, whenas out of orders, and cause of upholding their trade, men can neither dispose of their own as they would, nor have the benefit

under a long time? Besides, how private do they, and other companies, make it, when as out of orders, and maintaining their trade, how plentifully soever the commodities are brought in, and at what advantage soever they buy them, they will be sure to keep up the price, either by sending most part of the commodities abroad, or else by buying all others into their hands? That other is hard for the owner sometimes, but he doth it in his own wrong; but to the buyer this is always unjust, for that he suffereth, against his will; the commonwealth, made private, suffereth by all; this, that, the first, and all the more discontentful, in that, besides that all other nations resort freely to all those places whence they keep out their own countrymen, the like fashion of companies and societies is not used in all Christendom else, it being lawful and usual to all others amongst themselves, promiscuously to frequent and communicate with places, and trades, one by the other. Nay, this separation of trading, and excepting of subjects from places, between divers princes that had but peace one with the other, was so admired and disallowed of, formerly, that Charles the fifth, Emperor, being moved by the Portuguese, being under their own absolute King then, to forbear the East India trade, because they had found it; answered, That he had peace with them, and therefore he would have trade with them; for they were not his friends, but his enemies, that would hinder him of it. How much more may we, murmuring at this iniquity, affirm that we are all Britons, all subjects to one royal king, all combined together in one natural league, and therefore not to be barred from trading equally to all places? Which his most gracious Majesty, together with the whole assent of the high court of parliament, openly professeth; whereas there was enacted free liberty for all his Majesty's subjects, to trade into the dominions of Spain, Portugal, and France, with most sufficient reasons therefore, for the increase of shipping, mariners, thousands of handicraft-men, of prices of their own commodities, and augmentation of them, together with the plenty of foreign commodities, and a cheapness of them, and the bettering of his Majesty's customs. No one man ever invented all sciences, nor any merchant found all places; yet they make a compensation one to another. Society first began, and knowledge and civility, by communication. But, if the world in their infancy had been resolved to have held private what they had in possession, and to have concealed what they knew, there had not only been no civility, but no society. Yet, as the first maintainers of society had their honour, the first inventors of sciences and arts their rewards, and, in all well-disposed states, the industry of those, that do benefit them, have their encouragements; so is not this my proposition of free trade otherwise entertained, than that there should be a due respect had of all worthy adventurers, an especial consideration of the charges and hazard of the first discoveries; which the solertious Hollander examples us, by forbidding their own subjects to trade to those places which some particular purse hath, or shall find out, before that the first founders have received benefit of their pains and charges; allowing them some six returns to their own private ad-

ventures, before any else set thitherward. If those adventures, or returns, were increased here for the finders content, and profit, there is no man would grudge it: but to keep others out for ever, unless they pay, and submit themselves according to their order, and to their government, or, under the pretence of one place found, to include more than was ever meant, seems very injurious. Again: my proposition is not any way so tumultuous, as that thereby I would excuse all order and form of government in trades; or otherwise, to intend a promiscuous kind of calling, or rather confusion of all sorts. Who knoweth not that the commonwealth consisteth, *non ex medico, & medico; sed ex medico, & agricola*? As also that there must be economical and discreet partition and proportion amongst the members, divers trades, to maintain the general body commerce? I have only pointed at some aberrations, but as the novice, travelling through strange countries, *tap-mando*, or *tanquam canis ad Nilum*. The prosecuting of this argument would draw on a larger discourse than all the whole former, and would then exceed a corollary, and detain the reader too long. Neither like I the issue of meddling, when men tire themselves with controuling of publick matters, yet many times cannot manage their own affairs. I make no intrusion into merchants mysteries, neither desire to pry into the state's secrecy. It was a foolish complaint of the poet, *cur aliquid vidi*? It is much more for me to say, *cur aliquid scripsi*? I am so far from giving any cause of publick offence, that I would not justly provoke any private person. I was born in the city, and live amongst seamen. And as some almanack-makers, when they pretend exactness in their calculations, though they do but rove, use to appropriate their observations to the place they live in; so I, writing with the same knowledge, would say I desire good to the meridian of these two places; notwithstanding, as they say also, these may serve alike to all the land.

THE
LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER'S
SPEECH* AND REPENTANCE,

AT THE
TIME OF HIS DEATH,

Who was executed upon Tower-hill, on the 30th Day of November, 1615,

FOR THE MURDER OF

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY.

Mors mihi Lucrum.

London, printed by G. Eld for Na. Butter, and are to be sold at his Shop near St.
Austin's Gate. Quarto, containing thirty-six Pages.

TO THE READER.

TO satisfy the world, which, in a cause of this nature, is commonly distracted into various opinions, adding or detracting from the truth, according to the humorous disposition with which it meets; and to do right to the dead gentleman, who (albeit his offence was foul to God and man, and hateful to himself) deserved both love and pity, for the Christian end he made, have I, Reader, for thy sake, collected the substance of that speech, delivered by him before his execution, though I may fail in circumstance perhaps in his order. Many false copies of it pass from hand to hand, and many untrue rumours of him: this, if thou art not too much given over to misbelief, will stay both, as being with much labour gotten together, and confirmed by approbation of such judgments as were then present, and nearest and best understood him. Though I confess it falls short of that grace and life wherewith he delivered it, who, I must needs say, did it more exactly, even beyond ordinary report: and so praying unto Almighty God, that thou mayest make that good use of this discourse, as he meant thee that made it, and as I do that relate it, I commit thee to God.

I SEE many faces in this place, which I know right well, both lords and gentlemen, whom I have honoured, and do still love, with many others of several dispositions. All you being thus assembled to

* This is the 21st number of the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

see me finish my days, the number of which I summed up, for the very minutes of my life may now be reckoned. Your expectation is to have me say something, to give satisfaction to the world, and I will do it so far as I can, albeit, in that speech of mine, I shall, as it was spoken unto me the last night, but chatter like a crow. But, whatsoever I deliver, I beseech you to take from a wounded bosom, for my purpose is to rip up my very heart, and to leave nothing therein, which may prove any clog to my conscience.

Hither am I come to perform a work, which, of all others, is to man the most easy, and yet to flesh and blood is the hardest, and that is, to die. To hide, therefore, any thing for any worldly respect, were to leave a blot upon my own soul, which I trust shall be presented, through the mercies of my Maker, and merits of my Saviour, acceptable before God's high tribunal.

And, First, I will labour to satisfy some, who, before my apprehension, were well conceited of me, but since my arraignment, as I understand, carried of me but hard opinions; for that, at the bar, I stood stiffly upon the justice of my innocence; and this they impute as a great fault, seeing afterwards that I was found guilty of the crime: to which I answer, That I did it ignorantly: nay, I was so far from thinking myself foul in the fact, that until these two gentlemen, Doctor Felton and Doctor Whiting, the physicians for my soul, told me how deeply I had imbrewed my hands in the blood of that gentleman, making me, by God's law, as guilty in the concealing, as if I had been a personal actor in it: till then, I say, I held myself so ignorant of the deed, and my conscience so clear, that I did never ask God forgiveness, nor once repent me of the fact, such was my blindness. So that it was not only an error, or rather a horrible sin, in me to consent, but a worse, to deny it, so bloody, so treacherous, so foul, so filthy a fact as that was; for which, I must confess the King, and the state, have dealt honourably, roundly, and justly, with me, in condemning me unto this death. And thus I have laboured, and done my best, to clear this point, being willing, by all good means, to reduce your first opinions of me; that, as formerly you conceited well of me, so you would now, with a charitable affection, perform the last duty of your Christian loves towards me, praying to God, both with me, that this cup, whereof I am to drink, may not be grievous unto me, but that and for me, to the intent, that it may be a joyful conveyance to a better and more blessed comfort.

Some, perhaps, will think it to be a rigour of the state, or aggravation of my judgment, that I should die in this place; but this do I take as an honour unto me, and herein do I acknowledge myself to stand much bound to the state, in that I have this favour vouchsafed me, to suffer death in sight of my charge, even where I had sinned, On the Tower-hill, rather than in the place of common execution, where every base malefactor dieth.

Many do I see here whom I know well, and of whom I am likewise well known: and now am I a spectacle for them to be looked on, whom, in former times, and in all men's accounts, they held never likely to come to such an end. But herein behold the justice of God, who

is so opposed against sin, because, that, if we forget to seek him whilst we may, he will find us out when we would not be found of him.

It is expected I should say something of the fact which I have committed; and hither am I come, resolved to clear my conscience, before I depart this world, of all matters which I either know, or can now remember. And so much I have already delivered in writing to my lord chief justice; and, to prove that which I wrote is true, I yesterday confirmed it with the receiving of the blessed sacrament, wishing unto you all as much comfort by those holy mysteries, as I took by them. And I do here, though not with such a blood, yet with my own blood, seal that which I have written. For myself, I will hide nothing to make my fault seem less, but will rip open this very heart of mine, and confess before God mine own uncleanness.

I have sinned exceedingly against thee, O my Maker, and in this am I most faulty, that I did not reveal it, to the King, so soon as I myself had knowledge of the business. But, alas! fear to lose these worldly pleasures, and the love to promotion, made me forget my duty to my Sovereign, and not to regard my God, who is a swift avenger of blood; and, would to Heaven I had trusted to his providence, and set the things of this world at nought, for Heaven's sake, and a good conscience. You see, gentlemen, promotion cannot rescue us from the justice of God, which always pursues after sin; and therefore I exhort you not to trust in men, how great soever, for they cannot hide themselves, when God is angry; neither can they protect you from shame, when God will consume you: he that sitteth in Heaven will deride and scorn their foolish inventions. As for me, I will not spare to lay open my own shame: think you I care for the reputation of this world? No, I weigh it not. Thus my soul shall receive more comfort from God in my upright dealing.

My sin, in this foul fact, was great, for upon me lay all the blood, shed, and to be shed: I have made many children fatherless, many wives husbandless, many parents childless, and I, myself, leave a comfortless wife, and eight children behind me for it too; for, if I had revealed it when I might, I had freed much blood from being spilled, insomuch as I could wish, God's justice and charity reserved, I might hang in chains, till I rot away by piecemeal; nor cared I what tortures my body were put unto, so I might expiate, or free the blood of so many, some in one place, and some in another, which is both like to be shed, and is already shed, and the Lord knows when it will have an end.

Concerning myself, I will aggravate the crime, by speaking of every circumstance I can remember. And now it comes into my mind, what trust that gentleman put into me: he reputed me to be most faithful unto him, O the vileness of my heart! I proved unfaithful, and was his deadly deceitful friend.

And here, gentlemen, I exhort you all, that you would take notice of this, ever to be faithful to those who put you in trust.

Sir Thomas Overbury trusted me, and I was unfaithful and treacherous to him, in drawing tickets for him to his disadvantage. I promised him secrecy, yet betrayed him, only to satisfy greatness: but God,

who sees the secret thoughts of man's heart, will disclose all unjust actions at last: nay, I am persuaded, that whosoever they be that commit sin in their childhood, at one time or other it will be revealed.

In this place it cometh to my mind, that in my younger days, as well beyond the seas as here, I was much addicted to that idle vein of gaming, I was bewitched with it indeed: and I played not for little or for small sums neither, but for great ones, yet ever haunted with ill luck: and, upon a time, being much displeased at my loss, I said, not in a careless manner, would I might be hanged; but seriously, and advisedly, between God and myself, clapping my hands upon my breast, I spake thus, If ever I play again, then let me be hanged. Now, gentlemen, here you may behold the justice of God, paying me my wish and imprecation home. Be careful, therefore, I exhort you, that you vow nothing but that unto which you will give all diligence to perform; for the powerful God, before whom you make such vows, will otherwise be avenged.

In this place, Doctor Whiting putting him in mind to satisfy the world, touching his religion, thus he went on:

The matter you speak to me of, saith he, is well thought upon; for I hear that abroad have been some murmuring and questions made about me for my religion; some giving out, that I was infected with anabaptism; a fond, ridiculous, foolish, and phantastical opinion, which I never affected, but rather despised.

Many may think, that the manner of my death doth much discourage me, that I should die in a halter: I would have you all to think, that I scorn all such worldly thoughts: I care not for it, I value not any earthly shame at all, so as I may have honour and glory anon in heaven: and I make no doubt, but I shall suddenly be more happy than you all, and that I shall see God face to face; and, if there be any point of innocency in me at all, I do utterly cast it from me, and I do commit it wholly to God.

And, for any matter of glory, I do, with the saints of God, expect it through the merits of Christ, at the resurrection; yea, it is my glory to die thus. I might have died in my bed, or shooting the bridge, or else have fallen down suddenly, in which death I should have wanted this space to repent, being the sweet comfort, and assured hope of God's favour, which, of his mercy, he hath vouchsafed me; so that it swalloweth up all fear of death, or reproach of the world; wishing unto all you, gentlemen, who now behold me, that, wheresoever you shall die, either in your beds, or elsewhere howsoever, you may feel such comfort and resolution, as God in his mercy hath bestowed upon me and my wounded soul for this and the rest of my grievous sins.

But, methinks I hear some of you conjecture and say, that I express no great arguments or signs of sorrow: You think my heart should rather dissolve and melt into tears, than to appear so insensible of fear as I may seem; but I must tell you, tears were never common in me; I may therefore fear, though I do not weep. I have been courageous both beyond the seas and here in my own country; but, gentlemen, that was when there was no peril before me: but now the stroke of

death is upon me; it affrights me, and there is cause to fear; yet, notwithstanding, my heart seemeth unto you to be rather of stone than of flesh. But I would have you understand, that this boldness doth not proceed from any manly fortitude, for I am a man, frail as you are, and dare as little look death in the face as any other: the terrors of death do as much trouble my human sense, as any man's whatsoever; but that, which swalloweth up all manner of fear in me, and maketh me to glory and to rejoice, is, the full assurance which I conceive of the unspeakable love of God to those who are his, of which number I persuade myself to be one, and that I shall presently enjoy it.

I confess I have sinned exceedingly, against thee, Oh God! many ways, in prophaning thy holy sabbaths, in taking thy glorious name in vain, in my concupiscence, in turning all thy graces into wantonness, in my riotous wasting so many of thy good creatures, as would have relieved many poor people, whose prayers I might have had this day.

I have sinned against thee in my childhood; but children's sins are childishly performed; but I confirmed them in my manhood, there was my sin. I am persuaded, there is no sin, that a man committeth in his life, knowing it to be a sin, and not repenting of it, but the Lord will judge it.

I admonish you, therefore, that are here assembled, to take good notice of your sins, and let none escape you unrepented: and yet, when you have done the best you can, there will lie buried some one sin or other sufficient to condemn you.

O Lord, cleanse me from my secret sins, which are in me so rife. I abused the tender education of my parents. You, perhaps, that knew me will say no; I lived in an honest form, and was not bad in my life.

But I know best myself what I was; and if I, who was so esteemed of amongst men, shall scarcely be saved, what will become of those whom you point at for notorious livers?

The last night God put into my mind the remembrance of one sin of mine, which here I will lay open that others may take heed. I took a vain pride in my pen, and some of my friends would tell me I had some endowments and special gift that way, though I say not so myself; but mark the judgment of God in this; that pen, which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead, and like Absalom's hair hath hanged me: for there hath dropped a word or two from my pen, in a letter of mine, which, upon my salvation, I am not able to answer, or to give any good account of. At my arraignment I pleaded hard for life, and protested my innocency; but, when my own pen came against me, I was forthwith not able to speak any thing for myself; for I stood as one amazed, or that had no tongue.

See, gentlemen, the just judgment of God, who made that thing, of which I was most proud, to be my bane: take notice how strangely sin is punished, and learn every one to strive against it.

I have heard the word of God, and often read it, but without use; for I must tell you these two worthy gentlemen (to whom I am so much indebted, God reward them for their love) even they begot me very

lately, for I am not ashamed to confess that I was to be begotten unto Christ within these three days; yea, I have often prayed against sin, and made many vows to forsake it, but, upon the next occasion, my foul heart hath been ready to run with the wicked.

Had I learned but this one lesson in the hundred and nineteenth Psalm, (Depart from me, ye wicked, I will keep the commandments of my God, &c.) I had been likely to have enjoyed many days here on earth; whereas now you all see me ready to be cut short by reason of my sin.

But, O Lord, albeit thou slayest me, yet will I put my trust in thee; let the Lord do to me what he will, I will die upon this hand of trusting in him; if I fail, many a soul hath missed, but I have sure hope of mercy in him; he hath sufficed and succoured me, I am sure, ever since the sentence of death hath passed upon me; such comfort flowing from the godly endeavours of these gentlemen, the divines, that neither the reproach of this death, nor the torment of it, hath any whit discouraged me; nay, let me tell you, the last night when I heard the time was appointed, and saw the warrant in master sheriff's hand for my death, it no whit daunted me. But what put this courage into me? Only the hope which I had in God's mercies.

This hope was a seed, and this seed must come from a root; I looked upon myself, and there was rather cause to despair; and just cause that I should not approach God's presence. Thus, then, I disputed with God: this hope being a seed must have a root, and this root is not any thing in man, no, it is *præscientia*, thy foreknowledge, O God, who hast elected me from eternity.

I will tell you, I received more comfort this morning coming along the streets, than ever I did in all my life. I saw much people gathered together, all the way as I came, to see me brought to this shameful end; who, with their hearty prayers and well-wishings, gladdened and comforted my very soul; insomuch as I could wish that I had come from Westminster hither. I protest unto you, I think I could never have died so happily in my bed.

But you will say these are but speeches, and that, I being so near death, my heart cannot be so free, as I seem in my speech. I confess, there are in my breast frailties which do terrify me, and will still be busy with me; but I beseech you, when I am at the stroke of death, that you will pray to God, with me, that neither Satan's power; nor my weakness, may hinder my confidence. And I beseech God, that, amongst all who this day hear me, some may profit by my end: if I get but one soul, I shall have much comfort in that; for that one soul may beget another, and that other another.

I have held you too long, but I will draw to an end; intreating you all to join in prayer to God for me.

The Sum of his Prayer.

O LORD God omnipotent, who sittest in heaven, and seest all things which are done on earth; to whom are known all occasions of

322 THE LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER'S SPEECH, &c.

men, and who dost deride and laugh to scorn their foolish inventions; thou, Lord, who art powerful to save at an instant, bow down the heavens, and behold me (wretched sinner!) unworthy to look up, or lift up my hands unto thee. Remember not, O Lord, the sins which I have committed. Drive away this mist which is before me; and break those thick clouds which my sins have made, and may hinder my request to come into thy presence. Strengthen me in the midst of death, in the assurance of thy mercies; and give me a joyful passage into thy heavenly rest, now and for ever. Amen.

After he had thus prayed, he took his leave of all with these words :

Gentlemen, I shall see your faces now no more; and, pulling down his cap on his eyes, said some private prayer; in which time the doctors prayed, and called to him, that he would remember his assurance, and not be dismayed at the cup he was to drink of: he answered, I will drink it up, and never look what is in it. And, after a little time more spent in private prayer, he said, Lord, receive my soul; and so yielded up the ghost.

His Meditation and Vow, not long before his Death.

WHEN I considered Herod's state, who, though he heard John Baptist gladly, yet was he intangled with Herodias; and how Agrippa liked so well of Paul, as he was persuaded almost to become a Christian; and, how the young man's will was good to follow Christ, yet there was one thing wanting; methought the state of a sinful man was not unlike. So also how the angler, though having caught a fish but by the chaps, accounts it as his own; the bird taken but by the heel is a prey unto the fowler; the jailor also holds his prisoner by one joint as safe as cast in iron chains; then did I think, what do these motions good, if not effected to the full? What though not notoriously evil, one sin sufficeth to condemn; and, is he guilty of all that is guilty of one? Then said I unto the Lord, I will freely cleanse my ways, and wash my hands in innocency; I will take heed that I offend not with my tongue. Lord, let my thoughts be such as I may always say, Try and examine me if there be any unrighteousness in me.

SIR GERVASE ELLWIS.

A

TRUE AND STRANGE DISCOURSE

OF THE

TRAVELS OF TWO ENGLISH PILGRIMS:

What admirable Accidents befell them in their Journey towards Jerusalem, Gaza, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, and other places. Also, what rare Antiquities, Monuments, and notable Memories (according with the ancient Remembrances in the holy Scriptures) they saw in Terra Sancta, or the Holy Land; with a perfect description of the Old and New Jerusalem, and Situation of the Countries about them. A Discourse of no less Admiration, than well worth the regarding:

Written by Henry Timbertake.

London, Printed by Nicholas Okes. MDCXVI.

What recommends this tract, is the plainness and impartiality, which the reader will justly recommend, when he has read it throughout; as well as the subject, on which it is wrote. For he gives an exact journal of his journey, from Grand Cairo, to Jerusalem, with several curious observations in his way, and a particular account of the toll or tribute, to be paid by all travellers at stated places. He describes the power of the Romish friars, which are settled at Jerusalem; and gives an instance of their inveterate hatred to protestants, in his own person; then he proceeds to shew the ceremonies used by these friars, to purify the Pilgrims, before they are admitted to visit the Holy Places; and without the superstition of a bigot, who believes all, upon the credit of the reporter, he gives you an honest account of every individual place, and relick, which those friars shew, and recommend to the devotion of such as go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Besides, his topographical description of Jerusalem, and the adjacent villages and places, is most accurate, and conveyed the more sensibly to our understandings, as compared with the distances of certain towns and villages from London; so that this little piece may justly be esteemed one of the best, if not the first protestant account of the Holy Land; and from which, I dare venture to say, most others that have wrote since, on the same subject, have been supplied with those particulars of greatest certainty, that grace their journals.

ALTHOUGH it passes as a general proverb, that travellers may tell leasings by authority; yet I being no way daunted by that bugbear thunderbolt, but confidently standing on the justice of my cause; my kind commendations to all you my dear friends first remembered, thus from Jerusalem, I begin to salute you. You shall understand,

that since my departure from Grand Cairo, towards the Holy Land, I wrote you a letter from Rama. (This Rama is a place, where the voice was heard of Rachel, weeping for her children) wherein I certified you of all my proceedings, from Grand Cairo, even to that very place. I sent it, with seven other letters beside, to Damasco in a caravan, from thence to be conveyed to Constantinople: But doubting, lest the said packet is not as yet come to your hands, I thought good to write you, concerning all my aforesaid proceedings; as also the rest of my voyage to Jerusalem, with my imprisonment, and troubles in the city, and what memorable antiquities I saw there, and elsewhere, until my return back to Alexandria.

First, you shall know, that I departed not from Grand Cairo, till the ninth of March, upon which day I came to the place, where (it is said) the Virgin Mary did stay * with our Saviour, Christ: So far was I accompanied by Anthony Thorpe, and four others, that went to Grand Cairo with me, but there left me, departing back to the city; and I, with my fellow-traveller, Master John Burrell, both of us being in our pilgrims habits, came that night to a town called Canko, where we were glad to take up our lodging in a yard, having no other bedding than the bare ground. The next day we departed thence, and came to a town in the land of Goshen, where we met with a company of Turks, Jews, and Christians, and some seven-hundred and fifty camels, all which were bound for Damasco, over the desarts; yet were there amongst them two and twenty Greeks and Armenians, whose purposed travel lay to Jerusalem, which made us the gladder of their company. At this town, being named Philbits, we staid two days and one night; in which time, I went into a house, where I saw a very strange secret of hatching of chickens, by artificial heat, or warmth: the like I had seen before at Grand Cairo, but not in such extraordinary numbers or multitudes as here; the manner whereof I will declare as followeth: The country people inhabiting about this town, four or five miles distant, every way, bring their eggs in apt carriages for the purpose, upon asses or camels, to this place, where there is an oven, or furnace, purposely kept temperately warm, and the furner or master thereof standeth ready at a little door, to receive the eggs of every one; by tale; unless that when the number arises so high (as to ten camels loading or more) then he filleth a measure by tale, and after that order, measures all the rest. And I tell you this for a truth, that I saw there received by the furner, cook, or baker, in one day, by tale, and by measure, the number of thirty-five, or forty thousand eggs; and they told me, that for three days space together, he doth nothing, but still receive in eggs, and at twelve days end, they come again to fetch chickens, sometimes at ten days, and sometimes (but not very often) at seven days, according as the weather falleth out. Perhaps, some two hundred persons are owners of one rangeful, some having two-thousand, some one; or more, or less, as the quantities amount to: The furner noteth the names and portions of every bringer; and if he chanceth to have a hundred and fifty-thousand, or two-hundred thou-

* When they fled into Egypt.

sand, at one heat (as many times it chanceth that he bath) yet doth he mingle them all together, not respecting to whom they severally belong. Then he layeth them, one by one, upon his range, so near as they can lie, and touch each other; having first made a bed for them, of camel's dung burnt; and the place, whereon the ashes do rest, is of a very thin matter made of earth, but mixed with the camels-dung in the making, and some pigeons-dung amongst it; yet herein consisteth not the secret only; for there is a concave, or hollow place, about three feet breadth, under it, whereon is likewise spread another layer of camels-dung, and under that is the place, where the fire is made. Yet can I not rightly call it fire, because it appeareth to be nothing but embers; for I could not discern it, but to be like ashes, yielding a temperate heat to the next concave, and the heat being resisted by the layer of dung next it (which dung being green, and laid upon pieces of withered trees) delivereth forth an extraordinary vapour, and that vapour entereth the hollow concave, next under the eggs, where, in time, it pierceth the aforesaid mixed earth, which toucheth the ashes, whereon the eggs are laid, and so serveth as a necessary receptacle for all the heat coming from underneath. This artificial heat, gliding through the embers, whereon the eggs lie, doth by degrees warm through the shells, and so infuseth life by the same proportions of heat; thus, in seven, eight, nine, ten, or sometimes twelve days, life continueth by this artificial means. Now when the furner perceiveth life to appear, and that the shells begin to break, then he beginneth to gather them; but of a hundred-thousand, he hardly gathers three-score-thousand, sometimes but fifty-thousand, and sometimes (when the day is over cast) not twenty-thousand; and if there chance any lightning, thunder, or rain, then, of a thousand, he gathers not one; for then they all miscarry and die. And this is to be remembered withal, that be the weather never so fair, the air perfect clear, and every thing as themselves can desire, and let the chickens be hatched in the best manner, that may be, yet have they either a claw too much, or too little: For sometimes they have five claws, sometimes six, some but two before, and one behind, and seldom, very few or any in their right shape. Afterwards, when the people come to receive their eggs, that before had brought them in, the furner gives to every one rateably, according as the furnace yieldeth, reserving to himself the tenth for his labour. Thus have you the secret of hatching eggs, by heat artificial, at the town of Philbits in the land of Goshen, which I think were in vain to be practised in England, because the air there is hardly ten days together clarified, neither is there any camels-dung, though they have dung of other beasts, every way as hot; therefore, when the sun is in Cancer, Leo, or Virgo, you may, if you please, try what may be done. Perhaps some will think this to be a lye, or fable; but to such I answer, I can urge their credence no further than my faith and truth can persuade them: And if thereon they will not believe me, let them take pains to make their own eyes a witness, and when they have paid as dearly as I have done (for the sight of this and other things cost me an hundred marks in fifty days) their judgments will be better confirmed.

But now to my journey towards the deserts of Arabia, which I was of force to pass, before I could come to the Holy Land. Then we departed from the town of Philbits, travelling all night in company with the Caravan of Damasco, and the fourteenth at nine of the clock, we pitched our tents at Baharo, in the land of Goshen. From thence we departed that night, and the fifteenth at night, we pitched at Salbia, which is to the eastward of the land of Goshen, and stands on the borders of the Arabian desarts; there we staid two days for fear of the wild Arabs, and departed thence the seventeenth. We passed that night over a great bridge, under which the salt-water standeth. This water comes out of the sea from the parts of Damietta, and by men's hands, was cut out of that place, some hundred and fifty miles into the main land, by Ptolomeus, King of Egypt, who purposed to bring the Red-sea, and the Mediterranean, all into one: But when he foresaw, that if he had gone through with his work, all his country had been quite drowned, he gave it over, and built a bridge there to pass over. This place parteth Arabia and Egypt; and no sooner had we passed this bridge, but we were set upon by the wild Arabs; and, notwithstanding our great company (for we were more than a thousand persons) a camel, loaden with callicoes, was taken from us, four of our men hurt, and one of them mortally wounded; and the Arabs ran away with the prey, we being unable to help it, because it was night. The next day we pitched by a well of brackish water: But I forgot to tell you, that my fellow-pilgrim, Mr. John Burrell, escaped very narrowly in the last night's bickering; there we rested ourselves till three of the clock in the afternoon, which they called Lasara; for the Arabians and Egyptians divide the day into four parts: Then we departed, and pitched the next morning at a castle in the desarts, called Carga, which is one of the three castles which the Turks keep in the desarts, to defend all travellers from the wild Arabs: Therefore, there we paid a certain tax, which was sixty pieces of silver*, of two pence a piece value, for each man or boy, and seventy-six pieces † for a camel loaden, and fourteen‡ for a mule; having paid this imposition, we departed, and pitched again the nineteenth, at another brackish well: From whence setting onward, we pitched the twentieth of March, at the second castle, called Arris, kept also by the Turks, in the said desarts, where our tax was but twenty pieces of silver|| for each passenger, and thirty § for a camel. From thence we were guided by many soldiers to the third castle, called Raphael, making one long journey of twenty-four hours together. Here, it is said, the Kings of Egypt and Judea fought many great battles; which, to me, seemed very unlikely, because there is nothing to relieve an army withal, except sand and salt-water.

There we paid ten pieces ¶ every passenger, and twenty for a beast. So departing thence,, the twenty-second in the morning, we pitched at Gaza, in Palestine, a goodly fruitful country, and there we were quitted

* Value ten shillings English.

† Two shillings and four pence.

‡ Five shillings.

§ Twelve shillings and eight pence.

|| Three shillings and four pence.

¶ One shilling and eight pence.

of all the deserts. In this town, I saw the place where (as they told us) Sampson pulled down the two pillars, and slew the Philistines: and surely it appears to be the same town, by reason of the situation of the country. There we paid twenty-two pieces* for each beast, and ten † for each passenger. From thence we departed, and pitched at a place called, in Arabian, Canvie; but, by the Christians, called Beersheba, being upon the borders of Judea, where we paid but two pieces ‡ of silver each one, and four || for a beast. Departing thence, the twenty-third in the morning we pitched, our tents upon a green close, under the walls of Ramoth §, in Gilead: There I staid all the day, and wrote eight letters for England, by the forenamed caravan, which went for Damasco, to be conveyed to Constantinople, and so for England. The next day, being the twenty fourth, in the morning, I, with other Christians, set towards Jerusalem, and the great caravan went their way for Damasco; but we pitched short that night, at a place called, in Arabian, Cudechelanib, being sixteen miles from Hebron, where the sepulchre of our father Abraham is, and five little miles from Jerusalem. From thence we, departing in the morning, being our Lady-day in Lent, and nine of the clock before noon, I saw the city of Jerusalem, when kneeling down, and saying the Lord's Prayer, I gave God most hearty thanks for conducting me thither, to behold so holy a place with my eyes, whereof I had read so often before. Coming within a furlong of the gates, I, with my companion, Mr. John Burrell, went singing and praising God, till we came to the west gate of the city, and there we staid, because it was not lawful for a Christian to enter unadmitted. My companion advised me to say I was a Greek, only to avoid going to mass: But I, not having the Greek tongue, refused so to do, telling him even at the entry of the gate, that I would neither deny my country nor religion: Whereupon, being demanded who we were, Mr. John Burrell (answering in the Greek tongue) told them that he was a Greek, and I an Englishman. This gave him admittance to the Greek patriarch; but I was seized on, and cast in prison, before I had staid a full hour at the gate, for the Turks flatly denied, that they had ever heard either of my Queen ¶ or country, or that she paid them any tribute. The Pater** Guardian, who is the defender of all Christian pilgrims (and the principal procurer of my imprisonment, because I did not offer myself under his †† protection, but confidently stood to be rather protected under the Turk, than the Pope) made the Turk so much my enemy, that I was reputed to be a spy, and so by no means could I be released from the dungeon.

Now give me the favour to tell you, how it pleased God, the very day, to deliver me, and grant me ~~pass~~ as a protestant, without yielding to any other ceremony, than carriage of a wax candle only, far beyond my expectation. Here let me remember you, that when I staid at Ramoth in Gilead, where I wrote the eight letters for England, by the caravan of Damasco, having so good leisure, I went to a fountain to wash my foul linnen, and being earnest about business, suddenly there

* Three shillings and eight pence.

† One shilling and eight pence.

‡ Four pence.

§ Eight pence.

¶ Or Rama.

|| Elisabeth.

** i. e. Father or chief of the friars settled in that city.

†† Romish.

came a Moor unto me, who taking my cloaths out of my hand, and calling me by my name, said he would help me.

You doubt not, but this was some amazement to me, to hear such a man call me by my name, and in a place so far distant from my friends, country, and acquaintance: Which he perceiuing, boldly thus spake in the Frank * tongue, Why, Captain, I hope you have not forgot me, for it is not yet forty days since you set me a land at Alexandria, with the rest of those passengers you brought from Algier, in your ship, called the Trojan? And here is another in this caravan, whom you likewise brought in company with you, that would not be a little glad to see you. I demanded of him, if he dwelt there? He answered me, No; saying, that he and his fellow were going in that caravan to Damasco (which place they call Sham) and from thence to Bagdad, which we call Babylon, and from thence to Meccha, to make a Hadgee, for so they are called, when they have been at Meccha: Moreover, he told me, that he dwelt in the city of Fesse, in Barbary.

This man, in my mind, God sent to be the means of my immediate delivery: For, after I had taken good notice of him, I well remembered that I saw him in my ship; though one man, among three hundred, is not very readily known: For so many I brought from Algier, into those parts, of different nations; as Turks, Moors, Jews, and Christians: I desired this man to bring me to the sight of his other companion, which, (having washed my linnen) he did, and him I knew very readily. These two concluded, that the one of them would depart thence with the caravan, and the other go along with me to Jerusalem, which was the Moor before remembered: And such kind care had the infidel of me, that he would not leave me unaccompanied in this strange land: Which I cannot but impute to God's especial providence for my deliverance out of prison, or else I had been left in a most miserable case.

When this Moor saw me thus imprisoned in Jerusalem, my dungeon being right against the sepulchre of Christ, albeit he wept, yet he bade me be of good comfort, and went to the bashaw † of the city, and to the Saniake ‡, before whom he took his oath, that I was a mariner of a ship, which had brought two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Turks and Moors into Egypt, from Algier and Tunis, their journey being unto Meccha.

This Moor (in regard he was a Musselman) prevailed so well with them, that, returning with six Turks back to prison, he called me to the door, and there said unto me, that, if I would go to the house of the Pater Guardian, and yield myself under his protection, I should be enforced to no religion but mine own, except it were to carry a candle; to the which I willingly condescended.

So, paying the charges of the prison, I was presently delivered, and brought to the Guardian's monastery, where the Pater, coming tome, took me by the hand, and bade me welcome, marvelling I would so much err from Christianity, as to put myself rather under the Turks,

* That is, in a mixed kind of speech, used among sailors, that get a smattering of every tongue where they come.

Turkish governor.

† Or, chief justice.

than his protection: I told him, what I did was, because that I would not go to mass, but keep my conscience to myself: He replied, that many Englishmen had been there, but, being Catholicicks, went to mass, telling the Turks at the gate's entrance, that they were Frenchmen, for the Turks know not what you mean by the word Englishman; advising me further, that, when any of my countrymen undertook the like travel, at the gates of Jerusalem they should term themselves either Frenchmen or Britons, because they are well known to the Turks.

This, or such like conference, passed between us; and further he asked me, how old our Queen's Majesty was, and what was the reason she gave nothing to the maintenance of the holy sepulchre, as well as other kings and princes did? with divers other frivolous questions: Whereto I answered accordingly. This day being spent even to twilight, Mr. John Burrel, who passed as a Greek, without any trouble, came in unto us, being nevertheless constrained to this monastery, or else he might not stay in the city; for such sway do the Papists carry there, that no Christian stranger can have admittance there, but he must be protected under them, or not enter the city. Mr. Burrel and I being together in the court of the monastery, twelve fat-fed friars came forth unto us, each of them carrying a wax candle burning, and two spare candles beside, the one for Mr. Burrel, and the other for me. Another friar brought a great bason of warm water, mingled with roses, and other sweet flowers, and a carpet being spread on the ground, and cushions in chairs set orderly for us, the Pater Guardian came and set us down, giving each of us a candle in our hands; then came a friar and pulled off our hose, and (setting the bason on the carpet) washed our feet.

So soon as the friar began to wash, the twelve friars began to sing, continuing so till our feet were washed; which being done, they went along singing, and we, with the Guardian, came to a chapel in the monastery, where one of them began an oration in form of a sermon, tending to this effect: How meritorious it was for us to visit the Holy Land, and see those sanctified places where our Saviour's feet had trod.

The sermon being ended, they brought us unto a chamber, where our supper was prepared; there we fed somewhat fearfully, in regard the strange cats have as strange qualities; but, committing ourselves to God, and their outward-appearing Christian kindness, we fell to heartily, supped very bountifully, and after (praising God) were lodged decently. Thus much for my first entertainment in Jerusalem, which was the 25th of March, 1601, being our Lady-day in Lent.

Now follows what the friars afterward shewed me, being thereto appointed by the Pater Guardian. Early the next morning we arose, and, having saluted the Pater Guardian, he appointed us seven friars and a trouchman; so forth we went to see all the holy places in the city, which were to be seen, except those in *Sepulchra Sancta**; for that required a whole day's work afterward; and at every place where we came, we kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer.

* Or, Holy sepulchre

The first place of note, that the friars shewed us, was the place judicial, next the house of *Veronica Sancta* *; and demanding of them what saint that was, they told me it was she that did wipe our Saviour's face, as he passed by in his agony.

Descending a little lower in the same street, they shewed me the way which our Saviour Christ went to be crucified, called by them *Via Dolorosa* †.

Then, on the right hand, in the same street, I was shewn the house of the rich glutton, at whose gate poor despised Lazarus lay.

Holding on our way down this street, we came to a turning passage, on the left hand, whence they told me Simon Cyrenus ‡ was coming towards the Dolorous Way, when the soldiers, seeing him, called him, and compelled him, against his will, presently to help our Saviour to carry his cross.

Then they told me, that in that same place the people wept, when Christ, answering, said unto them, Oh daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, &c. ||

Next they shewed me the church where the Virgin Mary fell into an agony, when Christ passed by, carrying his cross §.

Afterward they brought me to Pilate's Palace, which, though it be all ruinated, yet is there an old arch of stone, which is still maintained by the Christians, and, it standing full in the highway, we passed under it; much like the way or passage under Mr. Hammon's house in the Bulwark, but that the arch is higher; for, upon that arch, is a gallery which admitteth passage, over our heads, from one side of the street to the other; for Pilate's palace extendeth over the highway on both sides, and Pilate had two great windows in the said gallery, to gaze out both ways into the street, as Mr. Hammon hath the like advantage at both his windows.

Into this gallery was our Saviour brought when he was shewn unto the Jews, and they, standing below in the street, heard the words, *Ecce Homo* ¶. A little from this place, is the foot of the stairs where our Saviour did first take up his cross. Then they brought me to the place where the Virgin Mary was conceived, and born, which is the church of St. Anne, and no Turkish church. Next they shewed me the pool ** where Christ cleansed the lepers, and then, guiding me to St. Stephen's gate, a little within it, upon the left hand, they shewed me the stone wherewith St. Stephen was stoned. From hence I saw the stairs going up to Port Area, at which port there are divers relicks to be seen; it was the east gate of the temple which Solomon built upon Mount Moria, in which temple was the place of *Sanctum Sanctorum* ††; but now in that place is built a goodly great church, belonging to the Turks.

Thus spent I the second day, being the 26th day of March, all within the gates of Jerusalem, except my going to see the stone wherewith St. Stephen was stoned. The next day being the 27th, having

* Or, St. Veronica. † Or, the dolorous or mournful way. ‡ Simon of Cyrene, Matt. xxvii. 32.
 † Luke xxiii. 26. † This is unscriptural, or a Monkish invention. ¶ Behold the man.
 ** Of Siloam. †† The Holy of Holies.

done our duty to God, and the Pater Guardian, we hired asses for the friars and the trouchman to ride on, and, going forth the city gates, we mounted, and rode directly towards Bythinia *.

By the way as we rode, they shewed me the place of the fruitless fig-tree, which Christ cursed: Next, the castle of Lazarus, that Lazarus whom Christ loved so well; for his house or castle was in Bythinia, but it was utterly ruinated, and nothing to be seen but the two sides of the wall.

In the same town they shewed me the house of Mary Magdalen, but so ruinated, that nothing is left of it but a piece of a wall: There I saw likewise Martha's house, consisting of three pieces of a wall; and thence they brought me to the stone where the two sisters told Christ that Lazarus was dead; from whence, passing on, they shewed me the place where our Saviour raised Lazarus from death, after he had lain three days in the ground, and where he was buried afterward, when he died.

This place hath been notably kept from the beginning, and is repaired still by the Christians; but yet in poor and very bare sort: And this is all that I saw in Bythinia.

From hence we rode unto Mount Olivet, and, passing by Bethphage, they brought me to the place where our Saviour took the ass and colt when he rode to Jerusalem, upon Palm Sunday. Riding through Bethphage directly north, we came to the foot of Mount Olivet, where they shewed me the place *Benedicta* of the Virgin Mary's annunciation; and, ascending to the top of the mount, we saw the place of our Saviour's ascension; at the sight whereof we said our prayers, and were commanded withal to say five *Pater-nosters* *, and five *Ave-Marys* †; but we said the Lord's Prayer, took notice of the place, and departed. This is the very highest part of Mount Olivet, and hence may be discerned many notable places; as, first, west from it is the prospect of the new city of Jerusalem; south-west from it, may be seen the prospect of Mount Sion, which is adjoining to New Jerusalem; also in the valley between Sion and the mount, whereon I stood, I saw the brook Cedron, the pool Siloam, the garden wherein our Saviour prayed, the place where afterwards he was betrayed, and divers other notable things in this valley of Gethsemane; as, the tomb of Absolom, King David's son, the tomb of Jehoshaphat, and others, which I will speak of when I come to them.

Full south from Mount Olivet, I could see the places we came last from, as all Bythinia and Bethphage; also, east-north-east from this mount, may be seen both the river of Jordan, which is about fifteen miles off, and Jericho, which is not far, because it is to the westward of Jordan.

From Mount Olivet east and east-south-east, may be seen the lake of Sodom and Gomorrha, which is about an hundred miles long, and eight over; all these places I set with the compass, when I was on Mount Olivet; for I staid on the top of it about two hours and an half, having a little compass about me.

* i. e. Bethany.

† Or, the Lord's Prayer five times.

‡ Or, Hail Mary's, a prayer to the Virgin Mary, used by Papists.

Descending hence towards the foot westward, we came to a place where the friars told me, that a woman, called St. Pelagia, did penance there in the habit of a friar; whereat I smiling, they demanded, why I did so? I answered, that to believe Pelagia was a saint stood out of the compass of the creed; they told me, when I should come home at night, they would shew me sufficient authors for it; but, when I came home, I had so much to do in writing my notes out of my table-book, that I had not leisure to urge their authors for St. Pelagia.

By this time they brought us to the place where our Saviour did foresee the judgment; then where he made the *Pater Noster**, and then where the apostles made the Creed*.

From hence we came to the place where Christ wept for Jerusalem, and from thence to the place where the Virgin Mary gave the girdle to St. Thomas*, and then to the place where she prayed for St. Stephen*. All these last were coming down Mount Olivet, towards the valley of Gethsemane, where by the way we came to our Lady's church, wherein is her sepulchre*, and the sepulchre of her husband Joseph*, with the sepulchre of Anna*, and many others in that church.

This church standeth at the foot of Mount Olivet, and was built, as they say, by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great; here the friars went into the Virgin Mary's sepulchre, and there either said mass or prayers, while we in the mean time went to dinner.

In this church is a fountain of exceeding fine water, and in regard we went down into a vault, as it were, it giveth a marvellous loud eccho or sound.

Hence we went to the cave whither Judas came to betray Christ, when he was at prayer, and thence to the garden where our Saviour left his disciples, commanding them to watch and pray, but found them sleeping at his return; then they brought me to the garden where Christ was taken; and all these last three were in the valley of Gethsemane. Riding unto the town (whereof the valley bears the name) on the left hand I saw the before-mentioned sepulchres of Absolom and Jehoshaphat, and on the right hand the brook Cedron, which, at my being there, had not one drop of water in it; for, indeed, it is but a ditch to convey the water to the two hills (I mean Mount Olivet and Mount Sion) when any store of rain falleth. And this ditch, or brook, Cedron, is in the valley between both those hills.

Hard by the brook Cedron, they shewed me a stone, marked with the feet and elbows of Christ, in their throwing of him down when they took him, and ever since, say they †, have those prints remained there.

Fram thence we rode to the place where St. James the younger did hide himself, and afterwards was buried there. There also they shewed where Zechariah, the son of Barachiah, was buried, and brought me to another place, where, they say, the Virgin Mary used often to pray.

Then came we to the pool of Siloam, wherein Mr. Burrel and I washed ourselves, and hence we were shewn the place where the prophet

* According to the Monkish traditions.
but the monks and friars, that are now in possession, and contrive all means to pick the pockets of the devout and credulous.

† Not the scriptures, nor any good author;

Isaiah was sawn in pieces; thence they guided us to an exceeding deep well, where the Jews, as they say, hid the holy fire in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

Here we ascended from the valley to a hill-side, which lieth just south from Mount Sion, but there is a great valley between, called Gehennon, and there they shewed me the place where the apostles hid themselves, being a cave in a rock. Ascending higher hence, they brought me to the field, or rather to be more rightly termed the rock, where the common burial place is for strangers, being the very same, as they say, which was bought with the thirty pieces of silver, that Judas received as the price of his master, which place is called *Aceldama* *, and is fashioned as followeth: It hath three holes above, and on the side there is a vent; at the upper holes they let down the dead bodies, to the estimation of about fifty feet down.

In this place I saw two bodies, new or very lately let down, and looking down, (for by reason of the three great holes above, where the dead bodies lie, it is very light) I received such a savour into my head, that it made me very sick, so that I was glad to intreat the friars to go no further, but to return home to the city.

So here we went through the valley of Gehennon, and at the foot of Mount Sion, having a little bottle of water which I brought from the pool Siloam, I drank, and rested there an hour's space, eating a few raisins and olives, which we brought with us from Jerusalem in the morning.

After I had well rested and refreshed myself, we began to ascend Mount Sion, and, a little way up the hill, they shewed me the place where Peter, having denied Christ, and hearing the cock crow, went out and wept.

Ascending higher, they shewed me the house where the Virgin Mary dwelt, which was near unto the temple; then they brought me to the place where, the Jews setting on the blessed Virgin Mary to take her, she was conveyed away by miracle.

Hence we went to the house of Caiphas, which was somewhat higher upon Mount Sion, and there I saw the prison wherein our Saviour was detained. Passing on still higher, they guided me to a little chapel, which is kept by the Armenians, whereinto entering, at the high altar, they shewed me the stone, which was upon our Saviour's sepulchre, as they say, and it is near to the place where Peter denied Christ; for there they shewed me the pillar whereon the cock stood when he crowed.

Hence was I brought to the place where our Saviour made his last supper, and thence I came where the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles; whence passing on, they shewed me the place where Christ appeared to his disciples, the eighth day after his resurrection, where St. Thomas desired to see his wounds.

Near to this place upon Mount Sion, the Virgin Mary died, and, hard by, they shewed me a place bought by the Pope of the Turks, for the burial of the European Christians; because he would not have

* Or, Field of blood.

them cast into Aceldama; they told us, the year before five Englishmen were buried in that place, whether by the friars poisoning them, or howsoever else it happened; but we thought it strange, that all five should die together in one week. Thence came we to the house of Annas the high priest, which is now but a pair of very old walls, and nothing else of it to be seen; but at the side of one of the walls is an old olive-tree, whereto, they told me, that our Saviour was fast bound; and demanding a further reason thereof, they said, that when he was brought unto his house, Annas being asleep, his people would not awake him; so, during their time of stay, they bound him to the said olive-tree, and when he awaked, then he was brought in and examined.

Departing hence, towards the south-gate of the city, which standeth likewise upon Mount Sion, we alighted from our asses, and entering, I noted it well; for I had seen three of the four gates.

And, being desirous to see the north-gate also, they brought me to the church of St. Thomas, which is within the wall all ruined; then to the church of St. Mark, where Peter came, being delivered out of prison, by the angel that broke open the gate. Then they shewed me the house of Zebedeus, whence we came to the place kept by the Abassenes*; and there, ascending first by a dark way, led on by a line or cord, we attained to a high place, near to the *Sepulchra Sancta*, where I paid two pieces† of silver to go in, and, being entered, I demanded what place it was? The same, say they, where Abraham would have sacrificed his son Isaac.

Thence went we to the prison where St. Peter and St. John were, being the next door to the prison wherein I was put before; which made me the sorer, that it was not my fortune to have gone into it, being so near it.

Hence we came to the north-gate, being on Mount Calvary side, where having well viewed the gate, and perceiving it waxed late, we went directly home. This was my third day's work, in and about Jerusalem, wearied not a little with often alighting to pray, for, at each several place before recounted, we dismounted and said the Lord's Prayer on our knees.

On the morrow, being the twenty-eighth day, early in the morning, we took our asses, riding forth at the west-gate, through which I first entered, and, passing on to the southward, we left Mount Sion on the left hand; at the foot whereof they shewed me the house of Uriah, and the fountain where Bathsheba washed herself at, when King David espied her out of his turret.

Thence went we to the place where the angel took up Habakkuk, by the hair of the head, to carry meat to Daniel, in the lions den. Next came we to the place where the wise men found the star when it was lost, and then where the Virgin Mary rested herself under a tree, as she came from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, which tree they still repair, by setting another close to the root of it.

Hence rode we to the house of Elias the prophet, where they shewed me his usual place of sleeping; and his house standeth so upon a hill, as from thence I did see Bethlehem afar off.

* A sort of Eastern Christians, settled in the land of Prester John.

† Four-pence.

Thence we went to an old ruinated house, which they told me was Jacob's; which may the better appear to be so, for, in the field thereto adjoining, is the tomb of Rachel, Jacob's wife; and about two miles from this tomb is a town in the same field, called Bethesula, the inhabitants whereof are all Christians.

In this great field, being between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, did lie the camp of Senacherib, when he besieged Jerusalem. From hence we rode to the field, where the angels brought tidings of great joy to the shepherds, which is two miles from Bethlehem; and thence we rode to Bethlehem to the monastery, wherein were about ten friars; who welcomed me very kindly, and brought me first into a great church, then into a large entry, wherein I saw the name of Mr. Hugo Stapers twice set, one above another, and between them both I set my name.

Then they guided me down the stairs into a vault, where was a chapel set in the place of our Saviour's nativity, inclosing both it and the manger wherein Christ was laid, and also the place where he was presented with gifts by the wise men.

Over this chapel is a great church, built by Queen Helena, mother to Constantine the Great, as they say, and further, I saw divers tombs of holy men and others.

Going up to the top of the church, I saw, upon the leads, the name of Mr. Hugo Stapers again engraven, which made me look the more earnestly for some other Englishmen's names; but, finding none, I engraved down my name, and came away; then we went and dined with the friars.

After dinner, they brought me to a place where the Virgin Mary hid* herself, when search was made to kill the children.

So taking my leave of Bethlehem, giving the friars three pieces of gold for my dinner, and my company with me, being eight in number, mounting on our asses, we rode to the well, where King David's three captains fetched water for him, through the whole host of the Philistines; which standeth a little way from Bethlehem, towards Jerusalem, and hath three places to draw water up.

Hence went we presently back to Jerusalem, entering the gate at four of the clock in the afternoon, and at five the Turks let us into the *Sepulchra Sancta*, each of us paying nine pieces of gold for our entrance.

No sooner were we in, but they locked the gates; so there I staid till eleven of the clock the next day, and then came forth. Now follows what I saw in *Sepulchra Sancta*: First, I noted hanging without the gate, at the least, an hundred lines and strings, and in the gate is a great hole, whereat a little child may easily creep in; whereof demanding the reason, they told me the hole served to give victuals at, for them which lie within the church, which are above three hundred persons, men and women, all Christians; and there they live continually night and day, and can have no passage in or out, but when the Turks do open the gate for some pilgrim; which happeneth not sometimes in

* This is contrary to scripture, which assures us, that Joseph, being warned of an angel, took Mary and the child Jesus, and fled into Egypt, before search was made, by Herod's order, to kill the infants.

fourteen days: Wherefore, these Christian legiers in the church have there their whole household, and boarded lodgings there builded for them.

The strings before spoken of, hanging at the gate, have each one a bell, fastened at the lodgings, and when their servants, which are without, bring them any meat, each rings the bell belonging to his household, and so come accordingly, each knowing his own bell, for receipt of their food. The several sorts of Christians, which I saw in this church, I will in order describe unto you.

First, the Romans*, for they bear the greatest sway of all. Secondly, the Greeks†, for they be next in number to the Romans, yet little better than slaves to the Turk. Thirdly the Armenians‡, who have been so long time servants to the Turks, that, having forgotten their own language, they use all their ceremonies in the Arabian tongue, and so I heard them. The fourth sort of Christians are Nestorians§, who are as slaves to the Turk, and have no other language¶ than the Arabian. The fifth are the Abassenes, being people of the land of Prester John. The sixth are the Jacobines¶, that are circumcised Christians, but slaves likewise and servants to the Turk.

All these, Christians in name, have bought of the Turk their several places in the church, and by-rooms for ease, being never fewer in number, of all these six sorts, than two hundred and fifty, or three hundred, continually there lying, and praying after their manner.

The places where they ordinarily use to go, and say their devotions, are thus, as I describe them, and as the Roman friars brought me to them:

First, The pillar whereat our Saviour was whipped.

Secondly, the place where he was imprisoned, while they were preparing or making his cross.

Thirdly, Where the soldiers divided his garments.

Fourthly, Where the cross was found by Queen Helena, which is at the foot of Mount Calvary, and hard by it is the chapel of the said Queen Helena.

Fifthly, The place where Christ was crowned with thorns; which I could not see, till I was glad to give the Abassenes that kept it two pieces of silver**.

Sixthly, The place where, the cross being laid along on the ground, our Saviour was nailed fast unto it.

Seventhly, The place on the top of Mount Calvary, where the cross stood when he suffered.

* Viz. Papists.

† Christians of the Greek church, who deny the Pope's supremacy, &c.

‡ The Christians that live in the territories of Armenia.

§ Christians, so called from Nestorius, Bishop and Patriarch of Constantinople, in the fifth century; who taught, that the two natures in Christ were united only in a mystical and moral manner. They are very numerous in the east, especially in Mesopotamia, and along the Tigris and Euphrates. Their Patriarch is generally seated at Mosul, which is the ancient Seleucia.

¶ i. e. Use no other language in their holy offices.

¶ Or rather Jacobites. A sect of Christians, so called from one Jacob, a Syrian, in the days of the Emperor Mauricius; or from Jacob Zanzales, who flourished in 550. and hold but one nature in Jesus Christ; though they are much divided among themselves; for the Cophtes, Abassenes, and Armenians are frequently comprehended under that name. They perform divine service in the Chaldean language; and are under their own Patriarch, who resides at Caramit.

** Four-pence.

· Eighthly, The rock that rent at his crucifying, which is a thing well worth the beholding; for it is slit, like as it had been cleft with wedges and beetles, even from the top to the two-third parts downwards, as it were through the brow and breast of the rock: Nor is the rent small, but so great, in some places, that a man might easily hide himself in it, and so groweth downward less and less.

Ninthly, The place where the three Mary's anointed Christ after he was dead.

Tenthly, Where he appeared to Mary Magdalen in the likeness of a gardener.

And whence we came to the sepulchre itself, which is the last place where they use any prayers.

From whence I went to see the tombs of Baldwin and Godfrey of Bulloign: And, returning back to the sepulchre, I measured the distance between place and place, spending thus the time from five of the clock before night, when I came in, until next day at eleven of the clock, at my coming forth, writing down all things I thought note-worthy.

My companion, Mr. John Burrell, and I, being thus come forth of the church, we went to the Pater Guardian to dinner, where we had tidings that five other Englishmen were arrived at the city gates, directing towards Aleppo. Their names were Mr. William Bedle, preacher to the English merchants, which were liegers at Aleppo: Mr. Edward Abbot, servant to the right worshipful Sir John Spencer; Mr. Jeffry Kirby, servant to the worshipful Mr. Paul Banning, and liegers for them in Aleppo: Two other young men, the one called John Elkins, and the other Jasper Tymme. These five, hearing of my being there, came all to the house, and these (though they saw not my imprisonment, nor were with me at the sight of those things, in and about Jerusalem) can witness that they were acquainted therewith at the gates, and testify the other truths beside. These men, as also my companion, Mr. John Burrell, I left behind me in Jerusalem, departing thence to see other places in the country of Palestine: But let me first tell you, what I observed in the city's situation, because I was informed, before I came to see it, that it was all ruinated, albeit (on the sight thereof) I found it otherwise, having a little compass about me, to set such places as I could easily come by.

Understand then, first of all, that the very heart of the old city was seated on Mount Sion and Mount Moria; to the north part whereof was Mount Calvary, without the gates of the old city, about a stone's cast, and no farther. But now I find this new city situated so far in the north part, that it is almost quite off Mount Sion, but yet not off Mount Moria, which was between Mount Sion and Mount Calvary, so that now, undoubtedly, the south walls of the city are placed on the north foot of the hill of Sion. The east wall, which doth confront Mount Olivet, is a great part of the ancient wall, and so, from the south-east angle north, a quarter of a mile behind Mount Calvary; so that Mount Calvary, which was, in former times, a stone's cast without the city, and the appointed place for ordinary execution, I find it to be now seated in the heart or middle of the new city.

This Mount Calvary is not so high as to be called a mount, but rather a piked, or a spired rock : For I noted the situation of it, both when I was at the top of it, and when I came to the sepulchre, the sepulchre being distant from it (I mean from the foot of it) an hundred and seventy three feet, as I measured it : Whereupon I conclude, that the place of burial, which Joseph of Arimathea made for himself, was, from the foot of Mount Calvary, an hundred and seventy three feet westward, in which place is the sepulchre of our Saviour.

The sepulchre itself is two feet and a half high from the ground, eight feet in length, and four feet broad, wanting three inches, being covered with a fair stone, of a white colour. Over the sepulchre is a chapel built, the north wall whereof is joined close with the north side of the sepulchre ; and the chapel is of like stone as the sepulchre is, consisting of fifteen feet in breadth, twenty-five feet in length, and above forty feet in height. In this chapel are always burning thirty or forty lamps, but upon festival days more, which are maintained by gifts, given at the death of Christians in Spain, Florence, and other parts, to be kept continually burning ; and the givers of these lamps have their names engraven about the upper edges of them, in letters of gold, standing in a band of gold or silver.

This chapel is inclosed with a church, and yet not it only, but therewith are circled in all the before-named holy places, viz. where Christ was whipped ; where he was in prison ; where his garments were divided ; where the cross was found ; where he was crowned with thorns ; where he was nailed on the cross ; where the cross stood when he suffered ; where the vale of the temple rent ; where the three Mary's anointed him ; where he appeared to Mary Magdalen ; and, in brief, all the most notable things, either about mount Calvary, or Joseph's field of Arimathea, are inclosed within the compass of this church, which was built by the fore-remembered Queen Helena, mother to Constantine the great, she being (as I have read in some authors) an English woman, and daughter to King Coel, that built Colchester ; which being urged to them, they denied it. I measured this church within, and found it to be four-hundred and twenty-two fathoms about ; the one side of it likewise I found to be an hundred and thirty fathoms. Thus much for mount Calvary, which is in the midst of the city now.

From the north-east angle of the city to the north-west is the shortest way of the city ; and from the north-west angle to the south-west, is as far as from the south-east to the north-east : But, from the south-west to the south-east, which is the south wall that standeth on the foot of mount Sion, I measured, and found it to be three-thousand seven-hundred and seventy-five feet, which is about three quarters of a mile. Upon this south side of the city, is a great iron gate, about which gate are laid seventeen pieces of brass ordnance : This gate is as great as the west gate of the tower of London, and exceeding strong, the walls being very thick, and on the south side fifty or sixty feet high. So much for the south wall and side of the city.

The north wall is not altogether so long, but much stronger, for on

the north side it hath been often surprised, but on the south side never; and on the east side it is impregnable, by reason of the edge of the hill which it standeth on, which is five times as high as the wall.

On the North side are twenty-five pieces of brass ordnance, near to the gate, which is of iron also; but what is in other places, as at the corners and angles, I could not come to see, and demand I durst not. The east wall, containing the gate where St. Stephen was stoned, a little without, and to this day called St. Stephen's gate, I saw but five pieces of ordnance there, and they were between the gate and the relick of Port Aurea, which is to the southward; and concerning the west side of the city, at the gate whereof I entered at my first arrival, it is very strong likewise, and hath fifteen pieces of ordnance lying near together, and all of brass. This gate is also made of iron, and this west wall is altogether as long as the east wall; but it standeth upon the higher ground; so that coming from the west, to the west wall, you can see nothing within the city but the bare wall; but upon Mount Olivet, coming towards the city, from the east, you have a very goodly prospect of the city, by reason the city standeth all on the edge of the hill.

To conclude, this city of Jerusalem is the strongest of all the cities that I have yet seen in my journey, since I departed from Grand Cairo; but the rest of the country is very easy to be entreated; yet in the city of Jerusalem are three Christians for one Turk, and many Christians in the coumptry round about, but they all live poorly under the Turk.

Now concerning how the country about Jerusalem lieth, for your more easy and perfect understanding, I will familiarly compare their several places, with some of our English native towns and villages, according to such true estimation as I here made of them. Imagine I begin with London, I mean much upon the point of distance.

The city of Bethlehem, where Christ our Saviour was born, is from Jerusalem as Wansworth * is from London; I mean much upon the point of distance †.

The plain of Mamre is from Jerusalem, as Guilford ‡ is from London; in which place, or near to it, is the city of Hebron, where our father Abraham lieth buried.

Beersheba is from Jerusalem, as Alton is from London: Ramoth Gilead is from Jerusalem, as Reading || is from London.

Gaza, which is the south-west part of Palestine, is from Jerusalem, as Salisbury § is from London.

Ascalon is from Gaza, north-east, three miles.

Joppa is from Jerusalem, as Aylesbury ¶ is from London.

Samaria is from Jerusalem, as Royston ** is from London.

The city of Nazareth is from Jerusalem, as Norwich †† is from London.

* In Surrey.

† In Berkshire, thirty miles.

** Thirty four miles.

‡ Four Miles.

§ Seventy miles.

¶ Ninety-five miles.

‡ In Surrey, twenty five miles

¶ Forty two miles.

From Nazareth to mount Tabor and Hermon, is five miles north-east; these two do stand very near together, Tabor being the greater.

From Tabor to the sea of Tiberias, is eight miles north-east.

From Jerusalem to Mount Sinai, is ten days journey, and north-east thence.

These places last spoken of (beginning at Samaria) I was not in, but the other five Englishmen that met me in Jerusalem, coming through Galilee, they came through them, and of them had I this description; they received of me likewise the description of my journey through Palestine.

The place where Christ fasted forty days and forty nights, called *Quarranto*, is from Jerusalem, as Chelmsford * is from London.

The river Jordan (the very nearest part thereof) is from Jerusalem, as Epping † is from London.

Jericho, the nearest part of the plain thereof, is from Jerusalem, as Lowton-hall ‡ (Sir Robert Wrath's house) is from London.

The lake of Sodom and Gomorrha is from Jerusalem, as Gravesend § is from London.

The river Jordan runneth into the lake, and there dieth; which is one of the greatest secrets (in my mind) in the world, that a fresh water should run continually into this salt lake, and have no issue out, but there die; and the said lake continuing still so salt, as no weight of any reasonable substance will sink into it, but fleeteth upon it, as a dead man, or beast, will never go down. And further note, that what filth soever is brought into it, by the river Jordan, or any other substance, it fleeteth continually upon the water, and being tossed thereon, by the force of the weather, in time it becometh a congealed froth, which, being cast upon the banks, and there dried by the extreme heat of the sun, becometh black, like pitch, which, in that country, is called *Bitumen*; whereof, I have brought some with me from thence. This lake is about eight or nine miles broad, and about eighty, or a hundred miles long; the length stretching from the north, where the river Jordan falleth into it, to the southward, and hath no farther issue.

The fields where the angels brought tidings unto the Shepherds, lie from Jerusalem, as Greenwich § doth from London.

Mount Olivet lieth from Jerusalem, as Bow ¶ from London.

Bethania is from Jerusalem, as Black-wall ** is from London.

Bethphage is from Jerusalem, as Milo-end †† is from London.

The Valley Gethsemane is from Jerusalem, as Ratcliff-Fields ‡‡ lie from London.

Brook Cedron is from Jerusalem, as the ditch without |||| Aldgate is from London.

Mount Zion is near adjoining to Jerusalem, as Southwark joineth §§ to London.

* In Essex, twenty-four miles.

† In Essex, thirteen miles.

‡ In Essex, eleven miles.

§ In Kent, twenty miles.

¶ In Kent, five miles.

|| Bow or Stratford, in Middlesex, two miles.

** In Middlesex, two miles and a half.

†† In Middlesex, one mile.

‡‡ In Middlesex, half a mile.

|||| Houndsditch, about sixty yards.

§§ By London Bridge.

Thus have I described the city of Jerusalem, as it is now built, with all the notable places therein, and near unto the same, and the country about it: By which comparisons, you may well understand the situation of most parts of the places near unto it: And thereby you may perceive, that it was but a small country, and a very little plot of ground, which the Israelites possessed in the land of Canaan, which, as now, is a very barren country: For that, within fifteen miles from Jerusalem, the country is wholly barren, and full of rocks, and stony: and, unless it be about the plain of Jericho, I know not any part of the country, at this present, that is fruitful: What hath been in times past, I refer you to the declaration thereof, made in the holy scriptures. My opinion is, that when it was fruitful, and a land that flowed with milk and honey, in those days God blessed it, and that as then they followed his commandments; but now, being inhabited by Infidels (that profane the name of Christ, and live in all filthy and beastly manner) God curseth it, and so it is made barren; for, it is so barren, that I could get no bread when I came near unto it; for, that one night, as I lodged short of Jerusalem, at a place called, in the Arabian tongue, Cuda Chenaleb, I sent my Moor to a house (not far from the place where we had pitched our tents) to get some bread, and he brought me word, that there was no bread there to be had; and that the man of that house did never eat bread, in all his life, but only dried dates, nor any of his household. Whereby you may partly perceive the barrenness of the country at this day; only, as I suppose, by the curse that God layeth upon the same; for that they use the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah, very much in that country; whereby the poor Christians, who inhabit therein, are glad to marry their daughters at twelve years of age, unto Christians, lest the Turks should ravish them. And, to conclude, there is not that sin in the world, but it is used there amongst those Infidels that now inhabit therein; and yet it is called Terra Sancta, and in the Arabian tongue, Cuthea, which is, the Holy Land, bearing the name only, and no more, for all holiness is clean banished from thence, by those thieves, filthy Turks and Infidels, that inhabit the same: and having my certificate sealed by the guardian, and a letter delivered unto me, to shew that I had washed myself in the river Jordan, I departed from Jerusalem, in company of the Moor, that helped to get me out of prison, leaving Mr. Edward Abbot, Jeffry Kerby, Mr. John Elkins, Jasper Tymme, and Mr. Beadle, the preacher (whom I met there by chance, not knowing of their coming) behind me in Jerusalem; and, which grieved me most, the gentleman of Middleborough, called, Mr. John Burrel, that I met withal at Grand Cairo, that had borne me company from thence to Jerusalem, forsook me there, and staid also in Jerusalem, with the other five Englishmen, and so was I left alone to the mercy of my Moor that kept me company, and never left me till I came to Grand Cairo. Now what happened unto me in my travelling from Jerusalem to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where my ship lay, I will hereafter declare.

Departing from Jerusalem, we got safely to Rama, and from thence went to Ascalon, and so to Gaza, that lieth upon the borders of the

deserts of Arabia; at one of those two places I hoped to have some passage by water, either to Alexandria, or to Damietta; but, failing thereof, I was in amaze, and knew not what to do, whether I were best to go back again to Jerusalem, or to put myself desperately into the hands of the wild Arabians, to be by them conducted to Grand Cairo; one of those two courses I must of force take, so there was no hope of passage; and yet I had another hope, but to no end, which was, that I should find passage at Joppa; and for that cause I staid at Gaza, and sent my Moor to Joppa to seek for passage, but there was none to be had. At last, considering with myself, that my haste into Egypt was great; for I had left my man Waldred in Cairo, with my stock, of one-thousand two-hundred pounds, and my ship lay in the road of Alexandria, with sixty men in her, and whether they would depart without me, or no, I knew not; for that, when I went from them to go up the river of Nilus to Cairo, I had no intent to go for Jerusalem. My business standing at that point, I was forced to this extremity, to make away all the money I had about me, and to put myself into the hands of two wild Arabians, that undertook to carry me and my Moor (without whom I durst not go) to the city of Cairo, in four days, if I would pay them twenty-four sultans of gold, when I came to the Materia, near to Cairo; and, upon that condition, they would deliver me safely there, otherwise, they said, that they would carry me prisoner with them, or else cut my throat: And so agreeing with them, by my Moor that spake for me, and withal warranted me to go safely, swearing that he would not leave me by any means; the two wild Arabians provided two good dromedaries for us to ride on, I, and the Moor, riding before, and the Arabians behind us, two upon each dromedary, and so departed from Gaza, about two of the clock in the afternoon, and rode a hard pace; those kind of beasts going so hard, that within four hours I was so weary, that I desired them to suffer me to alight down to rest me, which we did about six of the clock in the evening; and, being alighted, the Arabians tied the dromedaries two fore-feet together, as their manner is, making them kneel down; which done, we sat down to eat a few raisins and bisket, such as we carried in our alforges*: but, in the mean time, one of our dromedaries broke his strings, being but a small piece of a hasel, and ran back again towards Gaza, whereupon one of the thieves took the other dromedary, and made after him, until both he and the other, that had broke loose and ran away, were both out of our sight; then the other Arabian, that staid behind with us, ran after them, and we were left alone in the wild deserts of Arabia: At last, night approaching, and both our guides and dromedaries being gone, we were both in no small fear, what would become of us; in which case, leaving my Moor with my alforges (wherein we carried our victuals) I went up to the top of a sandy hill, not far from thence, to see if I could espy our two thieves; but I was no sooner upon the top of the hill, but I saw four wild Arabians come running towards me, from the other side of the sandy hill; which I perceiving, ran in great haste to

* Knapsack, or bag.

my Moor, yet I could not run so fast, but one of the thieves was at my heels, and, drawing out his sword, bade my Moor deliver me unto him; but the Moor made him answer, and bade him search me (for he knew well that I had nothing about me worth any thing, only my hair-cloth coat) and said further unto him, this Guaire (which is as much as to say an unbeliever) is to be conducted to Cairo in four days, by two of your companions, and therewith named them unto him; whereunto they all made answer, and said, that if it were true, they would do me no hurt, but if their companions come not again, with their dromedaries, then they would carry us away with them; but, within two hours after in the night time, my two Arabians came again with their dromedaries, and then they were all fellow thieves. And we gave them a few raisins and a little water, and so departed; and the fourth day at night, we came to a place where the Arabians had tents, and there they gave me some camels-milk, and beheld me so earnestly, as if they had never seen a white man before. From thence we departed, and the next night we came to Salhia, where, being sore shaken in my body (notwithstanding I was rolled with rollers) I was constrained to give over my dromedaries, and to get horses, which they procured there of some of their acquaintance. This dromedary is a kind of beast like unto a camel, but it has a lesser head, and a very small neck, but his legs are as long; and there is no more difference between a camel and a dromedary, than there is between a masti-dog and a greyhound; those beasts eat but little, and drink less, for they drank not as long as I was with them; and it is said, that they will not drink in eight or ten days together, but cannot abstain so long from meat. And by this you may see that I was as far in four days, as I was going in twelve days before: I think a good horse will run as fast, but not continue it; their pace is a reaching trot, but very hard and quick. From the edge of Salhia, which is upon the east side of Goshen, I took horse: But the reason, why the Arabians did grant to get me horses, was not, because they pitied me or my weariness, but for that they durst not go any nearer to the unhabited country with their dromedaries; and there one of them staid, and the other went with me to Materia, from whence I sent my Moor to Cairo, to fetch me their hire; and there I paid them, that let me the horses, six pieces of gold, and gave the two wild Arabians twenty-four pieces of gold, and therewith they delivered me in safety into the custody of my Moor, within three miles of the city Cairo, where I was welcomed by the consul and others there resident; and there I paid my honest Moor six pieces of gold, and bought divers provisions for him to furnish him in his journey to Meecha, in which journey, as he returned again, he died.

In Cairo I staid two days, and the seventh night after I came to Bullac, and there took boat, and in three days I got down the river of Nilus, to Roffetta: and there taking horse, with a Janisary, I fell into greater danger than any I had during my journey; for, between that town and Alexandria, there were divers great Janisaries, that came from Constantinople, that were newly landed at Alexandria, who, having tired their horses, would have taken our two mules from us, which my

Janisary refused them, and therewith drew out his sword; and they, to be revenged, came running to take me, and, having laid hands upon me, four of them beat me cruelly, and drove me to the passage that was hard-by, and there would have killed me; which my Janisary perceiving, and seeing that nothing could appease them but our two mules, after he had been sore wounded, he delivered them unto the other Janisaries, or else I had there been slain, after my long and weary journey, being within five miles of my ship, that lay in the road at Alexandria; and so he being sore wounded, and I well beaten, at last we got to the gates of Alexandria; but it was so late that we could not get in, but were forced to stay all that night (till the morning) upon the hard stones, and in the morning I got a-board of my ship, when I had been from it fifty days: And so I ended my pilgrimage.

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY'S VISION *:

WITH

The Ghosts of Weston, Mistress Turner, the late Lieutenant of the Tower, and Franklin.

By R. N. Oxon.

————— *In pectus insectatur & umbra.*

Printed for R. M. and T. I. 1616. Quarto, containing fifty-eight Pages.

WHEN poison (O that poison, and foul wrong,
Should ever be the subject of my song!)
Had set loud fame upon a lofty wing,
Throughout our streets with horrid voice to sing
Those uncouth tidings, in each itching ear,
How raging lust, of late, too soon did bear
That monster murder, who, once brought to light,
Did slay the man whose vision I recite:
Then did th' inconstant vulgar day by day,
Like feathers in the wind, blown every way,
Frequent the † Forum; where, in thickest throng,
I one amongst the rest did pass along

* This is the 231st article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.
† Guildhall.

To hear the judgment of the wise, and know
 That late black deed, the cause of wickie woe:
 But, from the reach of voice too far 'compell'd,
 That beast of many heads I there behold,
 And did observe how every common drudge
 Assum'd the person of an awful judge:
 Here in the hall amidst the throng one stands
 Nodding his head, and acting with his hands,
 Discoursing how the poisons swift or slow
 Did work, as if their nature he did know:
 Another here, presuming to outstrip
 The rest in sounder judgment, on his lip
 His finger lays, and winketh with one eye,
 As if some deeper plot he could descry:
 Here four or five, that with the vulgar sort
 Will not impart their matters of import,
 Withdraw and whisper, as if they alone
 Talk'd things that must not vulgarly be known;
 And yet they talk of nought from morn till noon
 But wonders, and the fellow in the Moon:
 Here some excuse that which was most amiss;
 Others do there accuse, where no crime is,
 Accusing that which they excus'd amon,
 Inconstant people, never constant known:
 Censure from lip to lip did freely fly,
 He that knew nothing with the rest would cry,
 The voice of judgment; every age shall find
 Th' ignoble vulgar cruel, mad in mind:
 The muddy spawn of every fruitless brain,
 Daub'd out in ignominious lines, did stain
 Papers in each man's hand with railing shames
 'Gainst the foul actors of these well-known crimes:
 Base wits, like barking curs, to bite at them
 Whom justice unto death shall once condemn.
 I that beheld, how whispering rumour fed
 The hungry ears of every vulgar head
 With her ambiguous voice, night being come,
 Did leave the forum and returned home;
 Where, after some repent, with grief oppress
 Of these bad days, I took me to my rest:
 And in that silent time, when sullen night
 Did hide heav'n's twinkling tapers from our sight,
 And on the earth with blackest looks did low,
 When every clock chim'd twelve, the midnight hour,
 In which imprison'd ghosts free licence have
 About the world to wander from their grave;
 When hungry wolves and wakeful dogs do howl,
 At every breach of air; when the sad owl,

On the house-top beating her baleful wings,
 And shrieking out her doleful ditty, sings
 The song of death, unto the sick that lie
 Hopeless of health, forewarning them to die :
 Just at that hour, I thought my chamber door
 Did softly open, and upon the floor
 I heard one glide along, who at the last
 Did call ad bid me wake ; at which aghast
 I up did look, and lo, a naked man *
 Of comely shape, but deadly pale and wan,
 Before me did appear, in whose sad look,
 As in the map of grief or sorrow's book,
 My eye did read such characters of woe,
 As neither painting's skill, nor pen, can show :
 With dreadful horror almost stricken dead
 At such a sight, I shrunk into my bed ;
 But the poor ghost, to let me understand
 For what he came, did waft me with his hand,
 And, sorrow's tears distilling from his eyes,
 His poison'd limbs he shew'd, and bad me rise ;
 Which fearful I, not daring disobey,
 Rose up and follow'd, while he led the way ;
 Through many uncouth ways, he led me on
 Over that Tower's fatal hill, whereon
 That scaffold stands, which e'er since it hath stood
 Hath often lick'd up treason's tainted blood :
 Thence over that same wharf, fast by whose shores
 From London's-Bridge the prince of rivers roars,
 He, in a moment's space by wond'rous power
 Transported me into that spacious Tower,
 Where, as we enter'd in, the very sight
 Of that vast building did my soul affright ;
 There did I call to mind, how, o'er that gate,
 The chamber was, where unremorseful fate,
 Did work the falls of those two † princes dead,
 Who by their foes were smother'd in their bed.
 And there I did behold that fatal green,
 Where famous Essex' woeful fall was seen :
 Where guilty Suffolk's guiltless daughter, Jane,
 The scaffold with her noble blood did stain :
 Where royal Anne her life to death resign'd,
 Whose womb did bear the ‡ praise of women kind :
 And where the last || Plantagenet did pore
 Her life out in her blood ; where many more,

* Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost.

• Edward V. and his brother Richard, Duke of York.

† Queen Elisabeth.

‡ Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, Daughter to George Duke of Clarence.

|| Richard III.

Whom law did justly, or unjustly, tax,
 Pass'd by the sentence of the bloody ax :
 And here, as one with sudden sorrow struck,
 The ghost stood still a while, with doleful look
 Fix'd on the ground, and, after sad sighs given,
 With eyes and hands up-lifted unto heaven,
 As calling them to witness of his woe,
 In sad complaint his grief he thus did show :
 Great God of Heaven, that pitiest human wrongs,
 To whom alone revenge of blood belongs ;
 Thou, that upon the wings of heaven dost ride,
 And laugh'st to scorn the man, that seeks to hide
 An Overbury's guiltless blood in dust,
 Thou know'st the pains of my impoison'd ghost ;
 When men, more changing than th' inconstant wind,
 Or do not know, or knowing, wilful blind,
 Will not behold dead Overbury's grief,
 But think his loss no more than loss of life :
 Ye friends unkind and false, that after death
 Do let your friendship vanish with the breath
 Of him that's dead, and think, since truth begun
 To try my cause, more satisfaction done
 Than all my wrongs require ; give ear, and say
 When I have told my grief, if from the day
 That man's first blood to heaven cry'd out of earth,
 For vengeance 'gainst the first man's eldest birth
 Until this time ; if man, for life so lost,
 More justly may complain, than my dead ghost.
 I was (woe's me, that I was ever so)
 Belov'd in court, first step to all my woe :
 There did I gain the grace of prince and peers,
 Known old in judgment, though but young in years ;
 And there, as in this kingdom's garden, where
 Both weeds and flowers did grow, my plant did bear
 The buds of hope, which, flow'ring in their prime
 And May of youth, did promise fruit in time :
 But lust, foul lust, did, with a hand of blood,
 Supplant my plant, and crop me in the bud :
 Yet to myself had I my counsels kept,
 Or had I drown'd my cares in rest, and slept,
 When I did break my quiet sleeps, and wait
 To serve a false friend, and advance his state,
 I had not met with this inhuman wrong,
 But might, perhaps, have happy liv'd, and long.
 Did ever fortune pinch him with constraint ?
 That little wealth I had supply'd his want :
 Did ever cares perplex his feeble brain ?
 What wit I had his weakness did sustain :
 Did ever error make him do amiss ?
 What wisdom, I had learn'd, was ever his :

My wit, my wealth, and wisdom, with good chance,
 In his great honour's may-game, led the dance.
 I do not falsely boast the gifts of mind,
 Best wits can judge; my wife I left behind,
 Unto the world, a witness may remain,
 I had no dull conceit, no barren brain:
 But as a dog, that at his prey doth aim,
 Doth only love the water for his game;
 Which once obtain'd, he playing then no more,
 Shakes off the water when he comes on shore:
 So my great friend, no friend, but my great foe,
 Safe swimming in that way which I did show,
 Thro' danger's waters after honour's game,
 Did shake me off, when I had gain'd the same.
 Vain man, too late thou dost repent my wrong;
 That huge great sail of honour was too strong,
 For thy great boat, wanting thy friend to steer:
 In this, thy weakness and my worth appear:
 O hadst thou kept the path by me begun,
 That other impious race thou hadst not run:
 In ways of vice thy steps I did not guide,
 Only for virtue Overbury dy'd:
 But, had ingratitude no further gone,
 I had not wail'd, with many a piteous groan,
 These poison'd limbs: O how will future times,
 Blushing to hear such execrable crimes,
 Believe report, when then it shall be said,
 Thou wast that man, that man that me betray'd;
 That savage man, that, wanting means or heart,
 Or rather both, to meet with my descent,
 Too cruel didst devise to stop my breath,
 To end thy care, and my dear life by death?
 Death, oh! no death, but thousand deaths in one,
 For, had it been but more privation
 Of loved life, my griev'd ghost had fled,
 Without such pain and anguish, to the dead.
 O wretched foes! why did ye take delight
 To exercise your hate, with such despight,
 Upon a guiltless man? What had I done?
 But that ye might, whenas ye first begun
 Your tragick plot, and did my life await,
 With single death have satisfied your hate?
 Was it, ah! was it not enough to give
 One poison first, and then to let me live?
 Till ye did please to give another, then,
 Another, and another; but as men,
 All made of flint, to laugh my plaints to scorn,
 And scoff at me, while I, alas! did mourn:
 When, in my chamber-walks, the very stones,
 Sweat drops for tears, to hear my grievous groans;

As senseless, they would sympathise my wees,
Though my said cries were musick to my eares.
Let ages past, until the world's first day,
Shew all records of antique times, and say,
If ever any did by poison die,
That at his death had greater wrongs than I.
It was not one day's space, nor two, nor three,
In which those cruel men tormented me:
Month after month, they often did instill
The divers natures of that baneful ill,
Throughout these limbs: inducing me to think,
That what I took in physick, meat, or drink,
Was to restore me to my health; when all
Was but with ling'ring death to work my fall.
Oh how my ghost doth quake, when it surveys
This fatal house, where I did end my days!
And trembles, as it suffer'd now again,
Only to think upon that woeful pain;
When the slow poison secretly did creep
Through all my veins, and, as it went, did sweep
All ease with pain, all rest with grief away,
From every corner of my house of clay:
Then did I loath my life, but could not die;
Sometimes to God, sometimes to men I cry,
To give me ease of my tormenting hell,
Whose pain no pen can write, nor tongue can tell:
In vain, my tongue, thou utterest at forth thy cries
To wicked men, with tear-tormented eyes;
In vain, my eyes, in you the tears did stand,
While I to heaven for help did lift my hand;
In vain, my hands, were ye stretch'd forth to heaven,
My time was set, my life to death was given:
Tongue, eyes, and hands, did often plead in vain,
Nothing but death could ease me of my pain:
And death at last to my desire did yield,
Who with such furious force did take the field
T'assail my soul, that, 'gainst his matchless might,
In greater torment never man did fight;
With poison'd dart he at my life did strike;
The venom, seizing on me vulture-like,
With torment tore my entrails; thence did run
Into my veins, and boiling there begun
A fresh assault, which, being a while withstood
By nature's force, at last did seise my blood:
Then, victor-like, possess'd of every part,
It did assail my yet not yielding heart,
The soul's chief seat, where, having vanquish'd all
The powers of life, while I to God did call
For grace and mercy, after sad sighs given,
With grievous groans, my soul fled hence to heaven.

O thou sad monument of Norman yoke,
 Whose great foundation he, whose conquering stroke
 Did stoop our necks to Norman rule*, first laid,
 Look thy records of those, to death betray'd
 Within thy fatal chambers, and there see,
 If any, murder'd, lost his life like me.
 Those royal roses of Plantagenest,
 Which that white boar of † York, that bloody beast
 Hath rooted up, within those walls of thine,
 In death felt little pain, compar'd to mine:
 Thou know'st that ‡ king, son to that kingly knight,
 Beneath whose sword in Agincourt's great fight,
 France fell upon her knees, thy floor did stain
 With his dear blood, by bloody Richard slain:
 Thou didst look on, when Clarence' blood was shed,
 And didst behold, how he poor duke half-dead,
 Yet bleeding fresh, in malmsy-but was drown'd,
 Whose body ever since ne'er could be found.
 Thou saw'st when || Tyrrel's bloody slaves did smother
 This kingdom's uncrown'd king, and his young brother;
 Those princely babes of York, thou heard'st them cry,
 When they betwixt the sheets did strangled die;
 But to their pain death did swift end assign,
 Thou know'st their griefs were not so great as mine.
 'Twas not for nought, that thy first builder's hand
 Did temper § blood with burned lime and sand,
 So to conglutinate thy stony mass,
 And bring the conqueror's will and work to pass:
 Well may it be, thy walls with blood were built,
 Where so much guiltless blood hath since been spilt.
 But here an end of all my pain and woe,
 Death shuts up all our greatest griefs, for so
 All men would think; but, past all thought of miqud,
 My greatest grief, alas! is yet behind.
 Oh! why should fiercest beast of all the wood,
 When he hath slain his foe, and lick'd his blood,
 End hate in death, and man, with man in strife,
 Not end his malice with the end of life?
 Can they be men, and lords of beasts, that bear
 Their Maker's image, and will yet not fear
 That ill, which beasts abhor in brutish mind?
 Men, O! no men, but monsters against kind:
 Such monsters were my tyger-hearted foes,
 Who, unremorseful of my forepast woes,

* Out of a register-book of the acts of the Bishop of Rochester in Stowe's Survey.

† Richard the Third.

‡ Henry the Sixth.

§ Sir James Tyrrel.

Stephens apud Johan. Stow.

§ Cimento cum sanguine animalium temperato, as saith Vitis

When, from their cruel hands, my soul was fled,
 Did with their tongues pursue me, being dead ;
 And yet not dead, for heaven such grace doth give,
 My soul in heaven, my name on earth doth live :
 My name, as great Apollo's flow'ring bay,
 Looks green, when winter clads the earth in gray,
 Did flourish, blown upon by fame's fair breath,
 In every eye, long time before my death ;
 When my proud foes, of great and glorious name,
 Were blasted by the breath of foul defame :
 At good report, that on her golden wings
 Did bear my name, their tongue like adder-stings
 Did shoot foul slander's poison, so to spill
 The same with foul defame, as they did kill
 My body with foul death, that men might loath.
 My living name, and my dead body both.
 False rumour, that mad monster, who still bears
 More tongues about with her, than men have ears,
 With scandal they did arm, and sent her out
 Into the world, to spread those lyes about :
 That those loath'd spots, marks of their pois'ning sin,
 Which, dy'd with ugly marble, paint the skin
 Of my dead body, were the marks most just
 Of angry heaven's fierce wrath for my foul lust :
 O barbarous cruelty ! Oh ! more than shame
 Of shameless foes ! with lust to blast my name,
 When wonder 'twas, heaven's judgment did not scize
 Their wanton bodies, with that great disease
 Since death to me, by poison, they did give,
 That they in am'rous jollity might live.
 Now, when false rumour's breath throughout the court,
 And city both, had blown this false report,
 Many, that oft before approv'd my name
 With praise for virtue, blush'd, as if the shame.
 Of my supposed vice, thus given forth,
 Did argue their weak judgment of my worth ;
 My friends look'd pale with anger, and my foes
 Did laugh, to see too light belief cause those,
 That lov'd me once, to loath that little dust
 I left behind me, as a lump of lust.
 O most inhuman wrong ! O endless grief !
 O sad redress ! where sorrows best relief
 Is but dead hope, that help may chance be found
 With those that live, to cure my credit's wound :
 For this, my restless ghost hath left the grave,
 And stole through covert shades of night, to crave
 Thy pen's assistance (O thou mortal wight)
 Whose mournful muse, but whilome, did recite
 Our Britain's princes, and their woeful fates
 In that true 'Mirrour for our magistrates'.

O let thy pen paint out my tragick wee,
 That by thy muse all future times may know
 My story's truth, who, hearing thy sad song,
 At least may pity Overbury's wrong.
 This said, the grieved ghost with sighs did cease
 His rueful plaints, and, as in deep distress,
 Under the Tower's gate with me he stood,
 This accident befel on Thames' great flood :

South by this house, where on the wharf fast by
 Those thundering cannons ever ready lie,
 A dock there is, which, like a darksome cave,
 Arch'd over head, lets in Thames' flowing wave ;
 Under whose arch, oft have condemned men,
 As through the Stygian lake, transported been
 Into this fatal house, which evermore
 For treason boards up torturing racks in store :
 At landing of this place, an iron gate
 Locks up the passage, and, still keeping strait
 The guilty prisoners, opens at no time,
 But when false treason, or some horrid crime,
 Knocks at the same ; from whence, by law's just doom,
 Condemned men but seldom back do come :
 (Whate'er thou art may chance to pass that way,
 And view that place, unto thyself thus say :
 God keep me faithful to my prince and state,
 That I may never pass this iron gate :)
 There in the dock the flood, that seem'd to gape,
 Did suddenly give up a dreadful shape,
 A man of * meagre looks, devoid of blood,
 Upon whose face death's pale complexion stood ;
 Of comely shape, and well compos'd in limb,
 But slender made, of visage stern and grim ;
 The hairs upon his head, and grisly beard,
 With age grown hoary, here and there appear'd ;
 Time's iron hand, with many a wrinkled fret,
 The marks of age upon his front had set :
 Yet, as it did appear, untimely death
 For some foul fact had stop'd his vital breath
 With that great shame, which gives offence the cheek,
 The fatal rope, that hung about his neck :
 Trembling upon his knees, in great affright,
 When he hard by beheld the poison'd knight,
 He humbly fell, and, with sad grief oppress'd,
 Wringing his hands, and beating on his breast,
 While sorrow's drops upon his cheeks did run,
 To utter forth these words, he thus begun :
 O worthy knight, behold the wretched man,
 Who thy sad tragedy's first scene began ;

* The description of Werter.

Through whose each act, unto this last black deed,
 With bloody mind, unblest'd, I did proceed :
 My hands, alas ! did mix the poison'd food,
 Which kindled cruel fire in thy blood ;
 My ears did hear thy lamentable groans,
 When the slow working poison wreck'd thy bones ;
 My eyes, without one drop of sorrow shed,
 Beheld thee dying, and beheld thee dead ;
 For which both hands, eyes, ears, and every part,
 Have suffer'd death, and conscience' bitter smart.
 I was that instrument, alas ! the while,
 By thy great foes instructed to beguile
 Thy lingering hopes ; their mighty state did whet
 Me on in mischief, and their bounty set
 A golden edge upon my dull consent,
 At once to work thy fall, and their content.
 The doctrine of that whore, that would dispence
 With subjects for the murder of a prince,
 Taught me that lust and blood were slender crimes,
 And he, that serves his turn, must serve the times.
 Oh ! had I never known that † doctor's house,
 Where first of that whore's cup I did carouse,
 And where disloyalty did oft conceal
 Rome's frighted rats, that over seas did steal ;
 My thoughts, perhaps, had then not given way,
 Thy life for gold with poison to betray.
 But ye that do, and who do not condemn
 My black offences, when ye think on them,
 In such imaginations, ponder too
 What, with weak man, the power of gold may do.
 Ye servile sycophants, whose hopes depend
 On great men's wills, what is the utmost end
 At which ye aim ? Why do ye, like base cnrs,
 Upon your patron fawn ? Why, like his spurs,
 Will ye be ever ready at his heels,
 With pleasing words to claw him where he feels
 The humour itch ? Or why will ye so wait,
 As to lie down and kiss the feet of state ?
 And oft expose yourselves to wretched ends,
 Losing your souls to make great men your friends ?
 Is it not wealth ye seek ? And doth not gold
 Ingenious wits oft times in bondage hold ?
 The stout sea-rangers on the fearful flood,
 That hunt about through Neptune's wat'ry wood,
 And, o'er a thousand rocks and sands that lie
 Hid in the deep, from pole to pole do fly ;
 Who often, when the stormy ocean raves,
 Fights with fierce thunders, light'nings, winds, and waves,

† Doctor Turner.

Having but one small inch of board to stand
Betwixt them, and ten thousand deaths at hand,
Expose themselves to all this woe and pain,
To quench the greedy thirst of golden gain.
O strong enchantment of bewitching gold!
For this, the sire by his own son is sold;
For this, the unkind brother sells the brother,
For this, one friend is often by another
Betray'd to death; yea, ev'n for this the wife
Both sells her beauty, and her husband's life:
And I, woe's me, for this did work thy fall
By poison's help, having this hope withal,
That great men's greatness would have borne out
My crime, though known, against all danger's doubt.
But now, too late, my wretched ghost doth prove,
That his all-seeing eye from heaven above,
To whom black darkness' self is far more clear
Than the bright sun, makes guiltless blood appear
Out of our deepest plots, to murder's shame,
Though greatest men do seek to hide the same.
Ye hapless instruments of mighty men;
Ye sponges, whom the hands of greatness, when
That they by you have wiped out the spot
Of that disgrace, which did their honour blot,
Do squeeze so long, until that ye be dry,
And then as needless things do cast you by:
Where one of these your service would employ,
Our Maker's heavenly image to destroy,
By violence of death in other men,
Thereby with blood to satisfy his spleen:
O do not trust the hopes of such a man,
Nor think his policy or power can
Hoodwink all-seeing heaven, nor ever drown
The cry of blood, which brings swift vengeance down.
When many men but one man's life will spill,
Their lives, for his, heaven evermore doth will.
Offend in murder, and in murder die;
No crime to heaven so loud as blood doth cry.
In other wrongs, when man doth man offend,
We restitution may in part pretend:
But, where the wrong is done by murder's knife,
No price for blood, the law says, life for life.
The eye of wakeful justice for a season
May seem to wink at murder's bloody treason,
Yet, from the hour of so black a deed,
The worm of conscience on the soul doth feed.
And dreadful furies, whose imagin'd sight,
In every place, doth horribly affright
The guilty man, pursue the steps that fly,
While swift-wing'd vengeance makes the hue and cry.

Justice, to me, did seem to sleep a while,
 And with delay did all my hopes beguile;
 But in short time, now in my riper years,
 When graver age on my grey head appears,
 Death and reproach attach'd my life and name,
 To bring me to my grave with greater shame:
 To you therefore that hunger after gold,
 To you whom hope of great men's grace makes bold
 In any great offence, henceforth let me
 For evermore a sad example be.
 This said, he sighing shrunk into the flood,
 And in a moment's space another stood
 In the same place; but such a one whose sight
 With more compassion mov'd the poison'd knight:
 It seem'd that she had been some gentle dame,
 For, on each part of her fair body's frame,
 Nature such delicacy did bestow,
 That fairer object oft it doth not show:
 Her chrystal eye, beneath an ivory brow,
 Did shew what she at first had been; but now
 The roses on her lovely cheeks were dead,
 The earth's pale colour had all over-spread
 Her sometimes lively look, and cruel death,
 Coming untimely, with his wintry breath
 Blasted the fruit, which cherry-like in show
 Upon her dainty lips did whilome grow:
 O how the cruel cord did misbecome
 Her comely neck! and yet by law's just doom
 Had been her death: Those locks like golden thread,
 That us'd in youth t'enshrine her globe-like head,
 Hung careless down; and that delightful limb,
 Her snow-white nimble hand, that us'd to trim
 Their tresses up, now spitefully did tear
 And rend the same: Nor did she now forbear
 To beat that breast of more than lilly white,
 Which sometimes was the lodge of sweet delight:
 From those two springs, where joy did whilome dwell,
 Grief's pearly drops upon her pale cheeks fell,
 And after many sighs, at last, with weak
 And fainting voice, she thus did silence break:
 Thou gentle knight, whose wrongs I now repent,
 Behold a woeful wretch, that did consent
 In thy sad death: For I, alas! therefore
 By gold my servant did suborn to pour
 That death into thy cup, thy dish, thy diet,
 Whose pain too long did rob thy ghost of quiet:
 Yet neither thirst of gold, nor hate to thee
 For injuries receiv'd, incensed me
 To seek thy life; but love, dear love to those
 That were my friends, and thy too deadly foes:

With them in court my state I did support,
 Ah, that my state had never known the court !
 Virtue and vice I there together saw,
 But, like the spider, I was taught to draw
 Foul poison, where sweet honey might be had,
 And how to leave the good, and chuse the bad :
 At last, through greedy going on in sin
 Made senseless, by degrees I did begin
 To rise from great to greater, till at last
 My own sins did my own destruction haste.
 O heavy doom ! when heaven shall so decree,
 That sin in man the plague of sin must be.
 But here let chastest beauties, when they blame
 My follies most, and blush to hear my shame,
 Remember then best beauties are but frail,
 And how that strongest men do oft assail
 Our weakest selves ; so may they pity me,
 And my sad fall may their forewarning be.
 Ye tender offspring of that rib, refin'd
 By God's own finger, and by him assign'd
 To be a help, and not a hurt to man ;
 How is it possible your beauties can
 Be pure from blemish, treading such vain ways
 As now you do in these prophaner days ?
 Must flesh that is so frail still fear to fall,
 And ye the frailest flesh not fear at all ?
 Can ye, ah can ye, with vain thoughts to please
 Your wanton souls, on ivory beds of ease
 Spend precious time, and yet suppose in this
 Ye do no ill, nor think one thought amiss ?
 Can ye, to catch the wand'ring thoughts of him
 Whom ye affect, deck every dainty limb,
 Powder your hair, and more to please the eye,
 Refresh your paler cheeks with purer dye,
 Lay out your breasts ; and in the glass thus drest,
 Observe what smile or frown becomes you best ?
 And yet not fear heaven's judgment in the end,
 At least, in this, not think ye do offend ;
 Can ye on wanton meats to move desire,
 Though of yourselves too full of Paphian fire,
 Feed every hour, and when hot blood begins
 To hurry you unto those horrid sins,
 That spot your beds, your bodies, and your names,
 Blot your black souls with many greater blames ?
 And yet not think, ye do deserve heaven's hate,
 At least to turn do think no time too late ?
 O do not sooth yourselves in these foul crimes,
 Hear not the tongue of these enchanting times :
 Your too much idle ease, which opens the gate
 To vicious thoughts, I know is counted state :

Upon your curious pride and vain array,
Fond men the name of cleanliness do lay :
Your lust, whose sparkles in your eyes do shine,
On wanton youth, is called love divine :
Thus they that would for each foul fault excuse you,
And turn your vice to virtue, do abuse you.
But be ye not so blinded, look on me,
And let my story in your closets be
As the true glass, which there you look upon,
That, by my life, ye may amend your own.
Observe each step, when first I did begin
To tread the path that led from sin to sin,
Until my most unhappy foot did light,
In guiltless blood of this impoison'd knight :
After I had in court begun to taste
Of idle ease, I daily fed so fast
Upon false pleasure, that at last I did
Climb Citharæa's hill, like wanton kid
In fertile pastures playing ; nought did fear me,
I thought that roaring lion would not tear me.
Two darling sins, too common and too foul,
With their delights did then bewitch my soul ;
First pride array'd me in her loose attire,
Fed my fond fancy fat with vain desires,
Taught me each fashion, brought me over seas
Each new device, the humorous time to please :
But of all vain inventions, then in use
When I did live, none suffer'd more abuse
Than that fantastick ugly fall and ruff,
Daub'd o'er with that base starch of yellow stuff :
O that my words might not be counted vain,
But that my counsel might find entertain
With those, whose souls are tainted with the itch
Of this disease, whom pride doth so bewitch,
That they do think it comely, not amiss :
Then would they cast it off, and say, it is
The bawd to pride, the badge of vanity,
Whose very sight doth murder modesty ;
Yea, then detesting it, they all would know,
Some wicked wit did fetch it from below,
That here they might express by this attire
The colour of those wheels of Stygian fire,
With pride's plung'd offspring, with snake-powder'd hair,
About their necks in Pluto's court do wear.
Thus pride, the pander to luxurious thoughts,
Did guide me by the hand through those close vaults,
The eyes of lust do ne'er abide the light,
That lead to lust's dark chambers, dark as night,
But here perhaps some curious dame, who knows
No good, but what her outward habit shows,

Will judge my true complaint, as most unjust,
 In that I call her pride the bawd to lust:
 But, had her body windows in each side,
 That each one might behold her heart of pride,
 There might one see the cause, why she doth trim,
 Trick up, and deck defects in every limb;
 And, having seen the same, may justly say,
 Her loose attire doth her loose mind betray.
 Of this the sad effects of old were seen
 In Lady * Alfrith, sometimes England's queen,
 Whose Lord Earl Ethelwald, at first, held dear
 To her affection: When that he did hear
 That his great sov'reign, royal Edgar, he
 Whom eight kings row'd upon the river Dee,
 Unto his house did purpose to repair,
 Knowing his dearest lady wond'rous fair,
 And the king young and wanton, did desire
 That she would lay aside her rich attire,
 And, choosing meaner weeds, her art apply
 To dim that beauty which did please the eye:
 But she, inconstant lady, knowing well,
 That beauty, most set forth, doth most excel;
 As precious stones, when they are set in gold,
 Are then most fair and glorious to behold;
 Array'd herself in all her proud attire,
 To set victorious Edgar's heart on fire:
 Who, caught like silly fly into the flame,
 At sudden sight of such a dainty dame,
 To cool the heat of his lust-burning will,
 Her wronged husband's guiltless blood did spill.
 With pride thus tasting of that wanton cup
 Which lust did give me, I was given up
 To loose desire: Which brutish sin, since here
 In its own shape it may not well appear,
 Lest it offend all modest eyes and ears,
 I only do lament with my true tears:
 Yet give me leave in some few words to tell
 This wanton world, into what horrid hell
 Of wicked sins foul lust did make me fall,
 That unchaste youth from lust I may recall.
 As every evil humour, which is bred
 In human bodies, covets to be fed
 With that ill nutriment, which doth increase
 The same, until it grow to some disease
 Incurable; so did my loose desire,
 In vain delights, seek fewel for the fire
 So long, until (woe's me) unto my shame
 It did burst forth, and burn me in the flame.

* Raphael Hollinshead in his History of England.

I left my God t'ask counsel of the devil,
 I knew there was no help from God in evil :
 As they that go on whoring unto hell,
 From thence to fetch some charm or magick spell ;
 So over Thames, as o'er th' infernal lake,
 A wherry with its oars I oft did take,
 Who Charon-like did waft me to that strand,
 Where Lambeth's town to all well known doth stand ;
 There Forman was, that fiend in human shape,
 That by his art did act the devil's ape :
 Oft there the black inchanter, with sad looks,
 Sat turning over his blasphemous books,
 Making strange characters in blood-red lines :
 And, to effect his horrible designs,
 Oft would he invoke the fiends below,
 In the sad house of endless pain and woe,
 And threaten them, as if he could compel
 Those damned spirits to confirm his spell.
 O prophane wretches ! ye that do forsake
 Your faith, your God, and your own souls, to take
 Advice of sorcerers, again to find
 Some trifle lost ; why will ye be so blind
 On some base beldam for lost things to fawn ?
 To gain whose loss, ye leave your souls in pawn.
 Too many, too much wronged by the time,
 Do think this great idolatry no crime :
 But let them mark the path which they do tread,
 And they shall see, that in it they are led
 From hope and help, to hurt and all annoy,
 From him that made, to him that doth destroy.
 But, without mercy here, let no stern eye
 Look on my faults ; alas ! for charity,
 Let all with pity my offence bemoan,
 Since that it was not my offence alone :
 The strongest soon do slip, as I did fall,
 For, woe is me, I was seduc'd to all.
 Ye that detest my now detected shame,
 And think that ye shall never meet the same,
 Think how the friendship, and the ancient love,
 Of some great lady long enjoy'd may move :
 And think with that, now much the rising state
 Of some great man my sex might animate ;
 I was not base, but born of gentle blood,
 My nature of itself inclin'd to good ;
 But worms in fairest fruit do soonest breed,
 Of heavenly grace best natures have most need.
 Just heaven did suffer me, as I begun
 To hasten on from vice to vice, and run
 Myself in sinful race quite out of breath,
 That sin at last might punish sin by death :

For, when those wantons, whose unjust desire.
 Had urg'd me on so far, that to retire
 I knew was vain, as I before to lust
 Had been a minister, so now I must
 Join hands in blood, which they did plot and study :
 O who would think that women-kind were bloody :
 But then our chastity we do forego,
 That lost, what then will we refuse to do ?
 This did that Roman proud * Sejanus know,
 Who, hating Drusus as his deadly foe,
 And basely seeking to betray his life,
 Did first allure fair Livia, Drusus' wife,
 To poison her own Lord, that in his stead
 The base Sejanus might enjoy his bed ;
 Who, rais'd by Cæsar from ignoble place,
 In Livia's lustful eye did find more grace
 Than Drusus, Cæsar's son, a manly youth :
 O who knows how to feed a woman's tooth !
 In mischief I went on, and did agree
 To be an actor in thy tragedy,
 Thou injur'd ghost ; yet was I but a mute,
 And what I did was at another's suit :
 Their plots I saw, and silent kept the same,
 For which my life did suffer death and shame ;
 For see, ah ! see, this cord about my neck,
 Which time sometime with precious things did deck ;
 Revenge hath done, and justice hath her due,
 Let none then wrong the dead, let all with you,
 O gentle knight, forget my great offence,
 Which I have purg'd with tears of penitence :
 For thousand living eyes with tears could tell,
 That from my eyes true tears of sorrow fell :
 Then judge my cause with charitable mind,
 Who mercy seeks with faith, shall mercy find.
 This said, she vanish'd from before our sight,
 I think to heaven, and think, I think aright.
 She gone, the poison'd ghost did seem with tears
 To chide her fate : but lo, there straight appears
 Another in her place, who seem'd to be,
 When he did live, some man † of good degree
 'Mongst men on earth ; one of so solemn look,
 As if true gravity that place had took
 To dwell upon ; his person comely was,
 His stature did the meaner size surpass ;
 Well shap'd in every limb, well step'd in years,
 As here and there appear'd by some grey hairs.
 When first he did appear, with woeful look
 He view'd the Tower, and his head he shook,

* Tacitus Annal, Lib. iv. Cap. 2.

† The description of Sir Jarvis Ellis, the late Lieutenant of the Tower.

As if from thence he did derive his woe,
 Which with a sigh he thus begun to show :
 O thou sad building, ominous to those
 Whom with thy fatal walls thou dost inclose,
 For thee, I, hapless man, as for the end
 Of my desire, did falsly condescend
 Unto that plot, by others heads begun,
 Through which in thee such wrong was lately done.
 Thou that didst poison'd feel thy foes despight,
 See here the ghost of that unhappy knight,
 Which whilome was lieutenant of this place,
 Though now a wretch, thus halter'd with disgrace.
 I was, alas, what boots it that I was!
 Of good report, and did with credit pass
 Through every act of my life's tragedy,
 Upon this world, the stage of vanity,
 Till the last scene of blood by others plotted,
 Concluding ill, my name and credit blotted.
 I must confess I did connive at those
 That were the ministers to thy proud foes,
 Closely employ'd by them thy life to spill
 By secret poison, though against my will:
 Fear of their greatness, and no hate to thee,
 Inforc'd my coward conscience to agree.
 When first to me this plot they did impart,
 O what a tedious combate, in my heart,
 Unto my soul did feelingly appear,
 'Twixt my sad conscience, and a doubtful fear!
 Fear said that, if I did reveal the same,
 Those great ones, great in grace, would turn the shame
 Upon my head; but conscience said again,
 That, if I did conceal it, murder's stain
 Would spot my soul as much for my consent,
 As if at first it had been my intent.
 Fear said that, if the same I did disclose,
 The countenance of greatness I should lose,
 And be thrust out of office and of place;
 But conscience said that I should lose that grace
 And favour, which my God to me had given,
 And be perhaps thrust ever out of heaven.
 Long these two champions did maintain the field,
 Till my weak conscience at the last did yield:
 O let those men, that do condemn my fear
 And folly, most in their remembrance bear,
 What certain danger stood on either side
 As I should pass, and how I should have dy'd
 In either way, at least with some great fall
 For ever have been crush'd; and think withal,
 How prone our nature is, in fear, to rest
 Upon those seeming hopes that promise best.

I speak not this to mitigate my sin,
 O no, I wish my fall may others win
 From the like fear, and that my life may be
 A precedent to men of such degree,
 To whom authority doth think it fit
 The trust of such a function to commit.
 Let such men to remember still be mov'd,
 That which by sad experience I have prov'd;
 'Tis good to fear great men, but yet 'tis better
 Ever to fear God more, since God is greater:
 If God's good angel had imprinted this
 Into my thoughts, I had not thought amiss;
 Nor I, unhappy I, should have consented,
 But all this mischief I had then prevented.
 Here some perhaps will think the former race
 Of my sad life have been debauch'd and base,
 Because at last it had so base an end;
 But for ourselves, might modesty contend
 In opposition, I might justly say,
 How many now live glorious at this day,
 Whose honour greater stains do daily spot,
 Then any which my former life did blot:
 Yet those my crimes which did my God offend,
 For which his finger did point out this end
 Unto my life, I'll shew, though to my shame,
 That others as from death may fly the same.
 My father from whose life my breath I drew,
 When sick upon his bed he lay, and knew
 That at his door of flesh death's hand did knock,
 And did perceive weak nature would unlock
 To let him in, did with his blessing give
 This charge to me: That I, while I did live,
 Should never seek for office at the court,
 But with that means he left my state support:
 With reverence his will I did obey,
 Until, O that I might not tell the day,
 In which I did with greedy-eye affect
 That place in this great Tower, without respect
 To my dead sire's behest; yet, since it was
 A touch to conscience, on I would not pass,
 Untill by some I was resolv'd amiss,
 That, as in other things, so I in this,
 Which in itself was of indifference
 And lawful unto others, might dispence
 With my obedience to my father's will,
 And that my own intent I might fulfil:
 Yet one there is (O ever may he be
 Belov'd of heav'n for his great love to me)
 Who by the light of truth did shew the way
 Which I should go, but I did not obey:

Ambitious mist did blind my weaker eyes,
I thought by this preferment I should rise ;
Yet no desert but gold did gain me grace,
My own corruption purchas'd me that place :
For brib'ry in the soul a blemish makes
Of him that gives, as well as him that takes ;
And bribing hands, that give, must guilty be
Of their own want of worth ; for who, but he
That in himself the want of merit finds,
Will be the bawd to base corrupted minds ?
Ye, that neglect performance of the will
Of your dead parents, thinking it no ill
To disobey their precepts, now in me
The curse of disobedience ye may see ;
And ye whose golden fingers, as in sport,
Like lime-twigs catch at offices in court,
In which obtain'd ye ever after live
Corrupt in mind, to gain what ye did give ;
Behold untimely Death's disgraceful cord
About this neck, my bribing hands reward.
Before this sudden and unlook'd for fate
Did fall thus heavy on me, when my state
Did flourish among men, to mind I call
An accident of note which then did fall :
Bewitch'd with love to that too common vice
In this our age of hazardy and dice,
I losing once my coin (for few thereby
Have ever gainers been) did wish that I,
When I again did use the dice, might come
To die this shameful death, which by the doom
Of righteous heav'n, again I using game,
As I had wish'd, to me unlook'd for came.
Vain gamesters that too commonly do use
Strange deprecations, when ye do abuse
Yourselves in game, by my sad fall take heed,
And let your word be ever as your deed ;
Lest your hand meet mine in the self-same dish,
For heav'n doth often hear when men do wish.
But of no sin had my most sinful soul
Been ever sick, yet this one sin most foul,
This act of poison, to my house a stain,
With future times for ever shall remain :
The dye of blood on murderers hand doth stay,
No tears, no time, can wipe the same away ;
But if true tears of sorrow may with you,
As all true sorrows tears with heav'n may do,
Move pitiful regard of my sad fall,
Ye then, rememb'ring how I fell withal,
Will, out of charity, with lesser blame
Censure my fault, when ye shall hear the same :

Thus quit by death from doom of law, and heaven
 Out of free mercy having me forgiven,
 Let all calumnious tongues their malice cease,
 That so my soul may ever live in peace :
 O let the world abate her sharpen'd tongue,
 And, since I have done penance for thy wrong,
 Thou wronged knight, what can thy ghost now crave ?
 Grieve thee no more, go rest thee in thy grave :
 Thy foes decline, proud Gaveston is down,
 No wanton Edward wears our England's crown.
 This said, he vanish'd ; and another * stood
 In the same place, midway above the flood,
 Whose strange demeanour with amazement struck
 Us that beheld him ; for with startled look,
 And hair stiff standing, as a man aghast,
 He star'd upon the knight, from whom in haste
 Into the flood he would have shrunk away,
 Had not, I think, that fury forc'd his stay,
 Which while he liv'd his guilty soul pursu'd,
 Till he his own offence had freely shew'd.
 A man he was of stature meanly tall,
 His body's lineaments true shap'd, and all
 His limbs compacted well, and strongly knit ;
 Nature's kind hand no error made in it.
 His beard was ruddy hue, and, from his head,
 A wanton lock itself did down dis-spread
 Upon his back ; to which while he did live,
 Th' ambiguous name of Elf-lock he did give.
 And now fantastick phrensy, as before,
 When he did live, did seem to vex him sore.
 The shameful rope, which 'bout his shoulders hung,
 Hither and thither carelessly he flung ;
 And, as a caitiff of that cursed crew,
 Whom sad despair doth after death pursue,
 Howling and yelling, while the tears did run,
 Down by his cheeks, at last he thus begun :
 Since that sly serpent of soul-slaying sin,
 Which feeds upon the guilty mind within
 Each wicked breast, doth force me to reveal,
 Unto my shame what I did long conceal,
 Give ear, ye cursed atheists all that been,
 Ye unbelieving dogs in shape of men,
 That think the name of God, and his great law,
 But things devis'd to keep the world in awe ;
 Who mock the time's last dreadful day to come,
 Which at the length your wicked deeds shall doom ;
 And ye blasphemous exorcists, that are
 With Pluto's factors so familiar,
 Here upon earth, that ye each day do deal

* Franklin's Ghost.

For transportation of blind souls to hell;
Whom fools do wise men call ; give ear to me,
And in my wretched fate your follies see.
I was (woe's me, that still I was not so!)
When April buds of youth themselves did shew
Upon my chin, a student in the law ;
From which fantastick thoughts my mind did draw
To the more pleasing study of that art
Of physick ; to the which though little part
Of learning gave me help, yet strong desire
To know that worthy science set on fire
The fond affection of my forward will
To search the secrets of that noble skill :
But he, who from that faculty shall fall,
To which inevitable fate did call
Him at the first, forsakes that happy way,
Which he should go, and hapless run astray,
Diseas'd with vanity's fantastick fits,
Which, ague-like, doth vex our English wits,
Who think at home all homely, and do plow
Deep furrows upon Neptune's wat'ry brow,
From foreign shores to bring the worst of bad,
And, in exchange, leave there what good they had.
The seas I pass'd to help out my weak skill
In th' aromatick art ; but, Oh ! the ill,
Which there our ignorant English oft do find,
Did first corrupt my uncorrupted mind.
O vain conceit of those, that do repute,
In every art, the most admired fruit
Of any brain, if of domestick wit,
But base and trivial, if compar'd to it
Of foreign heads ! That only us can please ;
And such hath been our England's old disease.
There did I find (Oh never had I found!)
Murder's close way to kill my foe, the ground
Of that device, thou wronged knight, whereby
Thou most untimely wast inforc'd to die.
There was I taught with vain words to command
The spirits from below ; who still at hand
Will ready be, as seeming to obey
Those soul-blind men, whom they do most betray.
Thus having, as I thought, my mind enrich'd
With deepest knowledge, and with pride bewitch'd,
To blow that vain blast on the trump of fame,
Which through the world, I thought might bear my name
I back return'd for England, there to shew
That wond'rous skill which I would seem to know :
There, as the fowler doth with whistle call
The silly birds, until they hap to fall
Into his net, so did my name each day,
Once blown abroad, lead simple fools away

From helpful heav'n to seek advice in hell,
 And there, for toys, themselves and souls to sell :
 But in this path long thus I did not tread,
 Which down unto the house of death doth lead,
 Before that old sly serpent did begin
 T' entice me to that self-accusing sin
 Of horrid murder, shewing me the way,
 By art of poison, closely to betray
 What life to death I would ; nor did he leave,
 Until my soul he did so far bereave
 Of every feeling sense, that wicked I
 Did closely poison her that us'd to lie
 In my own bosom, that she, being dead,
 Might, to me living, leave an empty bed.
 After this fact, that to my guilty soul
 It might not, as it was, seem ugly foul,
 My subtle foe did whisper in my ear
 These seeming happy news, how fame did bear
 My name upon her wings, with loud report
 Of my strange deeds, as far as to the court ;
 Where having been employ'd, I with all skill
 Apply'd myself to please ; no damned ill
 I did refuse, not making any doubt,
 While greatness' wings did compass me about.
 Forman, that cunning exorcist, and I
 Would many times our wicked wits apply
 Kind nature, in her working, to disarm
 Of proper strength ; and, by our spells, would charm
 Both men and women, making it our sport
 And play to point at them in our report.
 Thus, fatted with false pleasure for a while,
 Still with good hope of hap, I did beguile
 Myself in all employments, till at last
 Thy death, thou injur'd knight, did with it haste
 My unexpected fall : I was the man
 That did prepare those poisons, which began
 And ended all thy pain ; which I did give
 Unto that man who did attendant live
 On thee in thy distress ; who, since that time,
 Was he that first did suffer for this crime.
 O what a sudden change of chearful thought
 So sadness self-accusing conscience brought
 After this bloody deed ! Before, all ease
 Did seem to wait on me ; for, what could please,
 Which I did want ? That idol gold, which all
 Or most men closely worship, seem'd to fall
 As thick upon me, as the golden shower,
 That fell on Danae in the Dardan tower.
 Swimming in streams of false delight, and prick'd
 With pride and self-conceit, at heav'n I kick'd.

The names of God and Maker I did slight,
 As bug-bear words the childish world t' affright.
 I did impute the sphere's eternal dance,
 And all this all, to nature and to chance;
 But all men laugh my follies unto scorn,
 For who so blind will say, being mortal-born,
 He hath a reason, and will yet deny
 The same to this universality,
 Of which, alas! he is the lesser part?
 As who should say, his feet, his hands, his heart,
 Might well be wise, and he himself a fool:
 Such is the wisdom of th' atheistick school.
 The eye of heav'n, from whom no heart can hide
 The secret thoughts, my close intents espy'd;
 And, when I did, with most inventive brain,
 Devise to wipe away my conscience' stain,
 And thy sad death most closely to conceal,
 Heav'n forc'd myself my own self to reveal.
 The shadow of the dead, or some foul fiend,
 Or fury, whom revenge did justly send
 To punish me for my detested sin,
 With snaky whips did scourge my soul within;
 Forbidding me my rest, or day, or night,
 Till I had brought my own offence to light:
 For which, condemn'd unto that shameful end
 Of straggling torment, still the frantick fiend
 Did follow me unto my life's last breath;
 As was my life before, so was my death.
 This said, he vanish'd; and, with him that night
 The vision ending, our impoison'd knight
 Thus spoke: O England, O thrice happy land,
 Who, of all isles, most gracefully dost stand
 Upon this earth's broad face, like Venus' spot
 Upon her cheek; thou only garden-plot,
 Which, as another Eden, heav'n hath chose,
 In which the tree of life and knowledge grows;
 Happy in all, most happy in this thing,
 In having such a holy, happy king:
 A king, whose faith, in arms of proof, doth fight
 'Gainst that sev'n-headed beast and all his might:
 A king, whose justice will, at last, not fail
 To give to each his own in equal scale:
 A king, whose love, dove-like, with wings of fame,
 To all the world doth happy peace proclaim:
 A king, whose faith, whose justice, and whose love
 Divine, and more than royal, him do prove.
 O thou just king, How hath thy justice shin'd
 Upon my injur'd ghost! Which, being confin'd
 From hence for ever, never had, unless
 Thy justice had been great, obtain'd redress.

If earnest pray'rs with heav'n may aught avail
 (And earnest pray'rs with heav'n do seldom fail)
 Let all good men lift up their hearts with me,
 That what I beg of heav'n may granted be.
 If ever heart, with wicked thought, shall aim
 To harm thy state, let heav'n reveal the same.
 If ever hand, lift up with violent pow'r,
 Shall seek thy life, heav'n cut it off that hour.
 If ever eye of treason lurk about,
 Or lie in wait for thee, heav'n put it out.
 If heart, hand, eye, abroad, or here at home,
 Shall plot against thee, never may they come
 To their effect; as they have ever been,
 So may they be: and let all say, Amen.

Here my dream ended: after which, a while
 Soft slumber did my senses so beguile,
 I thought the Tower gate was o'er my head,
 Until I wak'd, and found myself in bed;
 From whence arising, as the wronged knight,
 Had giv'n in charge, this vision I did write.

A DECLARATION
 OF THE
 DEMEANOUR AND CARRIAGE
 OF
 SIR WALTER RALEIGH, KNIGHT,
 AS WELL IN HIS VOYAGE, AS IN, AND SITHENCE HIS RETURN;
 AND OF THE
 TRUE MOTIVES AND INDUCEMENTS

Which occasioned his Majesty to proceed in doing justice upon him,
 as hath been done.

London, printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most
 excellent Majesty, 1618. Quarto, containing sixty-three Pages.

The execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, for a crime of which he had been convicted
 fourteen years before, and then convicted without legal evidence against him,
 and which, in the opinion of most, was pardoned by the commission, which

de him supreme Commander, and invested him with judicial authority, was act so cruel in itself, so unusual in England, and so plainly intended for the tification of the Spanish court, that it filled the whole nation with murmurs discontent, and obliged the King to give his subjects an account, to which appears not to think them intitled, of the reasons of his conduct. account, whoever was the author, is very artfully and elegantly drawn up, can it be denied, that the whole behaviour of Raleigh, in his last attempt, ears sufficiently deceitful. Many circumstances are collected to prove that mine was a mere fiction, and that his original and only design was to plunder the Spanish settlements, which was undoubtedly a violation of his commissi- , and of natural justice, since the English and Spaniards were then at ce.

is likewise a recital of the stratagems which he used to facilitate his escape, h, if these had succeeded, would have afforded very agreeable amusement; the reflexion, that they were defeated by treachery, puts an end to all sing thoughts, and is not without a very melancholy kind of commiseration, any man can behold the great Raleigh reduced to such little artifices, adding these stratagems which his agent has discovered, and making sport his enemies by those practices, by which he imagines himself deceiving a, more than once on the verge of liberty, and then hurried to prison and eath.

erved by the author of King James's character, that he naturally hated a of valour, and it is probable that his own cowardice rather than his resent- t of Raleigh's conduct, however unjustifiable, prompted the fatal sentence; hich he gives one reason very remarkable, that Raleigh attempted to pe, and declined his justice, that he was not willing to lie in prison fourteen s longer without a crime.

were the real views of Raleigh in his pretended quest of the golden mine, it t easy to determine; the answer which is most obvious, that he hoped to an opportunity of escaping, is by no means satisfactory, because he made se of the opportunities that were offered him, but returned to England, i he might undoubtedly have landed in another country, where his reputa- would have secured him from being given up to a prince, who had so little ence among his neighbours. That he did not rather go to any country than wn, has been much wondered at, and sometimes censured; but it appears

Howel's letters, that several of his friends were bound for his return. The tion then recurs, if he thought himself obliged to return, why did he ut? Perhaps he might propose the enterprise before that condition was re- d, and could not then recede from his own scheme, without betraying his n. The exact dates of all the occurrences would contribute very much to the difficulties that arise on every supposition.

more questions might be started, as, why, when he was at large, he could scape, without such an undertaking? Why he projected a design that must sarily end in his disgrace? And by what necessity he was reduced to trust ory, whom he knew but little? But these, and many others, it is perhaps impossible to answer, and therefore superfluous to mention. J.*

THOUGH kings be not bound to give account of their actions o any but God alone; yet such are his Majesty's proceedings, ath always been willing to bring them before sun and moon, and ly to satisfy all his good people with his intentions and courses, as well to future times, as to the present, true and undisguised tions of them; as judging, that for actions not well founded, it ntage to let them pass in uncertain reports; but for actions, that it upon sure and solid grounds, such as his Majesty's are, it be- to them, to be published by open manifests: especially his y is willing, to declare and manifest to the world his proceed-

ings, in a case of such a nature, as this which followeth is; since it not only concerns his own people, but also a foreign prince and state abroad.

Accordingly, therefore, for that which concerneth Sir Walter, late executed for treason, leaving the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that he made at his death to God that is the searcher of all hearts, and judge of all truth; his Majesty has thought fit to manifest unto the world, how things appeared unto himself, and upon what proofs and evident matter, and the examination of the commanders that were employed with him, in the voyage (and namely of those which Sir Walter Raleigh himself, by his own letter to Secretary Winwood, had commended for persons of worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments) his Majesty's proceedings have been grounded; whereby it will evidently appear how agreeable they have been in all points to honour and justice.

Sir Walter Raleigh having been condemned of high-treason, at his Majesty's entrance into this kingdom, and for the space of fourteen years, by his Majesty's princely clemency and mercy, not only spared from his execution, but permitted to live, as in *libera custodia* in the Tower, and to enjoy his lands and living, till all was by law evicted from him upon another ground, and not by forfeiture; (which notwithstanding, his Majesty out of his abundant grace gave him a competent satisfaction for the same) at length he fell upon an enterprise of a golden mine in Guiana.

This proposition of his was presented and recommended to his Majesty by Sir Ralph Winwood, then secretary of state, as a matter not in the air, or speculative, but real and of certainty: for that Sir Walter Raleigh had seen of the ore of the mine with his eyes, and tried the richness of it. It is true that his Majesty, in his own princely judgment, gave no belief unto it; as well, for that his Majesty was verily persuaded, that in nature there are no such mines of gold intire, as they described this to be; and, if any such had been, it was not probable that the Spaniards, who were so industrious in the chace of treasure, would have neglected it so long: as also, for that it proceeded from the person of Sir Walter Raleigh, invested with such circumstances both of his disposition and fortune. But, nevertheless, Sir Walter Raleigh had so enchanted the world, with his confident asseveration of that which every man was willing to believe, as his Majesty's honour was, in a manner, engaged, not to deny unto his people the adventure and hope of so great riches, to be sought and atchieved, at the charge of volunteers; especially for that it stood with his Majesty's politick and magnanimous courses, in these his flourishing times of peace, to nourish and encourage noble and generous enterprises, for plantations, discoveries, and opening of new trades.

Hereupon the late Spanish ambassador, the Count de Gondamore, took great alarm, and represented unto his Majesty by loud and vehement assertions, upon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir Walter Raleigh to be but hostile and piratical, and tending to the breach of the peace between

the two crowns, and danger and destruction of the King his master's subjects in those parts; protesting, in a sort, against the same. To which his Majesty's answer always was, that he would send Sir Walter Raleigh with a limited commission, and that he durst not, upon peril of his head, attempt any such matter; and, if he did, he would surely do justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot into Spain; and all the gold and goods he should obtain by robbery; and bring home, were they never so great. And, for further caution, his Majesty enjoined secretary Winwood, to urge Sir Walter Raleigh upon his conscience and allegiance to his Majesty, to deal plainly, and express himself, whether he had any other intention, but only to go to those golden mines in Guiana; which he not only solemnly protested unto the said Sir Ralph Winwood, but by him writ a close letter to his Majesty, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseverations, and that he never meant or would commit any outrages or spoils upon the King of Spain's subjects. But, notwithstanding his Majesty acquainted the Spanish ambassador with this his protestation, yet the said ambassador would never recede from his former jealousy, and importuning his Majesty to stay his voyage, alledging that the great number of ships that Sir Walter Raleigh had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly, that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering, upon Sir Walter Raleigh's answer thereunto, that those ships were only provided for his safe convoy, that, if Sir Walter Raleigh would go with one or two ships only to seek the said mine, that he would move the King of Spain to send two or three ships with him back again, for his safe convoy hither with all his gold; and the said ambassador's person to remain here in pledge for the King his Majesty's performance thereof. But such were the constant fair offers of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and specious promises, as his Majesty in the end rejected the importunate suit of the said Spanish ambassador for his stay, and resolved to let him go; but therewithal took order, both that he, and all those that went in his company, should find good security, to behave themselves peaceably towards all his Majesty's friends and allies, and to observe strictly all the articles of the commission, which his Majesty, for that cause, had the greater care to have it well and clearly penned and set down. And, that his Majesty's honest intention may herein the better appear, the words of the commission are here inserted, as followeth:

" JAMES, by the grace of God, &c. to all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them greeting.

Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and shipping, unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and find out some commodities and merchandises in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also

may ensue, by trade and commerce, some propagation of the Christian faith and reformed religion amongst those savage and idolatrous people. And whereas we are credibly informed, that there are divers merchants and owners of ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh in this his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the profits returned, in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth. And, whereas, also, we are informed, that divers other gentlemen, the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and divers captains and other commanders are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their lives with him, in this his journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that we, upon deliberate consideration had of the premises, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of our loving subjects, and to give our princely furtherance to the said Walter Raleigh, his friends and associates herein, to the encouragement of others in the like laudable journies and enterprises, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the conversion of savage people, as of the increase of the trade, traffick, and merchandises used by our subjects of this our kingdom, being most famous throughout all nations: Of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh full power and authority, and free licence and liberty, out of this our realm of England, or any other our dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead, for and towards his said intended voyage into the said south parts, or other parts of America; possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, and to travel thither, all such, and so many of our loving subjects, or any others, strangers, that will become our loving subjects, and live under our obeysance and allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, ammunition, powder, shot, habiliments, victuals, and such wares and merchandises, as are esteemed by the wild people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts, to give away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandises, and premises to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his company, and such other person, or persons, as shall be adventurers or assistants with, or unto him in this his intended voyage, and from thence to return, import, convey, and bring into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, or merchandises, or commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the said Sir W. Raleigh, and his said company, and other persons, adventurers and

assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the lett, interruption, molestation, and disturbance of us, our heirs or successors, or any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever, paying and answering unto us, our heirs and successors, the full fifth part in five parts to be divided, of all such gold, and silver, and bullion, and ore of gold or silver, and pearl, and precious stone, as shall be so imported, over and besides, and together with such customs, subsidies, and other duties, as shall be due for, or in respect of any other goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, to be imported by the true meaning of these presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterprise, and all our loving subjects desirous to be adventurers with him, or assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his proceedings: We do hereby, *in verbo Regio*, for us, our heirs and successors, covenant, promise, and grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be adventurers, or assistants, with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, silver, goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him, or them, or any of them, to be imported into this our kingdom of England, or any other our dominions, from any the said south or other parts of America, possessed or inhabited as aforesaid, shall be attached, seized, or taken by us, our heirs or successors, or to the use of us, our heirs or successors, or by any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors, whatsoever; but that the same, and every of them (the fifth part of the said gold, silver, or bullion, and ore of gold, and silver, and pearl, and precious stone, and other the customs and duties aforesaid, being duly answered and paid) shall be and remain to the sole proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said company, and such persons as shall be adventurers with him, or assistant to him in this his voyage, any law, statute, or act of parliament, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any right, title, or claim of us, our heirs or successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, constitute, and appoint the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to be the sole governor and commander of all persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said voyage, to the said south, or other parts of America, so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule them, or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time established, as well in cases capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and other; so always as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government and policy of this our realm of England, and not against the true Christian faith now professed in the church of England. And because that, in such and the like enterprises and voyages, great inconveniences

have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the mariners and sailors employed in the same, for want of sufficient authority to punish them according to their offences: We do therefore by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of rebellion, or mutiny by sea or land, to use and exercise martial law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample maner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or lieutenants in our countie, within our realm of England, have had, or ought to have by force of their commission of lieutenancy. And we do further, by these presents, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to collect, nominate, and appoint such captains, and other inferior commanders and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his company, and the good of the voyage. And further, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, streightly charge and command the warden of our Cinque-Ports, and all the customers, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, waiters, and other officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, that they, and every of them, do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all person and persons that shall be willing to travel and adventure with him in this voyage with their ships, ammunition, goods, wares, and merchandises whatsoever out of this our realm, or any other our dominions, to pass into the said south, or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, and from thence to return and import into this our realm, or any other our dominions, any goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, and there to sell, or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his company, and such other persons as shall be adventurers with him in this voyage, paying the fifth part of all gold and silver, bullion, and ore of gold and silver, and of pearl and precious stone imported, and other the customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents, or the inrollment thereof, shall be unto the said warden of the Cinque-Ports, customers, comptrollers, and other the officers and ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. And our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our letters-patents, or the inrollment thereof, and all and singular grants, clauses, and things therein contained, shall be firm, strong, sufficient, and effectual in law, according to our gracious pleasure, and meaning herein expressed; any law, statute, act, provision, ordinance, or restraint, or any other matter or thing to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the six and twentieth day of August, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the fiftieth.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

THIS commission so drawn and framed, as you see, his Majesty himself did oft peruse and revise, as foreseeing the future events; the tenor whereof appeared to be so far from giving Sir Walter Raleigh warrant, or colour, to invade any of the territories, occupied and possessed by the Spaniards, as it tended to a direction, rather of commerce than spoil, even towards the savages themselves. And the better to contain Sir Walter Raleigh, and to hold him upon his good behaviour, his Majesty denied, though much sued unto for the same, to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorise him with those that were under his command, in case he should attempt to exceed his commission, and to reserve him to the justice of the law, if, by new offences, he should make himself indigne of former mercies. And as for the good security which his Majesty ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behaviour in the voyage; his Majesty never heard any thing to the contrary but that it was performed till they were upon their parting; and then was it told him, that every one of the principals, that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another, which, if his Majesty had known in time, he would never have accepted of.

But, howsoever the commission was penned, and whatsoever the cautions were which his Majesty intended or used, and whatsoever the pretestations and promises were, that Sir Walter Raleigh made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequel of his actions, that he went his own way, and had his own ends: First, To procure his liberty, and then to make new fortunes for himself, casting abroad only this tale of the mine as a lure to get adventurers and followers, having in his eye the Mexico fleet, the sacking and spoil of towns planted with Spaniards, the depredation of ships, and such other purchase; and making account, that, if he returned rich, he would ransom his offences, little looking into the nature and character of his Majesty's justice and government; and, if otherwise, he would seek his fortune by flight, and new enterprises in some foreign country.

In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir Walter Raleigh, carrying the reputation of an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, and especially of a great commander at sea, by the inticement of this golden bait of the mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew unto him many brave captains, and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazard and adventure their lives, and the whole, or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his voyage; whose ruins and decays, following, remain as sad and grievous relics and mountains of his unfortunate journey and unfaithful proceedings.

But, before he went from London, he was not so reserved nor so constant unto his pretence of the mine, but that some sparks broke forth of that light, which afterwards appeared. For he cast forth some words to some particular friends of his company, that he knew a town in those parts, upon which he could make a saving voyage in tobacco, tho' there were no other spoil. Nevertheless, to make the better faith of that he had given out touching the mine, he promised his company at London, that, when he came to Plymouth, he would

take a great company of pioneers out of the west, where the best workmen are of that kind, and he maintained this his pretence so far, as he billeted the said pioneers for several ships; but, when he came into the west, this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himself confessed, that he carried none at all, excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the mariners, and common soldiers, that he would have made fall to work; which is a slender excuse of omitting so principal a point. As for pickaxes, mattocks, and shovels for the working of the mine, it is true, he carried some small quantity for a show, but, by the judgment of all that were in his company, nothing near sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the mine; which he excused only by saying, that his men never saw them unpacked, and that the mine was not past a foot and a half under ground.

After, when he was once at sea, he did not much labour to nourish and maintain the belief, that he meant to make his voyage upon the profit of the mine, but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visible proofs, that such a mine there was, tho' he brought not the riches of it. For, soon after his setting forth from Ireland, he professed, that if he brought home but a handful or basketful of ore, to shew the King, he cared for no more, for it was enough to save his credit; and, being charged therewith, he confessed the speech, with this argument and inference, that, if there had been a handful of the mine, it followed there was a mine to be confessed; as if so many ships, so many lives of men, such charge of provisions, and such an honourable commission, had been but for an experiment.

About the same time, likewise, he began to forget his commission, as well as his pretences of the mine; for he did declare himself to divers of his company, that he meant to take St. Thome, and that he would make his voyage good upon that town, for that it was very rich; so as, whereas it was blown abroad, that the assault of St. Thome was enforced by a kind of necessity, for that our troops were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at London, of a town indefinitely, and by this his speech early in his voyage at sea, of St. Thome, by name, that it was an original design of his from the beginning; and yet, it is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where St. Thome was situate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers towns in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their vassals, so as it is plain, both place and persons were out of his commission.

And that this was well known to him it appears notably in a letter of his own hand, written since his return from his voyage, wherein he complains, that the Spaniards of the same place did murder divers of his men, which came in peace to trade with them, some seven years past; neither doth he in that letter any way decline his knowledge, that those parts were inhabited by the Spaniards, but stands upon a former title, which he would needs now have strengthened by a new possession; notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way compatible with his commission, and that himself, before his going, made no overture, or

allegation, of any such pretext, nor so much as intimated, or insinuated, any such design or purpose.

Again, before he came to the islands, he made no difficulty to tell many in express terms, that he meant to surprise and set upon the Mexico fleet, though sometimes he would qualify it, by saying: If all failed, or, if the action of the mine were defeated.

And Sir Walter Raleigh himself, being charged with these speeches, confessed the words, but saith, that, in time, they were spoken after the action of the mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end to keep his men together; and, if he spoke it before, it was but discourse at large.

After, when he began to be upon the approaches of his pretended design of the mine, and was come to Trinidad, he fell sick in some extremity, and in doubt of life, as was thought, at what time he was moved, by some principal persons about him, upon two points, in case he should de cease; the one, that he would nominate a general to succeed him; the other, that he would give some direction for prosecution of the action of the mine. To the first he made answer, that his commission could not be set over, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselves; but, for the mine, he professed he could give them no direction, and staid not there, but told them, there was another course which he did particularise unto them to be a French commission, whereby they might do themselves most good upon the Spaniards.

When he was upon recovery, he dispatched the land-forces pretended for the mine, and had designed Captain Sentleger to command in that expedition; but by reason of Sentleger's infirmity at that time, he resorted to his kinsman, Captain George Raleigh, who was his serjeant-major; in whose written commission which he gave him, he was wary enough not to express the taking of St. Thome, but only inserted a clause of commandment: That they should in all things obey him, as they would do to himself in person; yet, in private directions and instructions, he did open himself to divers of his company, that, in case they should not receive some advertisement, that the town was reinforced by new supplies of men, whereby the enterprise might be of too great hazard for their number, they should take the town first, telling them, that the mine was but three miles distant short of the town, and inferring, as Kemish expounded it afterwards, that it was in vain to meddle with the mine, except the town were first taken, and the Spaniards chased; for that otherwise they should but discover it, and work it for the Spaniards; and, when he had opened himself thus far, some of his company, of the more intelligent and dutiful sort, did in plain terms turn it upon him, setting before him, that the taking of the town would break the peace, and that they should go against the commission; whereupon, most falsly and scandalously, he doubted not with confidence to affirm, that he had order by word of mouth, from the King and his council, to take the town, if it were any hinderance to the digging of the mine.

But the event did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kind of interpretation little needed, for that young Mr.

Raleigh, who was likeliest to know his father's secret, when he led his soldiers upon the town, used these or the like words; Come on, my hearts, here is the mine that you must expect; they, that look for any other mine, are fools; and, with this did well concur that which followed, in the prosecution of the mine after the town was taken; for this mine was not only imaginary, but moveable, for that, which was directed to be three miles short of St. Thome, was after sought thirty miles beyond St. Thome.

All this while Sir Walter Raleigh staid at Pont de Gallo, for the space of some nine weeks, during which time it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the mine was dead, whereas men in expectation do commonly feed themselves with the talk of that they long to hear of; nay, more, after he had received news of the taking of the town, which had been the fittest time to pursue the enterprise of the mine, in regard the town, that might have been the impediment, was mastered, he never entertained any such design, but contrariwise, having knowledge at the same time, that his son was slain, who, as it seems, was his only care amongst the land-soldiers, he did move very inhumanly, to remove not a little from Pont de Gallo to Pont Hercule, in respect of the danger of the current, as he pretended, but to go for the Caribbees many leagues off; accounting, as it seemeth, the land-soldiers but as *fruges consumere natos*, and having his thoughts only upon sea-forces, which how they should have been employed, every man may judge. And whereas some pretence is made by him, as if he should leave some word at Pont de Gallo of direction, to what place the land-soldiers should follow him; it is plain, he knew them at that time so distressed for victuals, as famine must have overtaken them, before they could overtake him; at which time one of his captains told him, that he had delivered out fifty-two men to that service, which were then at the enterprise on land, whose lives he held at a dear rate, and that he would not weigh anchor, as long as he had a cable to ride by, or a cake of bread to eat; so, Sir Walter Raleigh finding no consent in that which he propounded, that cruel purpose was diverted.

It was also much observed, that, after that unfortunate return of Kemish, notwithstanding Sir Walter Raleigh did publicly give out, that he would question him for failing to prosecute the mine, he had him at dinner, and supper, and used him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to George Raleigh, the serjeant-major (to whom he did use the like discountenances in publick, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it) he did open himself more plainly, telling him that he must seem to do as much as he did, to give satisfaction.

After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginary mine vanished, and was defeated, and that his company cast a sad eye homewards, finding they were but abused, Sir Walter Raleigh called a council of his captains, and held the same in his cabin, where he propounded to them, that his intention and design was: First, to make to the Newfoundland, and there to revictual and refresh his ships; and thence to go to the Western islands, and there to lie in wait to meet with the

Mexico fleet, or to surprise some carracks; and so having gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any foreign country, to take some new course for his future fortunes, valuing himself as a man of great enterprise and fame abroad; but then, and at divers times, he did directly, and openly declare, that it was no coming for England, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he, for his part, would never put his head under the King's girdle, except he first saw the great seal for his pardon.

At which time his cogitations embracing east and west, rather than any return into his country, he did in particular make promise to a principal commander in his company, to give him a ship to go into the East Indies, if he would accompany him thither. But, according to his first project, he went to Newfoundland, which he needed not to have done, if his purpose had been for England, for that he had victuals enough, and to spare, for that journey; and there at Newfoundland, his other company having formerly dispersed and forsaken him, his own company, which was in his own ship, began likewise to mutiny. And, although some old pirates, either by his inciting, or out of fear of their own case, were fierce and violent for the sea, and against the return, yet the far greater number were for the return; at which time himself got a-land, and stood upon the sea-bank, and put it to a question, whether they should return for England, or land at Newfoundland? Whereupon there was a division of voices, the one part to the starboard, and the other to the larboard; of which that part, which was for the return for England, was two parts of three, and would by no means be drawn to set foot on land, but kept themselves in the ship, where they were sure they were masters; which he perceiving, for fear of further mutiny, professed, in dissimulation, that he himself was for the return into England, and came and stood amongst them that had most voices; but, nevertheless, after that he despaired to draw his company to follow him further, he made offer of his own ship, which was of great value, to his company, if they would set him a-board a French barque: the like offer he made, when he came upon the coast of Ireland, to some of his chief officers there.

But, about the time of his arrival upon the coast of Ireland, the forcing and sacking of St. Thome, and the firing of the town, and the putting the Spaniards to the sword, was noised abroad in all parts, and was by special advertisement come unto the knowledge of the Count de Gondamore, then ambassador for the King of Spain with his Majesty, who, thereupon, prayed audience of his Majesty, and with great instance demanded justice against the persons, and their goods, who had committed those outrages, and made those spoils upon his Majesty's subjects, according to his Majesty's promise, and the treaty of peace. Whereupon his Majesty published his royal proclamation for the discovery of the truth of Raleigh's proceedings, and the advancement of justice. Notwithstanding all which, his Majesty used a gracious and mild course towards Sir Walter Raleigh, sending down Sir Lewis Stukeley, vice-admiral of the county of Devon, to bring Sir Walter Raleigh, in fair manner, and, as his health would

give leave, by easy journies to London. For, about this time, Sir Walter Raleigh was come from Ireland into England, into the port of Plymouth, where it was easy to discern with what good will he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; for, soon after his coming to Plymouth, before he was under guard, he dealt with the owner of a French barque, pretending it was for a gentleman, a friend of his, to make ready his barque for a passage, and offered him twelve crowns for his pains. And one night he went in a little boat, to have seen the barque that should have transported him, but, the night being very dark, he missed of the barque, and came back again, nothing done; wherein, by the way, appears, that it was not any train laid for him by Sir Lewis Stukeley, or any other, as was voiced, to move or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to fly, and escape from his first arrival in England.

But, in this his purpose, he grew to be more resolute and fixed, after that the lords of his Majesty's council, observing the delays in his coming up, had sent unto Stukeley some quick letters, for the hastening thereof; but, thereupon, as his desire of escape increased, so did the difficulty thereof increase also; for, that Stukeley, from that time forth, kept a better guard upon him; whereof he took that apprehension, in so much, as, knowing Stukeley to be witty and watchful, he grew to an opinion that it would be impossible for him to escape, except that he could win one of these two points, either to corrupt Stukeley, or at least to get to have some liberty when he came to London, of remaining in his own house; for guiltiness did tell him, that, upon his coming to London, it was like he should be laid prisoner in the Tower. Wherefore he saw no other way, but, in his journey to London, to counterfeited sickness in such a manner, as might, in commiseration of his extremity, move his Majesty, to permit him to remain in his own house; where, he assured himself, before long, to plot an opportunity of an escape. And having in his company one Manoury, a Frenchman, a professor of physick, and one that had many chymical receipts, he practised by crowns, and promised to draw him into his consort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sick, the story whereof Manoury himself reported to have passed in this manner.

Upon Saturday the twenty-fifth of July, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Lewis Stukeley and Manoury, went to lie at Master Drake's, where the letters of commission from the privy council were brought unto Sir Lewis Stukeley, by one of his Majesty's messengers, which caused a sudden departure, with much more haste than was expected before; and the countenance of Sir Walter Raleigh was much changed, after Sir Lewis Stukeley had shewed the commission; for Manoury saw him from the stair-head, he being alone in his chamber, the door standing half open, how he stamped with his feet, and pulled himself by the hair, swearing in these words, "God's wounds, is it possible my fortune should return upon me thus again?"

From Master Drake's they went on their journey to the house of Master Horsey, distant from thence four miles, or thereabouts. It was in that hour that Sir Walter Raleigh began first to cause Manoury to

be sounded; what was in his heart, by an old domestick of his, called Captain King, who there began to discourse unto Manoury of the infortunity of his master, and, amongst other things, said thus: 'I would we were all at Paris;' to whom Manoury answered, 'I would we were all at London; alas! what should we do at Paris? Because, quoth King, that as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Raleigh to the Tower, and cut off his head.' Whereupon Manoury answered, that he hoped better than so, and that he was sorry for his ill-fortune; and that, according to his small ability, he was ready to do him all honest service he could, so it might be done without offence.

After dinner, it being Sunday, Sir Walter Raleigh departed from Master Horsey's house, and went to Sherbourn; and in the way, when he came within view thereof, turning to Manoury, and shewing him the place, and the territory about it, he said unto him sighing, that all that was his, and that the King had unjustly taken it from him. He and Stukeley lay not at Sherbourn, but were invited to the house of old Master Parham; Manoury and their train went to lie at Sherbourn, at the sign of the George. The next day, being Monday, the twenty-seventh of July, Manoury went to them, and from thence they took their way towards Salisbury, thirty-five miles from Sherbourn; and arriving there, Sir Walter Raleigh, going a foot down the hill, addressed himself unto Manoury, and asked him if he had any of his vomits, or other medicines; which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell no-body thereof. "I know, quoth he, that it is good for me to evacuate many bad humours, and, by this means, I shall gain time to work my friends, give order for my affairs, and, it may be, pacify his Majesty before my coming to London; for I know well, that, as soon as I come there, I shall go to the Tower, and that they will cut off my head, if I use no means to escape it; which I cannot do, without counterfeiting to be sick, which your vomits will effect, without suspicion." For which cause the same evening, as soon as he arrived, he laid him down upon a bed, complaining much of his head, and blaming his great day's journey from Sherbourn to Salisbury, notwithstanding he supped very well; but, after supper, he seemed to be surprised with a dimness of sight, by a swimming or giddiness in his head, and, holding his hand before his face, he rose from his bed; and, being led by the arm by Sir Lewis Stukeley, he staggered so, that he struck his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his chamber; which made Sir Lewis Stukeley think, that he was sick indeed; in which belief Manoury left him for that time.

The next day in the morning, he sent the lady his wife, and most of his servants, to London, and also Captain King; and, Cuthbert, and Manoury, and Sir Lewis Stukeley, being in Stukeley's chamber, a servant of Sir Walter, named Robin, came and told them, that his master was out of his wits, and that he was naked in his shirt upon all fours, scratching, and biting the rushes upon the planks; which greatly pitied Sir Lewis Stukeley, who, rising in haste, sent Manoury to him, who, when he came, found him gotten again to his bed; and

asking him what he ailed, he answered, he ailed nothing, but that he did it for the purpose. And, Sir Walter Raleigh asking him for his vomit, he gave it him, who made no bones, but swallowed it down incontinently: At which time, Sir Lewis Stukeley coming in, Sir Walter began again to cry and rave; then Manoury went out of the chamber, and the vomit which he had given him, was an hour and a half before it wrought; but in the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh began to draw up his legs and arms all on a heap, as it had been in a fit of convulsions, and contractions of his sinews; and that with such vehemency, that Sir Lewis Stukeley had much ado with the help of others, to pull out streight, sometimes an arm, sometimes a leg; which, against all the strength they had; he would draw up again as it was before; whereat the said Sir Lewis Stukeley took great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chafed; which Sir Walter Raleigh himself afterwards told unto Manoury, laughing that he had well exercised Sir Lewis Stukeley, and taught him to be a physician.

This feigned fit being thus past, Sir Walter Raleigh called Manoury, and, when he came, he prayed him to stay by him, and said he would take some rest. Manoury shut the door, and, being alone with him, Sir Walter Raleigh told him, that his vomit had done nothing as yet; and said, that he would take another more violent; but, Manoury assuring him, that without doubt it would work, he contented himself, and asked Manoury if he could invent any thing that might make him look horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending his principal parts, or making him sick inwardly: Manoury studied a little, and then told him, that he would make a composition presently, of certain things which would make him like a leper from head to foot, without doing him any harm, which at his intreaty he effected speedily; at which time Sir Walter Raleigh gave him the reason why he did it, telling him that his being in that case would make the lords of the council afraid to come near him, and move them with more pity to favour him. Soon after that Manoury had put this composition upon his brow, his arms, and his breast, Sir Lewis Stukeley came into the chamber, and Manoury went away; and, Sir Lewis Stukeley perceiving the places, where Manoury had put this composition, to be all pimples, his face full of great blisters of divers colours, having in the midst a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skin as it were inflamed with heat, he began to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious; and, being very much astonished at the sudden accident, he asked Manoury what he thought thereof; but Manoury judged it fit to conceal it from him at that time, seeing Sir Walter Raleigh had not yet told him, that he meant to fly out of England, but that it was only to gain time to satisfy his Majesty.

Upon Manoury's uncertain answer to Sir Lewis Stukeley touching Sir Walter Raleigh's malady, Stukeley resolved to go to my Lord Bishop of Ely, now of Winchester, to relate unto him in what case Sir Walter Raleigh was, and brought unto Raleigh two physicians, to see and visit him; who, being come, could tell nothing of what humour the said sickness was composed. There came also a third, a batchelor

in physick, who all could not, by all that they could do, discover this disease; only they gave their opinion and advice, that the patient could not be exposed to the air, without manifest peril of his life, and thereof they made their report in writing, unto which Manoury also set his hand.

Sir Walter Raleigh, seeing that all these things fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that, in the presence of the said physicians, the vomit began to work both upwards and downwards. And, because he doubted that the physicians would ask to see his water, he prayed Manoury to do something to make it seem troubled and bad; which to content him, giving him the urinal into his bed, Manoury rubbed the inside of the glass with a certain drug, which as soon as he had made water therein, the urine, even in the hands of the physicians, turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also to have an ill savour; which made the physicians judge the disease to be mortal, and without remedy, but from heaven.

He made Manoury also to tie his arms about with black silk ribband, which he took from his poniard, to try if it would distemper the pulse; but that succeeded not, as he thought it would. The day following, he called Manoury, and prayed him to make some more such blisters upon him, as, upon his nose, his head, his thighs, and his legs, which Manoury having done, it succeeded according to his desire; for which he was very jocund and merry with Manoury, and said unto him that the evacuation, which his physick had caused, had so opened his stomach, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed Manoury that he would go and buy him some meat secretly; for, quoth he, if I eat publickly, it will be seen that I am not sick; so, according to his request, Manoury went to the White Hart in Salisbury, and bought him a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he eat in secret; and by this subtlety it was thought that he lived three days without eating, but not without drink: Thus he continued until Friday, the last of July, seeming always to be sick in the presence of company, and nevertheless, being alone, he writ his declaration or apology, and prayed Manoury to transcribe it, which was since presented to his Majesty.

The same evening, Sir Lewis Stukeley discoursing upon his sickness, and whence it should proceed, Sir Walter Raleigh said in these words, 'As God save me, I think I have taken poison where I lay the night before I came to this town; I know that Mr. Parham is a great lover of the King of Spain, and a Papist, and that he keeps always a priest in his house; but I will not have any of you to speak of it, nor you Monsieur, quoth he, speaking to Manoury.' Also Sir Walter Raleigh, his chamber doors being shut, walked up and down, and only Manoury with him, there naked in his shirt, and took a looking-glass, and looking upon the spots in his face, whereat he took great pleasure, and laughing, said unto Manoury these words, 'We shall laugh well one day, for having thus cozened and beguiled the king, his council, and the physicians, and the Spaniards and all.

Upon the Saturday that his Majesty arrived at Salisbury, which was the first of August, Sir Walter Raleigh desired to speak with Manoury.

in secret, and seemed to have a very great apprehension of something; and, having made him shut the doors, prayed him to give him a red leathern coffer, which was within another coffer; which when he had, he was a good while looking in it, and then called Manoury, and, putting nine pieces of Spanish money of gold into his hand, he said thus: 'There is twenty crowns in pistolets, which I give you for your physical receipts, and the victuals you bought me; and I will give you fifty pounds a year, if you will do that which I shall tell you; and, if it happen that Sir Lewis Stukeley do ask you, what conference you had with me, tell him, that you comfort me in my adversity, and that I make you no other answer than thus, as is here written.' Which he had already written with his own hand, in a little piece of paper, for Manoury's instruction, as followeth:

'Vela M. Manoury l'acceptance de tout mes travaux, pertie de mon estat, & de mon fils, mes maladies & douleurs. Vela l'effect de mon confidence au Roy.' Which paper of Raleigh's hand writing Manoury produced.

And now Sir Walter Raleigh began to practise with Manoury, and to tell him, that he would fly and get himself out of England, and that, if Manoury would aid him in his escape, it was all in his power; and that Sir Lewis Stukeley trusted in no body but Manoury: Whereupon Manoury made him an overture, that, at his coming to London, he should keep himself close in a friend's house of Manoury's, in Sheere-Lane, in London; whereunto he seemed to incline, and found Manoury's advice good for a while; but, in the end, he told him, that he was resolved otherwise, and that he had already sent Capt. King to hire him a barque below Gravesend, which would go with all winds, and another little boat to carry him to it. 'For, quoth he, to hide myself in London, I should be always in fear to be discovered by the general searchers that are there; but, to escape, I must get leave to go to my house, and, being there, I will handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the hands of Sir Lewis Stukeley by a back door, and get me into the boat; for no-body will doubt that I can go on foot, seeing me so feeble, as I seem to be.' And then, Raleigh having mused awhile, without speaking, Manoury asked him, 'Sir, wherefore will you fly? Your apology, and your last declaration, do not, they justify you sufficiently?' Then, all in choler, Raleigh answered him in English, thus: 'Never tell me more; a man that fears is never secure.' Which fashion of his put Manoury to silence for that time.

Now there rested nothing but his Majesty's license to permit him to go to his own house; without which, he said, he could not possibly escape. This license was after granted him, by the means of Master Vice-chamberlain, and Master Secretary Naunton; which being obtained, Manoury took occasion to say to him, 'That hereby one might see, that his Majesty had no meaning to take his life, seeing that he suffered him to go to his own house to recover his health. No, quoth Raleigh, they used all these kinds of flatteries to the Duke of Byron, to draw him fairly to the prison, and then they cut off his head: I know that they have concluded amongst them, that it is expedient that a man should die, to re-assure the traffick, which I have broken in Spain.' And

thereupon broke forth into most hateful and traitorous words against the King's own person, ending in a menace and bravery, 'That, if he could save himself for that time, he would plot such plots, as should make the King think himself happy to send for him again, and render him his estate with advantage; yea, and force the King of Spain to write into England in his favour.'

Manoury, at that time, did ask him further, If he escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stukeley? And whether he should be put to death for him, or not? And whether he should lose his office and estate? 'Not to death, quoth Raleigh, but he will be imprisoned for a while; but his lands the King cannot have, for they are already assured to his eldest son; and, for the rest, it was no part of his care.' Manoury further asked him, If it were not treason in himself to be aiding to his escape? No, quoth he, for that you are a stranger; nevertheless, you must not be known of any thing, for then you will be sure to be put in prison.' In conclusion, Manoury demanded of him yet further, 'But what if it be discovered, that I had any hand in your escape? Why, quoth he, follow me into France (that is your country) and quit all, and I will make you amends for all.'

After, Raleigh went on his journey to Andover, and so to Hertford-Bridge, and from thence to Staines; during which time, Sir Lewis Stukeley, being made acquainted by Manoury with Raleigh's purpose to escape, used extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him: Which Raleigh perceiving, said to Manoury, at Staines: I perceive well, it is not possible for me to escape by our two means alone; Stukeley is so watchful, and sets such strait guard upon me, and will be too hard for us, for all our cunning; therefore there is no way, but to make him of our council, and, if we can persuade him to let me save myself, I will give him in hand two hundred pounds sterling worth.' And thereupon drew forth a jewel, and shewed it to Manoury, and gave it into his hand, made in the fashion of hail, powdered with diamonds, with a ruby in the midst, which he valued at an hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and said: 'Besides this jewel, he shall have fifty pounds in money; I pray you, go tell him so from me, and persuade him to it; I know he will trust you.'

Manoury went presently to Stukeley, and told him as before, and concluded with him, that Manoury should report back to Raleigh, that he would accept of his offer; and bade him tell Raleigh also, that he was content to do as he desired, but he would chuse rather to go away with him, than to tarry behind with shame and reproach: And he bade Manoury ask him further, How he thought he could do this, without losing his office of vice-admiral, which cost him six hundred pounds? And how they should live afterwards? And to what place they should go? And what means he would carry with him, to furnish this intended journey? Which Manoury did, and was answered by the said Raleigh; and prayed to tell Stukeley, that, if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole intent; and that, for the first point, though Stukeley should lose his office, yet he should be no loser upon the matter; and, for afterwards, as soon as he was gotten into France, or Holland, his wife was to send

him a thousand pounds sterling, and that he carried with him only a thousand crowns, in money and jewels, to serve him for the present in escape. But, after supper, Raleigh said unto Manoury, 'Oh, if I could escape without Stukeley, I should do bravely: But it is no matter, said he, I'll carry him along, and afterwards I'll dispatch myself of him well enough.' And after, Manoury, relating all that had passed to Stukeley, brought them together; at which time Raleigh shewed the jewel to Stukeley, and he, making shew to be content, prayed him a little respite to dispose of his office: Whereupon, Manoury, seeing them so accorded upon the matter, in appearance, took his leave of them, to go to London; and, in the morning, Manoury, upon the taking of his leave, said to Raleigh, 'That he did not think to see him again, while he was in England.' Whereupon, Raleigh gave him a letter, directed to Mistress Herry's of Radford, that she should deliver him an iron furnace, with a distillatory of copper belonging unto it; and charged him to tell every man he met, that he was sick, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that very night.

But Raleigh, having formerly dispatched a messenger to London, to prepare him a barque for his escape, came at last to London; and, having won his purpose, by these former devices of feigned sickness, to be spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to be permitted to remain at his own house, till his better recovery; there fell out an accident, which gave him great hopes and encouragement speedily to facilitate his intended design for escape. For, as he came on his way to London, in his inn at Brentford, there came unto him a Frenchman, named La Chesnay, a follower of Le Clere, last agent here for his Majesty's dearest brother, the French King; who told him, that the French agent was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as might be after his arrival at London, for matters greatly concerning the said Walter's weal and safety; as in effect it fell out, that, the very next night after his arrival at London, the said Le Clere and La Chesnay came unto him to his house; and there did the said Le Clere offer unto him a French barque, which he had prepared for him to escape in, and, withal, his letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the governor of Calais, and to send a gentleman expressly, that should attend and meet him there. To which offer of his Raleigh, after some questions passed, finding the French barque not to be so ready, nor so fit, as that himself had formerly provided, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make use of his own barque; but for his letters, and the rest of his offer, he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn out. So passionately bent was he upon his escape, that he did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so near, upon his first acquaintance, and unto a stranger, whom he hath since confessed that he never saw before. And thus, after two nights stay, the third night he made an actual attempt to escape, and was in a boat towards his ship, but was by Stukeley arrested, brought back, and delivered into the custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

For these his great and heinous offences, in acts of hostilities upon his Majesty's confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his com-

mission, as of his Majesty's subjects under his charge, impostures, attempts of escape, declining his Majesty's justice, and the rest, evidently proved, or confessed by himself, he had made himself utterly unworthy of his Majesty's further mercy: And, because he could not, by law, be judicially called in question, for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last work of the law, whereby he was *Civiliiter mortuus*, his Majesty was forced, except attainders should become privileges for all subsequent offences, to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder.

His Majesty's just and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good subjects, by this preceding declaration, not founded upon conjecture or likelihoods, but either upon confession of the party himself, or upon the examination of divers unsuspected witnesses, he leaves it to the world to judge, how he could either have satisfied his own justice (his honourable intentions having been so perverted and abused by the said Sir Walter Raleigh) or yet make the uprightness of the same his intentions appear to his dearest brother, the King of Spain, if he had not, by a legal punishment of the offender, given an example, as well of terror to all his other subjects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking contrary courses for the attaining to their own unlawful ends, as also of demonstration to all other foreign princes and states, whereby they might rest assured of his Majesty's honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occur. By which means, his Majesty may the more assuredly expect and claim an honourable concurrence, and a reciprocal correspondence from them, upon any the like occasion. But, as to Sir Walter Raleigh's confession at his death, what he confessed, or denied, touching any the points of this declaration, his Majesty leaves him and his conscience therein to God, as was said in the beginning of this discourse. For sovereign princes cannot make a true judgment, upon the bare speeches, or asseverations, of a delinquent, at the time of his death, but their judgment must be founded upon examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments, and such like real proofs, as all this former discourse is made up of and built upon; all the material and most important of the said examinations being taken under the hands of the examiners that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer than six of his Majesty's privy council, and attested by their alike several subscriptions under their hands; which were my Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Verulam Lord Chancellor of England; the Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy-Seal; Master Secretary Naunton; the Master of the Rolls; and Sir Edward Coke.

THE
HUMBLE PETITION AND INFORMATION

OF

SIR LEWIS STUKELEY, KNIGHT,
VICE-ADMIRAL OF DEVON,

Touching his own Behaviour in the Charge committed unto him,

FOR THE

BRINGING UP OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

AND THE

SCANDALOUS ASPERSIONS CAST UPON HIM FOR THE SAME.

Imprinted at London, by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's
most excellent Majesty, Anno 1618. Quarto, containing seventeen Pages.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The whole Story of Sir Walter Raleigh is so affecting, and the justice of his sentence, and the integrity of his conduct, has been so much controverted, that every tract, from which any information concerning him can be attained, ought to be esteemed worthy to be preserved. We have therefore inserted, in this collection, Sir William Stukely's vindication of himself, from the artifices which were thrown upon him by Raleigh on the scaffold, which probably give occasion to the declaration which was afterward published for the vindication of the King. The facts, however disadvantageous to Sir Walter's character, are declared with asseverations sufficient to gain belief, but they appear likewise to have been denied with equal solemnity. The reader must judge therefore from his circumstances, who ought to be credited. — J.º.

BEING deterred by your Majesty's more important affairs from any hope of redress of those scars cast upon my reputation by Sir Walter Raleigh at his death, without some remonstrance of the business,

made by myself; I have presumed to offer, to your most excellent Majesty, a just defence of my carriage in that affair: wherein as I hold it the part of an honest man, to prefer publick duty before private affection; so I cannot but keep the heart of a gentleman, which is ever more sensible of a wound given to his reputation, than to his life. I have no pleasure to fight with a ghost: But, seeing an angel of darkness did put on him the shape of an angel of light at his departure, to perform two parts most cunningly: First, to poison the hearts of discontented people; Secondly, to blemish me in my good name, a poor instrument of the just desires of the state, with false imputations: give me leave, most gracious sovereign, to speak for myself, which I do not to insult upon the dead, but to defend myself against the false reports of the living, taken from the dead upon trust, to strike me directly, but, through my sides indirectly, aiming at a higher mark. All men have long known, that this man's whole life was a mere sophistication, and such was his death, in which he borrowed some tincture of holiness, which he was thought not to love in his life, therewith to cover his hatred of others in his death. As it appeareth, that, being moved by the Dean of Westminster, and thereupon promising charity to me in the prison, doth thus vent his hatred on the scaffold, in shew of charity to the living, to take heed of so dangerous a man. An uncharitable charity, not much unlike that man's repentance, who, purposing to hang himself, writes his repentance of that sin before hand in his book, which he did purpose to commit.

Yet will not I take upon me to judge of his last repentance, I leave him unto God, to whom he stands or falls; but I would he had given a better sign of it, than by godly words at his death to gather credit to himself to work upon the compassion of men, thereby to infuse more warily the venom of sedition, into the hearts of as many as he might, and to gain reputation upon his sovereign, but to spend his malice upon me your poor servant, who did nothing, but execute your just commands, with the peril of my life. Witness his open invitation of divers to his death, wherein he meant, as in his last will and testament, to leave a legacy of his hatred unto me; to be executed upon me by them to my destruction.

But it is nothing, in respect of his general end, to spread by them, whom he had invited, the contagion of his seditious humour unto others, which the event doth manifest: That it grows very questionable, whether this man did more hurt by his life, or by his death: By his life, through his ill example; by his death, through his false testimony, to traduce the justice and instruments of the state. Yea but it was the testimony of a dying man, now a penitent, as all say, as some say a saint, even then when, as himself said, it was no time to flatter, or fear princes; yea, but it was the testimony of an enemy, of a perjured, of a condemned man. First, of an enemy, and of an angry enemy, even with your Majesty that would have justice executed on him, upon his original condemnation, who were satisfied, as he publicly did speak of his innocency in that cause, as privately before

he bewrayed his deep discontentment, when it was urged, that the testimony of the Lord Cobham was never retracted, Sir Walter Raleigh did peremptorily deny it. To whom answer was made, that then the publick act registered in the council-book would manifest it, for there it appears. So fain would this man cast aspersion upon your justice for taking the life of an innocent in that cause, wherein he was condemned by his country. When this would not serve his turn, then did he fly to the commission of a general; pleading it as an implicit pardon of that former offence: Not considering that, being already a man condemned for treason, he was, as the learned in the law held, uncapable of another trial, by which he might have been found as nocent as before. For, he having a commission, to go into those parts of America, unpossessed by any Christian prince in league with your Majesty, and no where else, either to plant or trade, he made his design for the river of Oroonoko, where he knew the subjects of the King of Spain were already planted, which, as he confessed under his hand to your Majesty, he concealed from you; and this under pretence of his gold mine, which he did apparently to this end, to break the league, and to imbroil the two states. Many generals have for exceeding their commissions been punished, even for good services; how then could he have escaped, for this his disservice, being against his commission, if he might by the law have been tried upon it? It is clear then, that he was angry with your Majesty, for commanding justice to be done upon him; how then could he chuse but be angry with me the poor instrument, who brought him back to justice, from whence he intended often to make an escape?

First at sea, upon his return, making motion to be set on shore in France, and to quit his ship to his company in that condition; for the which he was blocked up in his cabbin for a month together, as himself hath confessed unto me, and is to be proved by divers of his company: By which it is clear again, that, out of his guiltiness, he did not so much trust in your goodness, as he said on the scaffold he did too much, or else he had not suffered death. Next at Plymouth, after he was, by your Majesty's special command, committed to my keeping, he plotted with two French captains; by name with Captain Flory, and Captain Le Grand, to escape in one of their ships, then there in harbour, as he then confessed to the lords commissioners, it being first evidently proved against him; by which it appeareth again, he did not trust your Majesty's goodness, as he wrote and said, at his death. But I am sure by this he did much wrong my kindness, to my undoing, had not the goodness of heaven prevented him. Next he plotted his escape at Salisbury, which my worthy cousin, William Herbert, first discovered to your Majesty. Last upon the same Saturday, when I received your Majesty's commission, by my cousin Herbert, by whom also I received intelligence, that at that instant he was flying from my custody without my privity; not having as yet made him any semblance of condescent, so that I almost came on him at unawares, even at the instant that he was putting on his false beard and his other disguisements: Which declares he did still distrust your

goodness; doubtless, out of the conscience of his guiltiness, whatsoever he wrote or said to the contrary. And is it any marvel then, that he was angry with me at his death for bringing him back? Besides, that, being a man, as he was thought, of so great a wit, it was no small grief, that a man, of so mean a wit as I, should be thought to go beyond him. Yea, but you should not have used such craft to go beyond him. No? *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex justior ulla est quam necis artifices arte perire sua.* But why did not you execute your commission barely to his apprehension on him in his house? Why? my commission was to the contrary, to discover his other pretensions, and to seize his secret papers, &c. And can any honest subject question my honesty, in the performance of such a commission, which tended to the discovery of the secret intentions of an ill affected heart to my sovereign? How can any dislike this in me, and not bewray his own dishonest heart unto the state? Yea, but though another might have done this, yet how might you do it, being his kinsman, and his friend? surely, if I had been so, yet in a publick employment, and trust laid upon me, I was not to refuse it, much less to prefer private kindness or amity, before my publick duty and loyalty: For what did I know the dangerous consequence of these matters which were to be discovered? Or who knows them yet, of those that make themselves my competent judges? But, if there were no kindred or amity between us, as I avow there never was, what bond then might tie me to him, but the tie of compassion of his misery? Which was in my sovereign's heart to distribute, when he saw time, that did command me, and not in the dispensation of me, nor of any other instrument's power that is to be commanded. Hitherto I have proved he was angry, both with your Majesty, and with myself, and therefore his testimony ought not to be of any force against me. It followeth next to prove, that his protestations and oaths concerning others were false, both before he came to the scaffold, and upon the scaffold. Before, against Queen Elisabeth, of infinite famous memory, who advanced him with great favour from the dust. For one day myself upbraiding him with the notorious extreme injury he did my father, in deceiving him of a great adventure which my said father had in the Tyger, when he went to the West-Indies with my uncle, Sir Richard Greenville; which was, by his own confession, worth fifty-thousand pounds, which came all to his hands, my father's portion at the least being ten thousand pounds that he might lawfully claim. He answered, that the Queen, howsoever she seemed a great good mistress unto him in the eyes of the world, yet was so unjust and tyrannous unto him, that she laid the envy, as well of this, as of many other her oppressions upon him; and that she took all the pearl in a cabinet unto herself, without ever giving him so much as one pearl. This he swore to me, and to Captain Pennington; he did so basely and barbarously rail upon that our most excellent Queen oftentimes, as he can attest, that no man hath cause to believe his oath against others, that would break his oath of allegiance to so excellent a mistress, that had raised him from such meanness to such greatness, as we of his country did well know.

Now that he swore that he was not guilty of the plotting of the Earl of Essex's death, nor did insult upon him being dead, there is a gentleman of worth, which about that time came from out of a long captivity, which he had suffered in Spain, who touched at Sherbourne, and Sir Walter Raleigh asked him, what they said in Spain of Essex's death? He answered, They heard not of it there: but that he was sorry he heard it in the island voyage, that the earl had brought him to his mercy. To which Sir Walter Raleigh answered, But I trust I am now quittance with him; which this gentleman is ready to attest. Besides, in his letters written to others, he did ordinarily upbraid him, that he died like a craven; and in another, that the great boy died like a calf: and he was often heard to say, That he died like a fool, and like a coward: So persecuting his ghost, and insolently trampling in his ashes; that it thence grew into many men's mouths, that it was better to be a living dog than a dead lion. But a more evident demonstration there cannot be of any thing, than that an old warder of the Tower will depose, That he saw Sir Walter Raleigh, the night before the earl's suffering, with his footman only with him, to come to the Tower, and heard him give strait instructions to the lieutenant of the Tower for execution of the warrant, for that worthy lord's execution, which shortly followed him. Whether then he forswore not himself, even at his death, for publick applause, about the not plotting the destruction, and not insulting on the death of that most noble earl, and excellent saint of God; whose Christian humility and charity, if Sir Walter had followed, he had not called his repentance and saintship so far into question, as now he hath done, and so seditiously have poisoned the hearts of discontented people, nor so maliciously wounded the reputation of an honest subject: Who, upon just reason, believing the disloyal and dishonourable words spoken by such a proud vassal against your sacred person to Monsieur Manoury, as other his disloyal deeds he intended against you: That, if he had escaped, he was like to prove as dangerous a traitor to his crown, as ever Antonio de Perez was to the crown of Spain; took them to heart, and performed my best devoyer to bring him unto justice. But whether, I say, he forswore not himself in these things, I refer myself to them that are better acquainted with the tragedy of that time.

Not to forget, in the end, that which he confessed himself unto me and others, that he took an oath upon the bible to his company, which he purposed to break; which perjury, his lady hath said, was the cause of all his ruin. And what interpretation can my greatest enemy make of his oath, which voluntarily he swore unto myself in the lieutenant's dining-chamber, the Wednesday after his commitment; which was, that he loved me as well, as any friend he had in the world; to which I have substantial witness. But in all these things he used an equivocation, as he doth in these things now concerning me. To which I answer in general once for all, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, father to his wife, was thought justly to except against the testimony of one Vaughan, brought against him, because he was a condemned man: And may not I then except against the testimony of Sir Walter Raleigh, urged against me upon the scaffold, coming from an outlaw

after judgment, even in a case of high-treason? Yet, to answer in particular to the points, he saith, First, I never did receive advice from my lord Carew to make my escape. And I do now verily believe he never did receive any such advice, as I ever said to the lords; but that Raleigh told it unto Stukeley, yea, and that many times, I will avow it unto death, and take the sacrament upon it.

To the Second; I never named my Lord Hay, and my Lord Carew, in other words and sense, than as my honourable friends, amongst other lords my honourable friends. That is very true, and I would the rest of his honourable friends understood, how far he named them, as well as I do. But as ever I believed, that he did abuse their honourable names, to seduce me, and to draw me to his purpose: So did I promise to myself, that some of the chief of them, being joined in the bond either of blood or affinity with me, a poor gentleman, would be a comfort unto me in the way of my loyalty, and renounce the testimony of such a disloyal man, that was never true to any but to himself. There is no man's displeasure can further hurt me, than he hath threatened me, that, if I revealed the things he told me in private, I should die for it. And die for this cause I am content, so it be not by an assassinate: But, whensoever I die, there shall die your Majesty's faithful and loyal servant, and one that will part with his blood at as dear a rate as he can.

For the Third, concerning the shewing of a letter to me about money; his wife, if she were put to her oath, can tell whether it were so or no. But, under the former protestation, I avow it to be true, that he shewed me such a letter; though I think it not true what the letter spake. I omit his perjury in swearing he had no design for France; whereas Sir John Fearne and Captain Pennington are able to testify upon their oaths, that he often told them he had a commission to stand them in stead from the high admiral of France, which confirms the testimony of M. Manoury, who saw the commission at Plymouth, as he will depose it. I urge not his perjury in that article concerning Sir John Fearne, that he never had it in his thought to go from Trinidad, to leave his company; which Sir John Fearne is ready to prove, by the deposition of sixty persons, that Sir Walter propounded it unto them, whatsoever he intended. And therefore, how this man equivocates at his death, all the world may see. O barbarous cruelty, to leave so many gentlemen, when he had secretly heard that his son was dead, to the mercy of their enemies, without hope or means to return. Where he also persuaded captain Pennington to go away, who answered him, he would rather die, than lay the guilt upon his soul of the death of so many gentlemen: But, if I would, you lately swore you had no money left, quoth captain Pannington, without which we cannot victual at Virginia; Tut, whatsoever I swore (said Sir Walter) I have three-hundred pieces in a corner, at a dead lift; as he confessed also to the lords, that he gave one-hundred and fifty pieces to his company to come home: And how then can that be true, which he swore at his death, that he carried but sixty pieces with him, and brought home near the same sum.

Certainly perjury was but a peccadillo with this man, which he shewed also towards me, when he protested that I persuaded him to go to Sir Edward Parham's father's house, which is most untrue: For Sir Walter Raleigh (having a secret intention, which afterwards appeared, to play the mountebank at Salisbury, to pretend the taking of a dose of poison, by which he deceived me first, that by me he might deceive others, which was a most base, unmanly part) thought Sir Edward Parham's father's house, whom he thought to be a papist, to be a fit subject of suspicion, which he meant to cast upon his friend, who had so lovingly and worthily entertained us. For, said Sir Walter, though the gentleman would not hurt me, yet there might be priests or Jesuits there that did it: For I remember, after my morning's draught of a cup of ale, which Sir Edward Parham offered me in the hall, I felt presently a kind of excoriation in mine intrails, as if some Jesuit had been the butler. Now, when I saw the pustules break out upon him at Salisbury, my compassion, I confess, was too credulous to report from his mouth so much, wherein I made no lye, but told a lye: *Non mentientis astu, sed compassionis affectu*, which hath been ill requited by him to whom I shewed it. But I am heartily sorry for it, that, being so far abused as I was, I should wrong my true kinsman, which moved me after to no small indignation against Sir Walter, who had thus abused us both. When I heard of his often purposes to escape, to my undoing, to draw him forward to it, which he intended of himself by making a lye, *Non amore mendacij, sed officij*, the rather because he had inveigled me to hurt my kinsman, by telling of a lye, which I doubt that divinity would not bear; but reason of state, as the best philosophers do hold, doth bear it to be lawful to tell a lye for the discovery of treason to do service to the common-wealth. Yea, but they say, that he hath not left so sufficient a man behind him, and that therefore his death is a loss to the common-wealth; I doubt much of both. But no man denies but he had many sufficiencies in him: But what are these, but so many weapons of practice and danger to the state, if he escaped, being so deeply tainted in so many points of discontent, dishonesty, and disloyalty? He knew, as he wrote, that, as in nature, so in policy, *A privatione ad habitum non fit regressio*; and therefore, being desperate of any fortune here, agreeable with the height of his mind, who can doubt, but he would have made up his fortune elsewhere upon any terms against his sovereign and country. No Coriolanus's heart could be more vindicative than he was unto the to whom he did impute his fault. Yea, but he died most resolutely. Yea, but he was taken most sheepishly. Never was there man, out the conscience of his own corruption and guiltiness, so cowed at taking, as he was; trembling and weeping to come before justice. Yea, but he gathered his spirits afterwards, and died resolutely. Even so hath many a Jesuit done at Tyburn; a cankered enemy to God and his sovereign: But with this difference, that they died in hope of false martyrdom, and this with a desire of false popular fame.

But he died like a Saint too: He hath before very much called his saintship into dispute by the carriage of his life: We may now judge

of it, by that he did, a night before his death, who, after his conferences with the dean of Westminster, for his better instruction, and preparation of his soul for God, called the keeper of the gate-house, Mr. Weekes, to him, and was curiously inquisitive to know whether he had any Romish priests under his charge and custody, and what they were; but upon his answer, that he had not any, whether he mistrusted that Mr. Weekes would not deal plainly with him, or would not be true unto him, he presently surceased from any further inquisition of that matter; which, whether it might proceed of an irresolution in the religion wherein he professed himself to die, or out of a popular affectation to insinuate and apply himself to all factions, I leave it to the censure of the judicious reader, and of such as best observed the whole scene of his action upon the scaffold. But, to go further, they said he died like a soldier and a saint, and therefore then to be believed, not only against me, but against the attestation of the state. O wicked times, to say no more! But my hope is, that religion, and the fear of God, and the conscience of my duty and loyalty to your Majesty, will sway more with the most, and best, by that time men shall from the state be better informed. *Opinionum commenta delebit dies, veritatis judicia confirmabit*, saith Tully. Wherefore I do here make two most humble petitions to your most excellent Majesty. First, That seeing I, your poor, loyal subject, am burdened, and oppressed, with the testimony of a bitter enemy, of a perjured and condemned man, which is against all reason, conscience, and law: That I may have your Majesty's leave, to the confirmation of the truth, which I have avowed to be sufficient; to receive the sacrament upon it in your Majesty's chapel. The next is, that your Majesty will be so gracious unto me, as to suffer a declaration to come forth from the state, for the clearing of these matters, and further satisfaction of the world: By which it may appear, that the justice of God, and the justice of the King, did never better meet together in one man: Which my just and humble request, I hope your Majesty will not deny, to

Your Majesty's loyal Subject and Servant,

LEWIS STUKELEY,

A TRUE
LIST OF THE JURY
IMPANNELED AT HUNTINGDON ASSIZES
BEFORE JUDGE DODDERIDGE, 1619.

MAMILIAN, King of Tozland.
Henry, Prince of Godmanchester.
George, Duke of Somersham.
William, Duke of Weston.
William, Marquis of Stukeley.
Edward, Earl of Hartford,
Robert, Lord of Warsley.
Richard, Baron of Bythorpe.
Robert, Baron of Winwich.
Edmund, Knight of St. Neots.
Peter, Esquire of Euston.
George, Gentleman of Spaldock.
Robert, Yeoman of Barham.
Stephen, Pope of Weston.
Humphrey, Cardinal of Kimbolton.
William, Bishop of Bugden.
John, Archdeacon of Paxton.
John, Abbot of Stukeley.
Richard, Friar of Ellington.
Henry, Monk of Stukeley.
Edward, Priest of Graffham.
Richard, Deacon of Castworth.

N. B. Judge Dodderidge having (in the circuit precedent to this) found fault with the sheriff, for impannelling men not qualified for the grand jury; he being a merry man resolved to fit the judge (with sound at least) and calling over the abovesaid names emphatically, made him believe he had indeed a jury of gentility.

A RELATION
OF THE
CARRIAGE OF THE MARRIAGES

THAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE BETWEEN

THE PRINCE OF ENGLAND AND THE INFANTA MAJOR,

And also after

WITH THE YOUNGER INFANTA OF SPAIN.

Written by Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Lord Digby. MS.

SIR,

THE charge I hold having so necessary relation and dependency on that place, to which your wisdom and deserts have moved his Majesty to call you; I have thought it fit, in a matter of no less consequence, than a treaty of marriage for the Prince's Highness, with a daughter of the King of Spain, (because I know you shall receive the carriage thereof severally and differently related from many princes, his Majesty's allies, and from his Majesty's publick ministers residing abroad) to set down, truly and exactly, the original, course, and issue of the business, to the end that you, who, under his Majesty, are like hereafter to direct, may be fully acquainted with what formerly passed: And for that it is likely, that the manner of this treaty shall not only be given out, but censured according to the diversity of men's affections, and unto you (as to the center where all advertisements meet) these contrarieties will come.

I therefore desired to arm you with this truth, which, as I affirm unto yourself, so I am ready to justify it to the world, if you shall have occasion, or that your wisdom shall think it fit to make more publick use of this discourse, which containeth in it so much truth, that I care not what eye sees it, for that I know no man can contradict it.

I shall therefore refer it to your Honour to make such use thereof, as shall best please you, either to inform others of these proceedings, or for your own private satisfaction, to which I chiefly intend it.

To set down unto your Honour perfectly, as well the introduction, and beginning of this business, as the course and issue to which it is brought, I must crave leave to take it a little higher than my own time; yet dare affirm what I shall say therein, to contain as exactly the truth, as that which hath passed by myself, for that I have received

it from his Majesty's own mouth, and often from my Lord Treasurer, and have found it acknowledged by the principal ministers here.

Not long after the concluding of the peace betwixt his Majesty and the King of Spain, there fell out many causes of expostulation betwixt them, for divers wrongs offered to his Majesty's subjects, contrary to the articles of treaty, as also for the readiness which was perceived in the King of Spain, to receive and favour persons ill affected to his Majesty and the state; and, thereupon, his Majesty was content, that it should be plainly told unto the King's ambassador residing in England, that he observed so strange a proceeding upon the new amity, as he had cause to suspect that the former alienation was rather disguised for the contriving of some future ends, than so extinguished, as he might be able to build upon such a friendship: Whereupon many arguments being used by divers of the King's ministers, in excuse of what had passed, imputing some to the slow stile of their proceeding in Spain, and some others to the concurrence in matter of conscience, with those persons which made their retreat into this King's dominion.

And, for the better expressing and intimating of this King's clear and sincere affections towards his Majesty, both the Conde de Villa Mediana in his time, and Don Pedro de Zuniga since, declared and protested to know so much of the King their master's good intents unto his Majesty, as if he would be pleased, according to nature and custom, by both which the man is to speak first, to begin a motion for a marriage betwixt the Prince of Wales and the Infanta, the same should be so well heard, as it should appear, that their King desired not only to continue in amity, but to unite himself by nearest alliance to his Majesty. To all which, though his Majesty could not but return kind and thankful answers in general; yet, for many respects, it pleased his Majesty to pass over all these occasions given him by these invitations, without making any particular answer, until the time of Don Alonzo de Velasco, yet leiger there, who renewing these former overtures, his Majesty could no longer have remained in silence, but he must have given just occasion to retort that opinion of coldness upon himself, for which he had, formerly, challenged the King of Spain. And here I can enter to speak of the sequel of the business upon my own knowledge.

In March, 1611, the Duke of Savoy sent an ambassage unto his Majesty, in which he gave commission to his ambassador to make offer of the Prince of Piedmont, for the Lady Elisabeth's grace, with insinuation likewise, how glad the Duke of Savoy would be, if the Prince of Wales would dispose himself to like of his eldest daughter.

To the first, his Majesty made answer, That he would not refuse to treat thereof upon the Duke's own motion, if it were propounded singly, as it had formerly been moved by the ambassador of Spain; but if it came accompanied with the condition of reciprocal marriage for the prince, his Majesty could herein give no answer, as not being yet resolved about the bestowing of him. At the same time that the Spanish ambassador made the first overture for the Prince of Piedmont, (for the motion thereof came from him as so directed by the King of Spain, as he affirmed and shewed in writing) he said, that in case his

Majesty should be pleased to make the like overture to the King his master, for the Prince of Wales to match with the Infanta, he did assure himself, that his Majesty should receive a kind and an honourable answer; intimating, indeed, that the intent of this match with Savoy was to be as a forerunner of the match desired, betwixt the Prince and the Infanta, by which all difficulties in matters of religion might be facilitated, that the other might find the less stays and hinderances, when it should come to be negotiated.

Myself, at the same time, being appointed to come as his Majesty's leiger ambassador in Spain, to supply the place which had been two years vacant, with charge to procure some better satisfaction in the merchants businesses, than they had yet received; and being so near my departure, that I had my instructions ready drawn and perfected, and had also taken my leave of his Majesty, thinking, within very few days, to have begun my journey.

My Lord Treasurer, upon this new invitation of the ambassador, sent me down to Royston unto his Majesty, to make him acquainted therewith, whereupon his Majesty was pleased to give me order how to behave myself in the business, and caused particular directions to be added and adjoined to my former instructions; wherein before there was no kind of mention for any such motion; an evident argument, that the overtures of the ambassador, and the assurance he gave his Majesty, that the proposition should have all kind acceptance, were the only motives which caused his Majesty to propound this match; this being the very true form in which this business was, by the ambassador, revived, and by which his Majesty and this King have proceeded.

At my arrival here in Spain, having procured audience of the King; after I had presented unto him his Majesty's kind and affectionate salutations with all princely offers of love and friendship, I gave particular notice unto him of the overture made by Don Alonzo, his ambassador; and, in his Majesty's name, gave him thanks for yielding so clear and apparent a testimony of his affection. And then I declared the extraordinary value and estimation his Majesty made of the person and fortune of the Infanta in every respect, and that to shew his willingness to maintain the amity, and increase the alliance betwixt them, he was willing to lay hold on that which the ambassador had intimated unto him, and therefore had given me instructions to propound a marriage unto him, for the Prince of Wales, his Majesty's son and heir, with the Infanta, his eldest daughter.

The King hereunto made answer, That these testimonies of his Majesty's love were very acceptable unto him, and told me, concerning this business, the Duke of Lerma should have orders to treat with me.

Within two or three days the Duke of Lerma came home unto me, to my house, to whom, when I had signified how grateful it was to his Majesty to understand of his good inclination towards him, and his estate; I declared as much unto him as before I did unto the King; and told him, that herein the King had referred me to negotiate and treat with himself. The Duke then began, with a great deal of protestation, to declare how much he desired as great a strictness and nearness of amity and alliance as might be betwixt the crowns of England and Spain;

and that, by his means, this proposition had been divers times handled, both by the Conde de Villa Mediana, and since by Don Pedro de Zuniga, as also by Don Alonzo, now resident in England; and that he well knew of how great consequence it was, both for the good of Spain and of England, to be so nearly and firmly united. One thing there was, which he apprehended as the greatest and only difficulty, which was, the disparity of religion; for the accommodating whereof, he would make no precise judgment, being a thing depending on the Pope, and in which, neither the King, nor the state here, could make any certain determination.

I then made him answer, that the King, my master, would, herein, have to do with no others but the King and his ministers; and that I supposed, that if the Pope's inclination had not already been tried herein, and that there might be a probability of his giving way unto the match; I should have thought, there would not have been given commission to Don Alonzo de Velasco, to give such encouragements to the King, my master, for the propounding of it; and that, if I was not much mistaken, I had heard Don Alonzo say, That the match with Savoy had been already propounded to the Pope, and that he should seem not to be much averse thereunto, which match, I conceived, had been a preparation and a way-maker to this other.

To this the Duke replied, that the King dependeth on none but the Pope, and that depending he could not, nor must not deny; neither could he proceed therein, without the Pope's approbation. And as for the matter of Savoy, though the Pope should give way unto it, yet there would be great difference in their cases, in regard that there might be great hopes of the Lady Elisabeth's conversion, being matched to a catholick prince, and being come to live in a catholick country: Whereas, contrariwise, there might be great danger of the Infanta's perversion, she being to be matched, and so to be governed by a prince that was not catholick, the which if the King should suppose, he could not, nor would not do, though it were for the saving of his kingdom.

I, seeing the Duke stand upon so strict terms, desired him not to mistake my manner of proposition, which was with these conditions and restrictions, that if this motion should not be received with full as much forwardness of disposition from the King of Spain, as by the King, my master, in his desires to have it effected, this business would quickly be at an end; for that I had no commission to treat, until I should be assured, both that the proposition in general was very welcome unto them, and that they would undertake the clearing of such difficulties as on their side might arise.

So that, unless this by them might be undergone, the issue of this business, I conceived, was like to be no other, but that the King, my master, had expressed a willingness to lay hold of any intimation, that this King should make of working a greater nearness and strictness between them.

The Duke then seemed to be a little altered with this my directness, and begun to qualify his manner of speech; telling me, He well knew the good and great happiness that might arise, not only to these crowns, but to the Christian world in general, if this match might take effect;

and that what he now had said, was not by way of answer, but by way of proposition of the only difficulties he foresaw; but that the King had herein given him order, that shortly I should receive answer, the care whereof he would undertake; willing me to assure myself, that it should be such as should be agreeable, both to the King my master's honour, and full satisfaction: Upon these terms we parted.

I then suffered them to take the leisure of a month or six weeks, without using any new instance, until their stay was such, as I held it expedient to press them for their answer, and to make means for a new access unto the King, on whom I was commanded to wait at the Escorial. My audience with him was very short, being again referred by him to the Duke of Lerma, whom I then found very sick in bed of a fever, and so offered to have attended him some day or hour of his better disposition.

But he intreated me to sit down by him, and told me, he would briefly signify unto me the substance of the King's answer, which should be more at large declared unto me, by Don John des Idiaques, who was there present.

He then willed me to signify to the King my master, that this proposition, which he had made, was very welcome and grateful unto this King, taking it as an assured testimony of his affection and good-will unto him; and as he had found from the King a worthy and direct proceeding in the propounding of it, so would he use much sincerity and directness in the answer: For that the truth was, that before this overture made by me in the King's name, for the Prince of Wales, with the Infanta, the Lady Anna, the King was elsewhere engaged; and that the reason why my answer had been so long delayed, was to see how other treaties (which were already on foot) proceeded, to the end that, if the King should have found himself free of such engagements and promises, as he had formerly made, he might have given that acceptance which he desired to his proposition; the which he could not now do, on the behalf of the eldest daughter, the Lady Anna, because the promises and engagements, which he formerly had made, were proceeded in with great likelihood of taking effect.

But such was his particular desire of giving satisfaction to the King, that having other daughters, born of the same father and mother, and of equal dearness and esteem unto him; that if for either of them it should please the King to make a motion, for the Prince of Wales, (if that the King did think the matter of religion might be accommodated, and without danger of his King's daughter to be altered and perverted from her religion) the King here would be very willing unto it, and would, upon his Majesty's answer herein (which he wished me to procure) give order for the negotiating herein, to the King's full content.

He then told me, what he then said should be more amply delivered unto me by Don John des Idiaques, to whom I might likewise say any thing I had to speak; for that his indisposition was such, that with much pain he had forced himself to say thus much, and so I was accompanied to my chamber by Don John des Idiaques, and Don Roderigo Calderon; from Don John I received the same answer, in effect, that I

had done from the Duke of Lerma, though somewhat more enlarged; with whom, though I held it to little purpose to argue or expostulate; yet, when they urged the King's former engagement to be long before my overture, I replied, that I much wondered at that, since the motives, that had incited the King, my master, to this overture, had proceeded from Don Alonzo, their ambassador, now resident in England, who had not only formerly assured the King, my master, that if he should be pleased to make this motion, it should receive a kind acceptance, and an honourable answer; but likewise of late, upon the instant of my departure, he confirmed, that he was newly instructed from his King, that in case the alliance with the Prince was then spoken of, not only not to refuse it, but to embrace it as a matter that should be most agreeable to his King, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Don Roderigo suddenly and peremptorily denied his having any such directions from hence, saying, it could not be, for that this treaty had been many months in speech; but Don John des Idiaques seemed to qualify, or rather, wittily to excuse it, by taking hold of the general word alliance; saying it might be, that he might have directions, in case the alliance of the Prince with Spain should be spoken of, he should not refuse it; for that it then was, and is still desired, though not particularly with the King's eldest daughter, concerning whom, the King had been already, many months, engaged by promise.

They seemed much to desire, that the King might rest satisfied with this answer, telling me, that there was little advantage (in the main) with daughters, that the King much esteemed, and would do as much for the younger, as for the elder. I told them, I knew not how the King, my master, might herewith rest satisfied; yet I could not but conceive many differences between the younger and the eldest daughters: first, that kingdoms could not come into division; and then, that a prince of nine years of age should be married to a lady elder than himself, and another of eighteen should be moved to tarry for an infant of six years.

And this is the effect of that which passed at that time, of which I presently gave an account unto his Majesty, and thereupon received directions to make unto them this reply: that the King, my master, had found their answer to contain in it so many incongruities, and unexpected passages, that he had held it fit to call this King's ambassador to a conference, with the lords of his council, for the justifying of what had passed from him; and had likewise commanded me, to understand from this King the reason of these proceedings, which he found both unsuitable to his expectation, and no way to answer the promises of the ambassador; for that he had not only, in former times, assured the King, my master, that if he should be pleased to propound a match for the Prince of Wales, with the Infanta, the King's eldest daughter, he should receive a kind and an honourable answer; but also, a very few days before my departure, he confirmed his former speeches in his King's name, acknowledging, that, by a late direction from hence, he was newly instructed, that, in case the alliance of the Prince of Wales were spoken of in England, that he should not

only not refusé it, but embrace it as a thing that should be most agreeable to his Majesty, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Now the King, my master, seeing these encouragements, given by the ambassador, so contrary to what he found here; for having, but two months before, received assurance, that if he should propound the match, for the Prince with the Infanta Major, it should find kind acceptance, that he should now receive answer, that she was already disposed of! His Majesty could not but judge, that either this King's proceedings were not with that clearness, that he expected; or that the ambassador, whom the King, my master, had cause in all things to believe (he having the public faith and credence of his King) had herein much exceeded. Wherein his Majesty desired first to receive satisfaction; for that he was advertised from myself, that some of the King's principal ministers here absolutely denied to me, that any such direction or commission was given to the said ambassador.

His Majesty, therefore, thought it fit, to have this point cleared, whether he had any warrant from his King to speak what he had said, or not? For that whensoever it should appear, that any publick minister should so much forget himself, as to deliver that, in the person of his master, which is but his own, or, having spoken the truth, should afterward be disavowed by those that employed him; one of these two things must follow, that he is either become unworthy of the place he holdeth, by his own act, or made unworthy by his master.

Having delivered this, both to the King, and to the Duke of Lerma; from the Duke, in the King's name, I received this answer: that it was true, that his Majesty had great reason to take exceptions, and to be displeased with this manner of proceeding, if their ambassador had, in this sort, dealt with his Majesty; but that he herein must absolutely clear the King, whose proceedings were, and ever should be found with much love and sincerity unto his Majesty, and that the blame and fault hereof must light upon the ambassador, who had received no such commission nor directions from hence: telling me, that it was justice, first, to hear their ambassador, before they should proceed against him; but in case he should not clear himself, but that he had proceeded in the manner which I had set down: the course, which his King would take with his ambassador, should both fully give his Majesty satisfaction, and sufficiently witness, that the King had given him no such commission. He then desired to know the particulars, which, I alledged, the ambassador had said to his Majesty, which I repeated unto him, in this manner:

First, That upon the motion of the match with Savoy, he told his Majesty, that in case he would be pleased to make the like overture to the King his master, for the Prince's Highness with the Infanta, his King's daughter, he did assure himself, that his Majesty should receive a kind and an honourable answer.

Secondly, in April, 1611, he confirmed his former speeches, in the King his master's name, acknowledging to be newly instructed from Spain: that in case the alliance for the Prince's Highness were spoken of in England, he should not refuse it, but embrace it, as a thing that

should be most agreeable to his King, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Thirdly and Lastly, He confirmed, in a conference with the Lords of his Majesty's privy-council, that he was warranted and authorised to hear and embrace any overture, for the Prince's Highness, concerning the Infanta Major, and that upon just and reasonable conditions, so that means might be made for the accommodating of matter of religion. All which conjunction, without allowing some, and disallowing the rest, the Duke of Lerma, in his King's name, absolutely disavowed, denying that any such commission had been given unto him.

The Duke then seemed much to labour to express his King's affection, and good intents to his Majesty, alledging, that indeed it was true, there had been formerly some speech of the conveniency of this match, but, seeing it in no kind proceeded in, the King had taken this resolution, which was now likely to take effect, for bestowing his eldest daughter upon the King of France; but that all other means of entering into alliance with his Majesty, by bestowing any other of his daughters upon the Prince, his King had willingly offered, and was ready to perform, if matter of religion could be accommodated, asking me, Whether I had no answer concerning this offer, which his King had made unto him? I told him, I had therein, as yet, received no direction at all; and thus, for this time, we concluded and parted: this being in the middle of September, 1611.

In the beginning of February next following, I having occasion, for many businesses of the merchants, to repair unto the Duke; after long discourse therein, he expressing an extraordinary desire, that all things might be carried with much love and kindness betwixt their Majesties, and that a greater nearness might be wrought betwixt them, if it were possible, asked me whether I had yet no directions concerning his King's last proffer? I told him, not: then falling into many discourses of having England and Spain united; he telling me, there were very few Kings daughters now left in Christendom, and that, in the matches of great princes, there were commonly greater inconveniences than the disproportion of some few years, and urging me to speak what I conceived thereof. I told him, that out of the confidence I had in him, and for the expressing of my own good inclination, of doing all good offices betwixt their Majesties, whom I conceived were both well inclined to unite themselves more nearly, if fit means could be found for them, I would tell him, both what I thought in this particular, and what should be the most probable means of working such an effect.

I then said, that the King, my master, having only two sons, I supposed he would regard no one thing so much in the match of the Prince, as the hope of a speedy and a plentiful issue, and the Prince being already at man's estate, and his King's youngest daughter, not past six years of age, he should be forced to the attendance of many years, and the prime of his youth be spent, before there could be hope of any issue by him: which consideration, I apprehended, was the cause, which made his Majesty take so much deliberation, in giving answer unto the proffer. But that, if he would give me leave, merely

as a private gentleman, as having no other commission, but the warrant dormant (which all leiger ambassadors have) to propound, and discourse of all things, which they think may tend to the increasing of amity and good correspondence betwixt the princes, where they are employed, I should be glad to express my good intentions and desires in this kind, by declaring unto him all the most likely and probable ways, which I could foresee, for the producing of such an effect: and so, among other things, told him, I supposed, that a daughter of Savoy, being so suitable in years, and so near in blood to his King, might, by being taken into his care, and being as it were adopted a daughter of his, and made fit by him, in regard of her fortune, as she was in all things else, to be a wife unto the Prince, she might very well prove a fitting subject to set the mutual desires at work, which I conceived were in both their Majesties, of uniting themselves.

The Duke thanked me very much, both for the free proceeding with him, and for the good inclination which I expressed of working a greater nearness betwixt their Majesties, telling me, he would consider of what I had said, seeming much to approve it, and shortly would again send for me, that we might confer further thereof.

I earnestly intreated him, because this was a mere project and proposition of my own, without any kind of authority, or direction, that it might pass with much stillness and secrecy: And that, if it should appear upon better consideration not convenient to be further proceeded in, that it might die betwixt us two, lest otherwise my good intentions might perhaps turn to my prejudice; the which he was pleased not only to promise, but very solemnly to swear unto me.

Within some few days the Duke sent to call me unto him, and then signified unto me, how well my good intents and desire of doing all good offices were accepted; and particularly, my last discourse that I had with him, and that he would requite my kind proceeding, with a real freeness: for that though the business of Savoy, whereof I had spoken, might have, in his opinion, any probability of taking effect; yet, as the case now stood, he thought the present no fit time to deal in it. For in regard his King had made an offer of his own daughter, to which his Majesty had yet given no answer; he held it convenient, that this or any other proposition of this nature might be respited, and suspended, until the business of his King's own daughter were fully cleared; in which he conceived his Majesty had now taken much leisure, and therefore desired me, herein to require his Majesty's resolution.

Thereupon I wrote unto his Majesty, that in a late conference betwixt the Duke and myself, in which many discourses passed betwixt us, and I uttering my private thoughts of such things as I held probable to produce a greater amity and nearness betwixt their Majesties; the Duke declared unto me, that the King his master was in expectation to receive from his Majesty a direct and certain answer, concerning the overture for a match betwixt the Prince of Wales and this King's second daughter. I write unto you this passage, though it were a thing merely of my own, without any kind of instruction from his Majesty, for these two regards: First, For that I am so desirous herein

to set down the truth, that I would not conceal so essential a circumstance, though I were certain to incur great blame by it. Secondly, For that this occasion drew from his Majesty his answer to this King's offer of his younger daughter; whereby the business, being again revived, hath been brought to that final issue, where, I conceive, it is like to stay.

His Majesty, upon this instance of mine for his answer, first directed me to alledge the reasons, which had hitherto detained him from making any reply, and then to answer in this manner:

That in the offer made by this King of his younger daughters, both as it was delivered unto myself, and likewise as it was confirmed by this King's ambassador there, his Majesty still found this clause and condition inserted, that this King would be most willing to entertain a motion for a match betwixt the Prince of Wales and any of his younger daughters, if matter of religion might be accommodated. And therefore, to the end that all proceedings betwixt them might be with much clearness, he commanded me to move this King, that he would be pleased to declare the intent of this clause, and what was meant and excepted, in the accommodating of matter of religion, and why that difficulty was so often represented.

Thus much I delivered unto the King, and to the Duke of Lerma, from whom, after the deliberation of two months, I received this reply: That the King his master, out of the desire he had to make alliance with his Majesty, had consulted with the Pope, and other grave persons, requisite for so weighty a business: and if that, for the accommodating of matter of religion, the Prince would become a Roman Catholick, he would willingly embrace and esteem him as his own dear son.

I told him, that in such treaties and negotiations betwixt princes, there was a great difference betwixt what might be wished and desired, and what was resolutely demanded; and that I conceived, the King rather expressed herein what he would be glad might be, than what he expected should be: but that my directions were to intreat this King, that he would be pleased to declare, not what he could wish, but what he would demand.

The Duke then answered, That without the Prince's being a Roman Catholick, it was not possible, but that the perversion of the King's daughter must needs be hazarded, which for the world, he would neither be the direct nor indirect cause of.

Hereupon I signified to the Duke, that the King my master had given me directions and instructions how to behave myself, according to the answer which I should receive; and therefore I entreated him, for a day or two, to give me leave to confer this answer with my directions; and that he would give me access, and procure me audience with the King, for the further proceeding in this business, as the King my master had commanded me.

Within two or three days after, I was appointed to return again unto the Duke, to whom at first I made repetition of the answer, which the last day I had received from him, the which he likewise then confirmed again.

I then desired him to consider some few grounds which I should lay before him, the which being presupposed, I conceived he could not but think that the reply, which the King, my master, had directed me to make, was grounded upon much equity and honour.

The first thing I desired this King should consider, was, That when his Majesty dealt with him, and his ministers, he presumed so much of the equity of this King's judgment, and promised himself so much of his affections and respect unto him, as he should never hear from him any demand unworthy of him, or which this King would not judge fitting to be propounded to himself, were the King my master's case his own.

The second thing, which I desired that this King should know and believe, was, That there was no prince whatsoever more confident and certain in the truth of his religion, than the King, my master, was in his, in which he was not only resolved to live and die, but, for the protection and defence thereof, had by several means declared himself as far, and would ever be ready to adventure as much for the maintenance thereof, as any prince living should do.

Thirdly, I desired it might be remembered, that though it be true, that the King, my master, caused the proposition for the Prince, with the Infanta Major, to be made, yet he was first moved and invited thereunto, by the assurance which this King's ambassador gave unto him, how welcome this motion would be to his master.

And for that which hath now passed in this of the second daughter, it hath been likewise only stirred and moved from hence, by the offer of her made by this King; and to this offer, thus accompanied with these demands and conditions, I was out of these grounds, by the direction of the King, my master, to make this answer:

That whereas it is demanded that, to match with this King's second daughter, the Prince should become a Roman Catholick, the King, my master, desires to refer it to this King's own judgment, what censure that King should deserve, both from the hands of God, and the world, that having so many ways expressed his constancy and love to the faith and religion, which he professeth, should shew himself so full of impiety and dishonour, to persuade his son to make a change of his soul, for a wife, or any earthly fortune whatsoever.

And if this King would not for a world, as he professed, be either the direct or indirect cause of the hazard of his daughter's perversion: the King may be pleased to consider, that if he be therein so exact, as befitteth a King, in point of religion and honour, the King, my master, is likewise so, in no degree less: and therefore hath commanded me, plainly to declare, that though he could not but make a kind and princely construction of the offer, which this King made of his daughter, as judging her most worthy of any prince whatsoever, yet, for this demand of the Prince's becoming a Roman Catholick, the King, my master, holdeth it unworthy of him, and would absolutely refuse to bestow the Prince, his son, upon these conditions, were the person offered the sole heir of the monarchy of the whole world.

Hereunto the Duke made little answer, not expecting, as I conceive, so direct and conclusive a proceeding; only said, that his King did

suppose, that God might have been pleased to have made this the means for the reducing of the Prince, and England, to the Catholick religion.

And so from the Duke I went unto the King, with whom I was appointed at that time to have audience; unto whom I made an ample and full relation of the whole course of the business, and particularly signified unto him the answers, which, in his name, I had received from the Duke of Lerma, and likewise, his Majesty's reply.

He told me the Duke of Lerma had in all things proceeded as he directed him, and therefore he would only confirm those answers, which I had already received from him.

Thus having made you a true and exact relation, how this business hath hitherto been carried, I will refer the judgment thereof to your own wisdom; only these passages I shall recommend unto you, as most remarkable:

First, That his Majesty's proposition, for the King of Spain's eldest daughter, was from the several invitations of the Spanish ambassadors, neither can the dishonour of their indirect proceedings be removed, but that another will necessarily fall upon them. For if princes shall not give credit and belief to the ambassadors and publick ministers, one of another, all means of negotiating betwixt them will be taken away.

Herein they pretend, that, for the giving his Majesty satisfaction, they have rejected their ambassador, and, likewise, sent Don Pedro de Zuniga, in the interim, until the coming of Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, whom they have nominated for that employment.

Secondly, In this business concerning the second daughter, it never was, in any kind, any motion of his Majesty's, but merely an offer of the King of Spain, which God, I conceive, appointed, as a fitting and a worthy means, for his Majesty to make declaration, both to them here, and to the world, of his constancy and resolution, in the professing and protesting of his religion.

So that I must conclude, that if any thing hath passed herein, less honourable, or less sincere, than befitted the greatness of two such mighty Princes; there cannot so much as any reflexion of it light upon his Majesty, whose proceedings clear throughout have been with all directness. Whereas they, if they do not justly incur the censure of some falsehood, yet it cannot but be a great unluckiness to them, in a matter of so great consequence, to be forced to renounce their ambassador. Neither have they any advantage in point of honour, that a daughter, whose sex giveth ever the privilege to be sought, being offered, hath not been accepted.

A TRUE RELATION
OF
THE BLOODY EXECUTION,
LATELY PERFORMED BY
THE COMMANDMENT OF THE EMPEROR'S MAJESTY,
UPON THE
PERSONS OF SOME CHIEF STATESMEN, AND OTHERS,

In Prague, the chief City of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the 11th of June, 1621. With the Manner and Proceedings therein observed. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch Copy.

Printed the 21st of July, 1621, Quarto, containing twenty-four Pages.

THERE is no doubt, but that many will be very desirous to understand and be fully informed of the last most bloody and cruel execution, with the criminal proceedings concerning the same, against the noble persons of some statesmen, directors, and other excellent and well-qualified personages in the famous kingdom of Bohemia; and therefore we have thought good to set in writing, and to cause openly to be printed, the true discourse thereof, to the end it may come to the knowledge of those that desire to be certified of the true ground and manner thereof; and this execution, with the circumstances concerning the same, was done and accomplished in such manner as followeth:

After that the Majesty of the Roman Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia, had ordained and given commission to his excellency the Prince of Lichtenstein (having to his assistance some other personages) concerning the prisoners in the Kingdom of Bohemia, his Majesty gave commandment, that the execution of them should be done and accomplished upon Monday, being the eleventh after the ancient, and the twenty-first day of June after the new computation; which, according to the imperial commandment, is performed upon the same day, in the following manner:

On Thursday before, namely, the seventeenth of the said month of June, there came seven companies of horse, under the command of

his highness the Duke of Saxony, into the city of Prague; whereof five companies were ordained to lodge in the old city, and two companies in the new city: They kept their watches and centinels, from that day, here and there in the several streets of the old city; but in the great market-place, before the town-house of the old city, there watched every night continually a whole company of the said horsemen.

On Friday following, being the eighteenth of June, the theatrum, or scaffold of timber, which was to be erected, and whereupon the following execution of the prisoners, for the most part, was to be performed, was made ready and dispatched in the common carpenters yard of the old city; and the same was the next day erected and set up in the great market-place of the said city, close and joining to the town house, so that they might, out of the same town house, go conveniently upon the scaffold, through a door purposely made to that end; the scaffold being four ells high, twenty two paces broad, and twenty-two paces long, in a square form, all of good substantial strong timber, and rails made round about.

On Saturday, the nineteenth of June, very early in the morning, there were thirteen of the prisoners out of the old city, and ten out of the new city, by the coaches and horses belonging to the senators of the said city, brought upwards in the court to the castle, conveyed with a strong guard of horse, and some companies of musqueteers, where the others, as well lords as knights, who were of the number of the directors, had been kept prisoners.

Whereupon, they proceeded to the arraignment and condemnation of the prisoners; which business was took in hand and effected in the King's court chamber, right over the chancery, where a royal throne, or seat, of russet velvet was erected; and thereupon his excellency, the Prince of Lichtenstein, and the other lords and commissioners were sitting by and about him.

Then the prisoners were one after another sent for, and brought before the imperial court and lords commissioners, when the emperor's attorney came forth, and indicted every particular prisoner, one after another, in the German and Bohemian speech, for matters enormous and criminal, as he alledged; requesting the lords commissioners, in his master's behalf, to decree and pronounce their final judgment against them.

Whereupon, Dr. Melander made answer, in high Dutch, that the judgment was decreed already, and should not be executed, but in such sort as might be according to right and justice, and to the laws of the kingdom, and, besides, as may stretch to the reputation and authority of the emperor's majesty.

After him, Dr. Kapper made a speech, in the Bohemian tongue, being the same in effect; thereupon is the arraignment and judgment pronounced by the imperial judge of the lower part in the high Dutch, and presently after him by another in the Bohemian language: And thus were the forty-three hereafter named persons, by the judge's sentence, in manner as followeth, adjudged and condemned to several punishments.

First of all, some were condemned to imprisonment of their persons, and others to corporal punishment.

1. The Lord William Poppel, of Lockowitz, &c. high-steward of the kingdom, who was brought forth first of all: His judgment was, That grace should be offered unto him; but yet, upon the good-liking and ratification of the emperor's Majesty, he was to remain in perpetual prison.

2. Paul Rinschan.

3. Hans Wastrowetz.

4. Felix Wentzel Pietibeski.

5. D. Matthias Borbonius.

These are condemned, in like manner, upon his Majesty's liking, to perpetual imprisonment.

6. Lucas Karabon is condemned to be executed with the sword; but, grace being shewed him, his judgment is, that he shall be sent to Raab, and there remain in perpetual prison.

7. Wolfgang Haslawer is to be sent to Raab, and there to be shut up in iron chains.

8. Melchior Dubrecht is to be banished out of the land for ever; but, grace being shewed him, he is to be sent to Raab, and there to wear the iron chains for a year.

9. George Sabiota is also condemned to be banished for ever; but, out of grace, and upon the emperor's pleasure, execution was suspended.

10. Paul Petzko shall remain in prison for a year.

11. Caspar Uszler is condemned to be hanged out of the window of the new city's council-house, but, by grace, till farther order, the execution is stayed, and he, in the mean time, to remain in prison.

12. Nicholas Diebis, officer to the burgo-masters of the old city, is condemned to have his tongue cut out of his throat, and it fastened to the gallows, and after that, to be sent to Raab, there to be shut up in irons: but, by grace offered him, he is to stand with his tongue nailed on the post of the gallows, for the space of an hour, and then to be sent to Raab aforesaid, to perpetual imprisonment.

13. Wentzel Orsatzky,

14. Joseph Kubin,

15. Hans Sirele.

Amongst these, are two Bohemian procurators; all three are condemned to be whipped with rods out of the city, and banished the land.

16. John Kammerit is to be banished, for one year.

These persons following were condemned to death.

First, Men of Noble Houses.

1. The Lord Joachim Andreas Schlick, &c. chief minister of justice, in the land of Bohemia, one of the privy-council, director, and head governor in Upper Lusatia, &c. whom the elector of Saxony

sent prisoner to Prague; he had this heavy sentence of condemnation, pronounced against him, that, first, his right-hand should be chopped off, then, to be quartered alive, and the quarters to be hanged upon the high-ways; his head and hand to be fastened on a pole, upon the Bridge-Tower: But, grace being offered unto him, he is to have his head, and then his right-hand cut off, and both to be nailed on the top of a pole, and set upon the Bridge-Tower.

2. The Lord Wentzel of Budowitz, Senior, president of the appellations and director, is condemned to the same penalty, as the Earl of Schlick; Nevertheless, mercy being shewed him, his judgment is mitigated, and he is to be executed after the same manner, as the said Earl of Schlick.

3. The Lord Christopher of Harrant, president of the Bohemian chamber, and director, out of grace, is adjudged to be executed with the sword.

These following were Knights, and of the Gentry.

4. Bohuszlaw of Michalowitz, &c. burghgrave of Conig, Gratz, Craitz, and director, &c. shall be executed with the sword, and is to have his right-hand chopped off, and both to be set and nailed fast upon the Bridge-Tower.

5. Gasper Kaplitz, lord high secretary of the kingdom of Bohemia, and director, is condemned to have his head cut off, then to be parted in four quarters, and the quarters to be hanged upon the high-ways: But out of grace, mercy being shewed unto him, in consideration of his great age, of fourscore years, this judgment is mitigated, and he is to be executed with the sword, and his head to be fastened with the others, upon the Bridge-Tower.

6. Hiarick Otto of Losz, &c. underburghgrave of Carlestein, also under-chamberlain of Bohemia, and director, is condemned to be cut alive in four quarters, and the pieces to be hanged, and set up, as of the former: But, by grace, this judgment is mitigated, and he is condemned to die, in such manner, as the aforesaid Kaplitz.

7. Procopius Dworsetzky, under chamberlain of Bohemia, and

8. Friderick van Bilaw, captain of the dutch leen, or feofe, both directors, and both had such heavy sentence, as the aforesaid Kaplitz: But yet, out of grace, their judgment is altered and mitigated, as of the aforesaid Kaplitz; and they are to be executed with the sword, their heads set up, and fastened as aforesaid.

9. Willem Koneg of Klumboky, director, and,

10. Dionysius Tscherein, captain of the castle of Prague, by grace shewed them, they are both sentenced to have their heads cut off with the sword.

These following are of the Burgesses, and of the best Citizens.

11. Valentine Kochan.

12. Tobias Stefgeck.

13. Christopher Cober, Senior.

14. John Theodorus the Sixth.

The three first directors, but all four condemned be executed with the sword, and their heads on poles, on the Bridge-Tower.

15. John Schulthetsz, burgomaster at Kuttенburgh, and

16. Maximilian Heostelig, Primus at Satz, both these are condemned to have their heads struck off, with the sword; and the head of the first is to be carried to Kuttенburgh, and of the other to Satz; and each to be nailed on poles, and made fast upon the gallows of their several places.

17. D. Johannes Jessenius, a doctor in physick, a famous learned man, and one of the eloquentest orators that Bohemia ever brought forth; a professor in the college Carolini, in the old city of Prague; is sentenced to this grievous and heavy judgment: To have his tongue plucked out of his throat, and then to be quartered alive: But, by special mercy offered him, he is condemned to have his tongue cut off, as aforesaid, and thereupon to be executed with the sword, and then to be quartered in four pieces, which quarters are to be hanged by the gallows tower, upon the high streets, there to remain; but his head to be poled, and set upon the Bridge-Tower.

18. Wentzel Maschirofftzky,

19. Hinrick Bock,

20. Elias Rossin, Senior,

21. Elias Kotzaw.

22. George Stzetsisckky,

23. Michel Widman,

24. Simon Wockatschtz.

These seven received all grace, and are to be executed with the sword.

25. John Kuttенaw, chief captain of the citizens in the old city, and

26. Simon Sussitzszky, commissary of the council, and of the stewart-ship; and also, in former times, commissary of the jesuits college: Both are condemned to be hanged out of the window of the town-house in the old city, on a beam or piece of timber, to that end, stretched out of the same window.

27. Nathaniel Wodnianszky is condemned to be hanged and strangled on the gallows, in the market-place in the old city.

Immediately after this judgment and sentence of condemnation, it is likewise decreed, and pronounced to all in general, and to every prisoner in particular, as well to those that were left alive, as to them that were afterwards executed, that they had forfeited their bodies, lives, estates, honours, dignities, goods, and blood; and that their goods should be seized upon, as already, in some sort, it was effected, but only that some of their bed consorts, and wives, should have free their jointure that they brought with them, at their marriage.

This bloody and tragical act of condemnation being ended, and brought to that period, the emperor's attorney, in his Majesty's name, gave hearty thanks to the lord commissioners, both in the Dutch and

Bohemian language, and, thereupon, the said lords commissioners returned again to their houses; but the condemned persons were conveyed again to the place of their imprisonment, and there they obtained leave, that every one, that knew any of them, might freely come to visit them, to speak and confer with them, and to comfort them, in this their extremity. But, as soon as from their arraignment they were returned into their prisons, there resorted unto them great companies of Jesuits, all two and two, who did their uttermost endeavour, with exceeding great persuasions, to turn them to their opinion, and to convert them, if any wise it were possible, to their idolatry and popish religion, they all being of the Augustan confession, and with great constancy professing the Lutheran religion (except Wentzel Badowitz, being of the reformed religion, and Dionysius Tschkerin, a Roman Catholick) but they got as much of the one, as of the other, and, in sum, affected nothing at all. And because they disputed more than an hour with D. Jessenius, in the presence of Mr. David Lippach, minister and preacher of the Augustan confession; at last, he gave them this for his final answer and expedition, that all that, in his baptism, he had promised to Jesus Christ, his lord and saviour, he was resolved to live and die thereby, and was most willing to ratify and seal the same with his blood.

They likewise were suffered, either in general or particular, to have with them as well Dutch as Bohemian preachers, both of the confession of Ausburgh, as of the Hussites, to their last end, who did their best endeavour, and took great pains with comforting them, and gave them many good admonitions to die constantly in the true knowledge of God, and their redeemer Jesus Christ, to their great strengthening in this their last conflict.

On the aforesaid Saturday, in the night-time, besides the forty-three, whereof twenty-seven were condemned to die, there were two prisoners more adjudged to death in the manner as followeth, namely:

1. Leander Ruppell being of the secret council of the elector palatine of Heidelberg, and also counsellor and agent for some other princes; and,

2. George Hawenschildt, advocate and counsellor of the appellations and commissary; they were both sentenced to have their heads and hands cut off, and then the said their heads and hands to be nailed on poles, and set upon the Bridge-Tower, and all their goods to be confiscated: But, because that these two were not with the other prisoners conveyed to the castle, their sentence was not then pronounced unto them, as to the others, and therefore their condemnation was sent to them in writing: And thus the execution, which was to be done upon their persons, was denounced unto them in the same night.

On Sunday following, being June the 20th, very early in the morning, there came many of the condemned persons sorrowful wives, children, and friends, to his excellency the Prince of Litchtenstein, out of the very bottom of their hearts, crying most pitifully for mercy, and interceding for their condemned lords, husbands, fathers, and kinsmen; at least, that their punishment might be mitigated, and their judgment

limited: But they had a sober answer, to the small comfort of their sorrows in this their misery.

Upon the same Sunday, the said Dutch Lutheran preacher, Mr. Lippach, in his sermon, did, from the pulpit, most earnestly exhort the people, being there present in great multitudes, to join their instant and serious christian prayers with him, to God Almighty, for the condemned persons, that it would please his divine majesty to vouchsafe them a most happy, constant, and christian end, to receive their souls in the eternal glory, which was done accordingly; and thereupon the most part of them, that in great numbers were in the church, did weep and lament most bitterly: All which, as likewise the grievous and pitiful lamenting, both before and after that, of women and children, and of other persons of all sorts, struck with great compassion at such a lamentable spectacle, all bewailing and howling, the most part of the inhabitants of Prague doing nothing else but weeping and crying out incessantly, pitying their unfortunate and distressed state; all which, I say, it were not possible otherwise, but it would move any stony heart, yea, the stones themselves to commiseration: But, in the mean time, the condemned persons themselves were ever joyful within their souls, shewing a chearful countenance; they resolved all together to die courageously in the Christian faith, and were full of comfort to their very last ends.

In the afternoon, Dr. Jessenius, Leander Ruppell, and George Hawenschildt, caused in the sermon, again christianly and fervently to be prayed for them, desiring that it might be denounced from the pulpit, to all the people there present, that, if they had in any wise offended any of them, out of christian charity, they would be pleased to pardon them.

Towards night, the theatre or scaffold was over and over, and round-about; as well at the sides, as towards the town house, over-covered some ells high with black cloth; and, as soon as, after the Bohemian manner, the clock had struck twenty-four hours, all the condemned persons were, in eight coaches, brought from the castle, down into the old city, being conveyed thither with two companies of horse, and a company of footmen; and, immediately after that, the like is done with the other prisoners that were in the new city. And, in this night, all the companies of horse and foot held their watches in several places of the city of Prague; but, in the mean time, the condemned prisoners passed and brought over all this night with continual prayers, and singing of psalms, till the next following Monday early in the morning, when the execution should be done.

On Monday, the 21st of June, in the morning betimes, when the clock, after the Dutch manner, was not five, there were seen in the element two fair rainbows, standing crosswise, one over another; what that signified, God knoweth only, for thereof it is diversly discoursed and judged: And at the same time, as also the whole night before, and as long as the then following execution did continue, two companies of horse, and three companies of foot, were placed in the great market-place before the town-house. And, the clock striking five, after the Dutch manner, a piece of cannon was discharged in the castle,

for a sign and warning token ; whereupon, presently all the gates of the city, and that of the Bridge-Tower, were shut, and the port-cullis let fall down, and then they went forward with the execution.

Upon a lesser stage, which also was made purposely joining to the great erected theatre or scaffold, was sitting the imperial judge, and with him the council of the old city ; but the three judges of Prague gave attendance to the condemned prisoners, to bring and convey them, one after another, to the place of execution. Upon the said scaffold, in the same place where they should receive the mortal stroke, a crucifix was set by an unknown, disguised man, once, as it was thought, of the city's officers, whereby every one of them, that were condemned, did kneel down upon a black cloth, and there, with great patience, received the corporal punishment that he was to endure.

But, in the mean time, during the execution, near to the place thereof, some companies of footmen, who, with some other companies of horsemen, stood there ranged in order of battle in the great market place round about the scaffold, excluding all other spectators from thence, as far as they could, were charged to make a noise with their drums ; which was done accordingly, so that thereby it was impossible for any to hear his own words, much less such things, as by every patient in particular might have been related for the last time, and in the end of their lives, many being much desirous to hear what should be by them uttered for their last confession.

First of all was brought forth the said lord, the Earl of Schlick, in a black silk gown, having a little book of prayers in his hand : He was of a joyful countenance, and well animated, looking up to heaven, and, without intermission, pouring out his fervent prayers to God Almighty ; he came to the scaffold, in every manner, free and loose, as likewise did all the others that were executed in that place : there one of his servants pulled off his upper garment and doublet, and he himself, with the help of his said servant, uncovered and made naked the upper part of his body ; then the earl kneeled down upon the black cloth, which purposely was laid there, and with great patience, calling upon the blessed name of the Lord, he stretched forth his neck, holding up his head, which the executioner struck off with great dexterity and nimbleness ; which being done, the said servant took his master's right-hand, and laid it upon a little block, which the executioner chopped off likewise, with his sword : The said servant took presently his said master's head and hand in his custody, but the body was wrapped in the black cloth whereupon he was executed, and then was as soon carried away from the scaffold by six men, who were all disguised, and clothed in black mourning gowns, wearing black hats upon their heads, and their faces covered with some kind of black cyphers, to the end they might not be known, but were some officers of the magistrates and city of Prague, as is thought ; so that the executioner touched not, nor laid hand on any place of the body of the said earl, nor on his garments. The like was performed about all the others, being, in all, to the number of twenty-four, that there were executed with the sword, Dr. Jessenius only excepted. And, as soon as the one was dispatched,

then there was brought another black cloth to the scaffold for him that should be the next, and it was laid down in the place of the former, to be used for the same end.

The said earl being dispatched, as is above related, the lord Budowitz, being of the reformed religion, came forth to the scaffold, led by two of the judges, no priest nor preacher with him: He, likewise, offered his fervent prayers to God Almighty, and presently after, suffered the corporal punishment decreed against him, as is before mentioned.

In like manner, the other twenty-two, who were yet remaining, were brought one after another to the scaffold, and there their judgment, in such manner as it was pronounced against their persons, was fully done and accomplished. And furthermore, as often as one was dispatched, the body of him, that was beheaded, was in an instant carried away from the scaffold by the abovesaid six disguised men, wrapped in the said black cloth; and, instead thereof, other two men, disguised after the same manner, came in, and brought another new black cloth, laying it down open for him that should be the next.

And thus all the aforesaid condemned men being every one for his particular, and all in general, full resolute, and of good comfort, with pouring out their devout prayers continually to God, trusting to be saved through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, lost their heads, and died like good Christians, persevering constantly in the evangelical religion, according to the confession of Ausburgh, coming forth to the scaffold with evangelical ministers, only excepted the said Dionysius Tscherin, who died a Roman Catholick, having with him a popish canon and a Jesuit; and the abovesaid Lord Budowitz, being of the reformed religion, who was not permitted to have a minister of his religion, and refused to have others with him.

Dr. Jessenius coming to the scaffold last of all, the executioner took him presently, and tied his hands upon his back, and then sitting down upon his knees, a black cloth being laid open under him, he still calling upon the name of God, where the executioner, with a little pair of pincers, pulled out his tongue, and cut it off with a knife, and thereupon, presently after, he cut off his head with his sword, which his decreed judgment and corporal punishment he suffered with great patience and constancy, having first offered his prayers with great devotion to the Almighty God, as is before said.

Thus the executioner of the city of Prague hath brought to death, in manner as is before related, the aforementioned twenty-four persons; all which was performed with four swords: With the first were executed eleven, with the second five, and, with the other two, eight had their heads cut off, and all with great dexterity, not missing one stroke, as if the wind had blown their heads from their shoulders.

After this, he took the three other men who were to be hanged, and, in the great market place before the town-house, he tied their hands upon their backs, whereof the two first were hanged upon a piece of timber, that was struck out purposely of the window of the town-house; but the third was hanged on the ordinary gallows; so that, within the

space of less than four hours and a half, by the executioner's own hands, twenty-seven men were put to death, and thus miserably lost their lives.

This bloody and cruel execution was nothing else but a fearful and most lamentable spectacle, which many of the spectators did behold with the highest commiseration and Christian compassion; so that many hundred men, women, and children, were then seen and heard, in the city of Prague, most bitterly to weep, lament, and bewail, wringing their hands, with many heavy and woeful exclamations, which might have moved any heart, were it never so hard, to compassion.

Which execution was the more pitiful to behold, because that those that were condemned (no regard being had, that many of them were of noble blood, and of eminent dignities, of the best houses of the realm, and some of them being very old men, whereof the most part had fair grey hairs upon their grave heads, and snow-white beards; amongst them ten, their years being accounted together, made up the number of seven-hundred years of age) that those grave and ancient men, I say, were forced to lose their dear lives in such a miserable manner, and were brought to this infamous and shameful end. But they all, one with another, went to their death most christianly and willingly, with the great joy and patience that may be related, remaining always constant in their professed religion, and in the service of God, to their last breath; so that many stood thereat amazed, and wondered at their great constancy: Whereof, to the number of twenty-five, have most happily ended their lives in the profession of the evangelical Lutheran religion; no doubt but their souls enjoy, at this time, the glory and felicity of eternal life.

Elias Russin, the elder, and John Theodorus, the Sixth, were likewise, as is before mentioned, sentenced, and should have suffered the heavy punishment whereunto they were condemned; but thus far is interceded for them, that the execution is stayed, till his imperial majesty himself cometh to Prague, then to do as it shall please him.

And the executioner laid no hand on any of them that were put to death (Dr. Jessenius only excepted, with the three that were executed with the rope) but they themselves, with the help of every one of his servants, stripped off their garments, till the upper part of their bodies was made naked, and thus they yielded themselves willingly to die.

As soon as the head of any of them was struck off, as likewise any of the hands being separated from the arm, at the same instant one of the servants took the head and hand of his master, and carried it away, being, in the mean time, left in his keeping: And twelve of these heads were placed and fastened upon the Bridge-Tower, six on one side, and six on the other, and some of the hands were nailed to their heads: But the hand of Leander Ruppell was nailed and made fast on the pillory, standing before the town-house of the old city.

After this, the dead carcase of Dr. Jessenius was quartered by the

gallows tower, and the four quarters were set upon poles in the high streets there to remain.

The dead bodies of the others were delivered into the possession of their widows (whereof some already were dead for very grief), of their children, and their friends. And, although the head of Leander Ruppell should have been set upon the Bridge-Tower (which also they went about to do accordingly), yet it is delivered to the friends to be buried with the dead body.

The Lord Budowitz's hand was chopped off: But the hand of the Earl of Schlick, his head being fastened upon the pole, then his hand that was chopped off was nailed upon his mouth. Thus there were, in all, twelve heads and four hands set upon the Bridge-Tower; that of the Earl of Schlick, that of the Lord Budowitz, that of Michalowitz, of Kaplitz, of Dworsetzky, of Losse, of Bilaw, of Kochan, of Steffetschtz, of Kober, of Jessenius, and of Hawenschildt. And the said Earl Schlick, Michalowitz, Ruppell, and Hawenschildt, their hands were also set upon the Bridge-Tower, being nailed on their heads.

On Tuesday, then next following, the 22d of June, the aforesaid Nicholas Diebis, according to his judgment, stood for the time of an hour nailed with his tongue on the post of the gallows, and after that was carried again into prison; he was condemned, this penalty performed, to be locked up in iron chains, and to be sent to Raab in perpetual imprisonment; but, through the unspeakable great pain and torment which he suffered thus standing, he died the next day after. On the same Tuesday, were likewise both the old city's attorneys aforesaid, with another officer of the said city, with rods, whipped through and out of the city, and for ever banished out of the kingdom of Bohemia.

On Wednesday the 23d of June, in the night time, one of the heads, that were set on poles upon the Bridge-Tower, fell down at the one side thereof, so that no body doth know how it came down; neither is it, or, at least, it will not be known whose head of them that were executed it was, only, very timely in the morning, it was carried up again, and set in the place where it stood before.

And thus ended this bloody Tragedy.

On Thursday next, the 24th of June, the said Mr. Lippach made an excellent and most godly sermon in the Dutch church in the high German language; there, with a hearty thanksgiving to the Almighty God, he related, that God, thro' his divine mercy and goodness, had heard the earnest prayers, as well of them that were prisoners, and now departed out of this miserable world, as of others upright and true christians, shewing such extraordinary great grace and clemency to those that were condemned, in their last going out of this mortal life, that thereby they were strengthened with great patience, to persevere in the constant profession of their Christian faith, in an assured hope of their resurrection to eternal salvation, in their Christian

and fraternal charity, and in continual prayers and supplications to God, and his Son Jesus Christ, their Saviour and Redeemer, to the very last end of their lives; yea, in the death itself, and that, accordingly, as most blessed and happy christians; no doubt, but God Almighty had already received their souls into eternal glory, there to rejoice with him for ever: And that they, as a hart thirsteth after fresh waters, so they have longed for their temporal death and separation out of this miserable life, and, contrary to all men's expectation, not without great amazement of many, they apprehended and accepted most willingly the happy last moment of their departure out of this vale of misery.

Dr. Luke, Dr. George Frederick, and other prisoners more of quality, will be likewise executed within few days hereafter, according as the sentence of their arraignment shall be.

The common speech goeth, that, the next week after the execution above rehearsed, some other notable men, being apprehended, are likewise to be arraigned, and to suffer death in the lesser part of the city of Prague, so that every day there are yet more and more arrested and committed to prison; and, as men say, there is already a great number of persons, of all conditions and qualities, noted and inrolled in the black register book.

The Emperor's Majesty will be here himself within these three weeks, when there shall be proceeded further in this business; what order shall be then given at his arrival, time will shew. In the mean time, God grant in his mercy, that now all troubles and sorrows may be once ended, and that the fair sunshining light of God's love towards us miserable offenders may shine once again in this kingdom. To his godly and continual protection I commend herewithal the benevolent reader.

A TRUE RELATION,
WITHOUT ALL EXCEPTION,
OF
STRANGE AND ADMIRABLE ACCIDENTS,
WHICH LATELY HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM
OF THE
GREAT MAGOR, OR MOGUL,
Who is the greatest Monarch of the East-Indies.

AS ALSO,

With a true Report of the Manners of the Country; of the Commodities there found, with the like of sundry other Countries and Islands, in the East-Indies. Written and certified by Persons of good Import, who were Eye-witnesses of what is here reported.

London, Printed by J. D. for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his shop, in Pope's-head Palace. MDCXXII.

This short relation is introduced with a commendation of the inhabitants and climate of the Cape of Good-Hope, and proceeds with a description of the extent of the Mogul's country, and some account of his riches, attendance, and vicious way of living. His manner of receiving ambassadors; his daily custom of spending the day, and his summary way of administering justice. But what is most entertaining in this tract, I presume, will be the punishment the Mogul inflicted on his own son, who had rebelled against him; the story of an ape, that did many amazing tricks in the presence of the whole court, and the conversion of one of his great lords from atheism, to the profession of a divine being, that ruleth in all the world. And then concludes with a few hints concerning the riches, and government, of the Island of Zelon and Japan.

IN the year of our Lord 1618, and in the month of June, we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we found the people of the country, albeit heathens and idolaters, yet very kind and friendly unto us; for some small quantity of iron and old copper, we had of them upon exchange beeves and mutton. This cape (otherwise called, the Cape of Bona Speransa) is very temperate, and agreeth well with

the constitution of our people. Four or five hundred persons, sick of the scurvy, and other diseases of the sea, they all recovered their health perfectly within a very few days.

They have a very pleasant drink, which they call toddy, like in taste to white wine, which distilleth from the Palmeto trees. At our departure from this cape we sailed two or three days in a sea like in colour to whey, whose bottom we could not sound.

We came afterwards to the country of the great Magor, or, as some call him, Mogul; his Lascar, which is his train, that followeth and always goeth with him in his progresses, consisteth usually of two-hundred thousand people of all sorts. These lodge all in fair tents, richly hanged, which being pitched according to the order of that country, they make a very gorgeous and glorious shew, as of a most beautiful and large city.

This Magor hath a place called the Maoll, in which, he keepeth a thousand women to serve his lustful desires.

When he maketh his progress, his concubines go with him in all sumptuous manner, carried upon elephants in castles, richly covered; or upon men's shoulders, in a frame made like the upper part of a coach, but not so close covered. He hath under him thirty-seven provinces, and very many goodly cities: The length of his country is two-thousand eight-hundred miles, the breadth nineteen-hundred miles.

When he admitteth to his presence the Persian ambassador, or the ambassador of any other mighty king, when he giveth them, either loving or kind speeches, or looks, then the ambassadors, in token of thankfulness, kiss the earth. But Sir Thomas Roe, the King of Great-Britain's ambassador, would not so much derogate from his place, to abase himself so demissively. Notwithstanding, he was always entertained with more, and greater respects, than any other ambassador.

This Magor doth every year weigh himself in a balance made for the purpose; first, he weigheth himself with weights of silver, next he weigheth himself with weights of gold, and lastly, with jewels, and precious stones: His weight of silver, and gold, he giveth away liberally at his pleasure; after he is weighed, he mounteth into his throne, and then he throweth, amongst the standers-by, a great quantity of silver and gold, made hollow, like to the form of nutmegs, and such other spices, which his country doth afford. These ceremonies being ended, then he beginneth to carouse and largely to drink with his nobles, till they be all drunk. The scales, with which he is weighed, are all of massy gold, richly beset with precious stones.

No man hath any land in this Magor's country, but himself; he giveth pensions, and taketh away pensions, at his pleasure. No child inheriteth any thing which his father had in possession, but at the pleasure of Magor: All honour and gentility dieth with the person who had any, and returns back to the Magor.

He sheweth himself, in publick and open manner to the people; at the least, three times in a day; First, at the sun-rising, to which he maketh low reverence. Secondly, at noon, at which time he seeth

elephants fight, or some other pastimes provided for him. Thirdly, before the sun set, but, when the sun is setting, he descendeth from his throne, and sheweth as low obeysance, as he did at the rising.

At all these times, whosoever cometh unto him as a suitor, useth no other means for his dispatch, but to hold up a paper in his hand, and he is heard immediately, and encountereth the best fortune which suitors can desire; for either he presently obtaineth his suit, or hath a present denial; there are no masters of requests, nor any dilatory references upon any petition.

Magor's people are governed by no other laws but what lie in his breast, and the breasts of his counsellors; yet there is no place where businesses are sooner dispatched, or where justice is more uprightly and impartially administered.

Cursero, the eldest son of Magor, being of an haughty and aspiring spirit, practised to take from his father both crown and kingdom; but Magor not only took his son prisoner, but, with him, some two-thousand of his chiefest followers; having taken his son, he placed him to see the execution of those two-thousand he had taken: The manner of the execution being terrible, for they were put into the ground upon sharp stakes, and so left to die. After this execution, Magor shut up and sealed his son's eyes, so that, for three years, he saw no light of Sun or Moon at all. Seven years he kept him in close prison, but, at this time, he hath a little more liberty. This prince is of a different disposition from his father, for he keepeth but one wife, and is a great favourer and protector of Christians; he is generally beloved of all men.

Magor will not undertake, nor do any business of import, but as he shall be directed and counselled by his astrologers and magicians; when they tell him the day and hour are fortunate, then he adventureth upon any thing; he cannot endure to hear any talk or mention made of death, which is the most desperate and greatest folly which our age can, or doth afford, nay what madness is it? not to hear talk, nor make provision for that which cannot be avoided. God hath appointed nothing more certain than death, because we should ever consider of it; and nothing more uncertain than the hour of death, because, every hour, we should be provided for it.

Magor being much delighted with astrologers, magicians, and witches, of which his country is replenished, there came upon a time one of that crew unto him, and presented unto him an ape; telling Magor, that the ape could do strange and admirable tricks: Well, quoth Magor, we will make trial of your ape's skill and cunning, and thereupon commanded the ape and her master to be carried out of that room, into another, that they might not see what was done, in their absence. Magor took a ring from his finger, and having always about him a great number of boys, two-hundred, or thereabouts, which he keepeth for unnatural and beastly uses, he gave the ring to one of the boys, and bade him hide it; then, these boys flocking together, the ape and his master were called for: Now, quoth Magor, let your ape try her skill; I have lost my ring, let us see if she can find it: The ape's

master commanded the ape to fetch the ring; the ape went immediately to the boy which had the ring, and took it out of his bosom, and brought it to Magor.

Who wondering much at it, he caused the second time the ape and her master to retire out of sight, and, in their absence, he caused his secretary to write, in several papers, the names of twelve or fourteen of the greatest gods, and prophets, which either were heard or known to be worshipped, either in his country, or in any place of the world; which being written, they were mingled on an heap, and laid upon a table; then the ape was called for, and commanded to take the name of the greatest god, and truest prophet, from amongst those papers; the ape went presently to the papers, and turning them up, from amongst them all, only took out the name of Jesus, and delivered it to Magor, whereupon Magor and the rest of his nobles were much amazed; but, upon secret conference amongst themselves, they resolved to make further trial: Whereupon the master and the ape were commanded to go to a further room, and some person commanded to watch them, that the suspicion of all deceivable courses might be taken away and cleared. The papers were written again with the same names, and more were added; which being done, the ape was called for the second time, and to make choice, as formerly she had been directed: She presently went to the papers, and made the same choice which before she had done; which struck Magor and his nobles in a greater amaze than at the first. Notwithstanding a third trial was made, but with the like and same success; whereupon a great nobleman humbly besought Magor, that he might make the fourth trial, which was granted him; this great man was called Mattolet Chan, which in their language signifieth, the beloved Lord. He caused the names to be written a fourth time, and mingled together, and cast in a heap upon the table; the ape was called, as formerly she had been, and commanded to make choice of the greatest god or prophet, whose name was contained in those papers. The ape went presently to the heap, and slightly and scornfully turned them over, but took up no paper, but returned to her master. Magor and his nobles wondered more at this than of what passed before, and asked the ape's master, what might be the cause why the ape would not bring any paper, as before she had done, but turned them up in so scornful a manner? perhaps, quoth the master, the name, which the ape looketh for, is not there amongst them; then, the papers being examined, the name of Jesus was missing; now, quoth Magor, let the ape shew her cunning, to fetch that paper, wherein that name is written. The ape, receiving her command, made present haste to Mattolet Chan, and leaped upon him, and withal thrust her head into his bosom, and drew out the name of Jesus, which she brought hastily to Magor. This, being so strange an accident, was wondered at of all the standers by, whereof some were Jews, some Mahometans, some Christians, with others. This hath been averred to be true, by Mr. Edward Terry, preacher to Sir Thomas Roe, who heard it credibly reported, as aforesaid. And Sir Thomas Roe hath reported the same for truth, to sundry

right honourable personages. Mr. Terry, the Preacher, hath often seen the ape.

The great Magor, and generally all the Indians of his country, are given over to fleshly pleasures; they may, and do keep as many wives and concubines as they will, or are able to maintain. What misery do these Indians endure, to have so many women about them, when as there be many Englishmen are grievously vexed to have the company but of one. But, perhaps, the Indian women are of a far milder temper than the English, as hereafter shall be shewed. The Indians are more jealous of their women and wives, than either Spaniards, or Italians. The father will not trust his son, after he cometh to twelve years of age, except he be gelded. The Indian women in their houses are commonly covered, and, if any woman go abroad uncovered, she is reputed a whore.

Magor's subjects are tall, and of comely personage, tho' of a tawny colour, but they are faint hearted: Magor will usually say, that one Portuguese will beat three of his subjects, and one Englishman will beat three Portuguese. In this country are many several sects, some called Banians, who will kill nothing that hath life, no not so much as snakes. They have hospitals to keep and cure lame horses, lame dogs, lame birds, or any lame creature, and, when they be cured, they are set at liberty. The manner of that country is to burn the bodies of the dead, and the wives willingly burn with their husbands. But of late the women begin to break that custom.

The Indians, under Magor, worship evil-favoured ugly idols, which they call Pagods; their priests are called Joggis, or Bramines; their church they call Muskitts; they go on pilgrimage to several places; some to Meccha in Arabia; some to the head of the river Ganges, wherein they throw silver and gold, according to their abilities, and after wash themselves in the river, and then they think they are pure and clean from all sin.

These people have many feasts and many fasts, which they keep with sundry idle ceremonies; some of them mourn in blue, others, as Japanners, mourn in white. They are skilful in physick, especially in simples.

The learning which they have, which is but small, is in the mathematicks, and in natural philosophy; they have small store of books, because there is no printing amongst them; all their books are manuscripts.

Their vulgar speech is called Indostan. The speech at Magor's court is usually the Persian language. Their learned tongue is the Arabian; the common people are very apt to imitate any thing which they see to be done by strangers.

I cannot let pass a strange and wonderful report, which fell out in Magor's court, and hath been, by Sir Thomas Roe, reported confidently for truth. There was a Rasa (so great princes are called) who was an absolute atheist, who would always scornfully and disdainfully speak and dispute against the deity, not enduring either himself, or any other, where he might oppose, to acknowledge any

godhead. This great prince, sporting himself among his concubines, one of them, who was most favoured of the prince, and might be most bold with him, when he was flouting and jesting against the deity, plucked from his breast an hair, and withal a drop of blood followed, which was not regarded at the first: This very place, within very few days, began to fester, and by degrees grew to that extremity, that the pain was intolerable, and withal proving to be a gangrene; having used all the means, which physick, or surgery might afford him, it proved irrecoverable. This Rasa, seeing his estate, and that he had no hope of life, but a dreadful expectation of imminent death, sent to Magor to take his leave of him; Magor sent divers of his nobles unto him, to comfort him, with all the best offers and speeches which any subject might desire from so mighty a monarch. Which, when the nobles had delivered unto him, he made answer in this manner: My Lord Magor is a great monarch to command upon earth, but there is a more omnipotent monarch, which hath absolute command and power in heaven and earth. You all know, I was an opposer, an enemy, a contemner of all Deity, and against that omnipotent Majesty of Heaven. He hath now shewed and manifested his power and justice upon me, who now lie in torment, every minute of an hour expecting to die. What I would not acknowledge in my life, I am constrained to acknowledge and confess upon my death; for we who live at random, and speak at large in our lives, when death worketh nature's dissolution, we are then compelled to change our former opinions, and to acknowledge our former errors. I was an atheist; by my own experience I dare, and can assure you, what is one of the greatest causes of atheism: Wicked lives do wish there were no God to punish their offences after this life, and therefore do flatter themselves in their life; they frame to themselves all the reasons they can devise, to persuade themselves there is no God. But, my lords, there is no atheist, which dare, at the hour of his death, maintain and defend that doctrine of atheism, which he did in life, for nature itself doth constrain them to a terrible recantation at the hour of death, as you may now behold a grievous example in me: What would not I give? What would not I do, my lords, if I might have longer time of life to acknowledge and confess freely and plainly that godhead, which formerly I have, with scorn and malice, so wickedly denied? who would have imagined that I, being a soldier, should not rather have died upon some honourable wound, given by sword or lance, than so shamefully to die upon the plucking of one hair from my breast? This kind of death, as it is most shameful to me, so it doth more manifest and illustrate the divine power to be most omnipotent and miraculous. My lords, my vital powers do fail me, I can speak no more, only this for a farewell, which, I pray you, deliver also to my great sovereign Magor, Do you all fly and take heed of Atheism; seek out, with all the care and diligence you can, the knowledge of the only true and omnipotent God; dare not live those wicked lives, nor maintain those horrible opinions whilst you

are in health, which, as you see most manifestly in me, are so terrible and horrible at this hour of my death. Having ended these words, this mighty prince died.

From Magor's country, we sailed toward other islands, and arrived at an island called Zeloon, which island yieldeth cinnamon, and other spices, in great abundance: It yieldeth also pearls, rubies, sapphires, garnets, and sundry other precious stones.

From Zeloon, we arrived at an island called Sumatra, which yieldeth pepper, gold, benjamin, camphire, with sundry other rich commodities. Afterwards we sailed to Patanie, an island governed by a maiden Queen.

From this we arrived at Japan, which is one of the greatest and goodliest islands in the world, having great store of gold mines, and of silver; they have silver of three sorts, all unstamped; they have small plate, which goeth in the market for buying of victuals; they have other pieces of plate unstamped, of finer silver, and that goeth in the country to buy all other commodities; they have a third sort of plate, finer silver than any Spanish money, and this is carried away by strangers.

This country is governed by an emperor, who hath under him sixty-two kings. The revenues of this emperor are infinite, a great part raised by rice. The people of this country are proud and haughty, very warlike, yet exceeding obedient to their emperor, and the kings to whom they are subjects. They are very kind to strangers. Justice, in this country, is severe without partiality. Thieves are not imprisoned, but presently executed. If a murder be committed, and the murderer escape, he, who apprehendeth him, hath three-hundred pounds given him upon the delivery of the murderer; so that few or none of the murderers escape present execution. In this country, a man may walk without danger, all hours of the night, so he does not misbehave himself. If any controversy arise betwixt party and party, it is forthwith decided; their laws are *Leges talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, and life for life. They worship and pray all to a saint, called Ameda, whom they esteem to be a mediator betwixt God and them. When a soldier dieth, they are persuaded he goeth presently to Ottango Fatechman, the god of war.

TOM TELL-TROATH :

OR,

A FREE DISCOURSE

TOUCHING THE MANNERS OF THE TIME:

DIRECTED TO HIS MAJESTIE*

By waye of humble Advertisement†.

SINCE they, that have the honour to appertaine vnto you, have neither the courage, nor the conscience to acquaint you with the fearful discontents of the time, but suffer you to loose the peoples hearts so slightly, as if they were not worth their keeping; I, a poor unknowne subject, who never had the happines to come near your Majestie, but in the throng, nor to take any other oath in your service but that of allegiance, have ventured vpon so much forwardnes at this time of need, when all places are indeed voyd; with covetousness, and huge ambition, seeme to fill; as to thrust my selfe into the best office about you, better than either president of the counsel, or earle marshal of England, and far more discontinued; the noble office of telling truth, wherein, if boldnes makes me forget my discretion, loyalty, I hope, will begge my pardon. And the rather, because I perswade my selfe I am not altogether without warrant for what I doe; for it was my duty, not long since, to take notice of two proclamations, come out in your Majesties name, against immoderate talkings; wherein, it is your gracious pleasure, to make all your louing subjects, of what condition soever, instruments of state, by giving them, not a bare voluntary power, but a *sub pana* charge and commission, to informe against all those that shall at any time hereafter offend in that kinde. Now your Majestie shall know that I am one of the greatest company-keepers in this town, and therefore cannot but be guilty of hearing many things, that I am bound to reveal in obedience to the royall command, which is the duty which I propose to my selfe; at this present the miserie is, I know not where to begin, nor whom to accuse in particular of so generall a crime.

For I vow to God and your Majestie, I can come into no meetings, but I finde the predominant humour to be talking of the wars of Christendome and honour of their country, and such like treasons; and would to God they would stop there, and prophane no more the

* King James the First, who chose rather to be amused with fair promises and deluding negotiations than to take the just measures of war to defend the Protestant cause and the peace of Europe, against the usurpations of France and Spain, one of which has been, for some ages, aspiring to Universal Monarchy: and neither of them ever negotiate with other powers, but with a design to deceive them.

† Supposed to be printed in the year 1622. Quarto, containing thirty pages.

things that are above them; but such is the rage and folly of their tongues, that they spare not your Majesties sacred person, yea (I horror) to descant upon the royall style is now their common pastime; that you are trewe and lawfull Kinge there is none so divellishly affected as to deny; but some there are that find such fault with your Majesties government, as they wish Queen Elizabeth were alive again, who (they say) would never have suffered the enemies of her religion to have unballanced Christendome, as they have done within these few yeares.

They make a mock of your word, Great Brittain, and offer to prove, that it is a great deal lesse then Little England was wont to be; lesse in reputation, lesse in strength, lesse in riches, lesse in all manner of virtue, and whatsoever else is required to make a state great and happy.

They wonder you will call your selfe King of France, and suffer your best subjects there to be ruined; for, Ireland, they say, you content your selfe with the name, and let others receive the profit.

As for the glorious title, Defender of the Faith (which was wont to be a point of controversie betweene us and Rome) they say flatly that your faithful subjects have more cause to question that then the Papists.

For they* were never better defended in their lives; wittnesse, the judges privy instructions, the pursuivants open prohibitions, and your Spanish ambassadors, more than parliament protections.

Lastly, That you are Head of the Church, they dare not doubt; but of what church they would gladly know; the Triumphant, they say, it cannot be, because there are too many corruptions and vexations in it,

And how far it is from the Militant, they call heaven and earth to wittnesse. Therefore they conclude, it must be either the church dormant, or none. And to say the truth, Sir, wee are the securest sinners in the world.

These are the things that have most readily offered themselves to my remembrance; because they follow one another in a kind of order. But, if I should reporte all the disorderly and extravagant speeches I have heard of this nature, I must bee faine to racke my memorie, and (I fear) your Majesties patience; yet rather than leave the least shadow of suspition upon my plain dealing, by seeming too curttail in the performance of so necessary a duty, I will venture to ad these fewe.

They, that take the affaires of your children† abroade most to hearte not being able to discerne the compassion of your bowels, but judginge things by the exterior of your actions, will hardlie be perswaded, that you are their father; because, they see, the lamentable estate, whereto you suffer things to ruh, comes nearer to destruction than the nature of fatherly correction.

They are not ignorant that your Majestie hath made as though you would doe somethinge for them, but they also know the course you

* The Papists.

† The King of Bohemia married to King James the First's daughter.

have taken, hath beene more formall than effectuall, more chargeable than honourable: and are of opinion that either your embassadours have not negotiated as they ought, or else have mett with very ill masters of requests abroade, since they have not bin able, all this while, to get their petition answered.

The very Papists themselves, Sir, repine at your errour, and say, that the prayers and monyes, that your Majestie hath consumed of late in the vnprofitable treaties, might have beene farr better employed in redeeming your mothers soule out of purgatorie; for, to get the enemie out of your childrens countrie, other ensignes might have beene found a greate deale more proper. In the meane time they do not onely bind, but satisfy their pernicious hopes, upon your Majesties patience. For, seeing, how easily you tolerate all things abroade, they doubt not, ere long, but they shall also have toleration at home. Our godliest preachers doe allready pray against the evil day, with so much earnestness, as if that were at hande. And, though there be orders given to preach nothing but *Courte-Divinitie*, yet a man may easily perceive, by the very choyce of their texts, and the very teares in their eyes, that, if they durst, they would speake their consciences.

The perpetuall walkers of Paules doe now despair to see their materiall church ever repaired, since the spirituall, and more worthy, is suffered to go to wracke. And some of them not daring to meddle with affaires of state, because they are monied men; and yet not knowing how to holde their peace, upon so sodaine warning, thinke it their safest course, to talke of nothing but ecclesiasticall matters; wherein they all agree, that your Majestie hath pulled downe the church more with your proceeding, then you have raised it with your writings †.

In your Majesties owne tavernes, for one healtie that is begun to your selfe, there are ten drunke to the Princes your forraygn children. And, when the wine is in their heads, Lord have mercie on their tongues. Ever in the very gaming ordinaries, where men have scarce leisure to say grace, yet they take a time to censure your Majesties actions, and that in their oulde schoole terms. They say, you have lost the fayrest game at Maw, that ever king had, for want of making the best advantage of the five finger, and playing the other helps in time. That your ownt card-holders play boottie, and give the signe out of your owne hand. That ‡ hee, you played withall, hath ever been knowne for the greatest cheater in Christendome. In fine, there is noe way to recover your losses, and vindicate your honour, but with fighting with him, that hath cozened you. At which honest downe righte play, you will be hard inough for him with all his trickes. I cannot forget how I have seene some, when they have lost all their money, fall a cursing and swearing at the loss of Prague, and the Palatinate; as though all the rancour of their hartes lay there. And

* King James the First affected to shew himself a great opposer of the Church of Rome, by turning controvertist, and writing against their doctrines, with his own-soyall pen.

† Privy counsellors and ambassadors.

‡ The King of Spain, or Gondamore, his ambassador.

tell them of your Majesties proclamation, they answer in a chace; you must give loosers leave to speake.

The merchants and trades-men I, nor no man else, can accuse of being sensible of any thing, but what toucheth their owne profit. All I find in them is, they are extreame jealous, the courtes will shortly put down their exchange, and apprehend, because one of their occupation is made treasurer*, that therefore, hence forward, all things must be bought and sould there.

The lawyers seeme not so much offended, that your Majestie hath removed the garland of their profession by puttinge the great seale into the hands of a churchman†, as that you doe not relieve your poore distressed children, according to the equitie of their cause, who, they saye, have bin wrongefully outed; and that, therefore, you ought to grant them a writ of forcible re-entry, which, under correction, they conceive maye be better executed by the general of an army then the sheriffe of a countie.

They that fly higher, and fixe their speculations upon the mysteries of the court, doe apparently perceive that the councill of Gondemar hath taught some of your active ministers to juggle, onely to make them passively capable of his owne conjuring; and that, by the penetrating faculty of a yelow Indian demon‡, hee hath at his command, and is maister of your cabinet without a key, and knows your secrets before the greatest part, and most faithful of your council. And which is worse, they say, your Majestie knowes it; and therefore suspect that your selfe is bribed against your selfe. Otherwise they thinke not the divell himselfe could so abuse the times we live in, as to make things passe in that fashion as they doe, contrary to all sense, and conscience, and reason of state.

Behold, Sir, the second part of *vox populi*, by so much the more like itselfe then the first, by howe much it comes short of it in witt and discretion; for, though the second cogitations are ever held the best, yet wee see the common people, for the most part, when they give themselves to talkinge, proceed from bad to worse, and every time more foolishly then other: the reason is, because they never think before they speake; but rashly vent whatsoever gets into their fancy, bee it true, false, or probable, good, bad, or indifferent; nevertheless, by these overflowings of their mouths, your Majestie maye doe well to guesse at the abundance of their hearts. And my lords of your councill may make use of their follie, without desparaging of their owne

* This was Sir Lionel Cramfield, who at first was a merchant in London, afterwards a custom-house officer, and from thence introduced into the court as a projector; a name given to such as suggested to the ministers of state, means, whereby they might fill the exchequer with money, when the King would rule without a parliament. He there married the sister of Mary Beaumont, Countess of Buckingham, which was sufficient to raise him to the place of treasurer, and to be created Earl of Middlesex. See Wilson, p. 727, and Weldon, p. 141. From an heir-ess of this family is descended the Duke of Dorset. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 446.

† Chancellor Bacon, who had been created Baron of Verulam, and Viscount St. Alban's, though he was a very great genius, and one of the most learned men in Europe, being found guilty of bribery and corrupt practises in his high office, was declared by parliament unworthy not only of the office of chancellor, but also of having a place, for the future, in the house of peers, fined forty thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure; in whose place, on the twentieth of July, 1621, the King made John Williams, dean of Westminster, lord high chancellor. See Rushworth, tom. I. p. 29. Howes. Wilson, p. 735. Weldon, p. 133, and Hacket.

‡ Gold.

wisdome; which, if it be lawfull for mee to confesse, The truth is, the principall end I ayme at; for it would never sinke into my beleife, that your Majesties meaninge was to publish these kind of proclamations*, to intrap your subjects, and bringe them to the blocke of punishment; but rather out of a politicke designe to sound their greife, and make their complaints serve for so many directions to amendment. Accordinge to which persuasion I have thought it sufficient to sett downe the bare discourses, without troubling your Majestie with the persons; for, if all, that are infected with this King's-evill†, should be brought before you, I fear that both your Majestie and your chirurgeon will want the vertue of curinge all evils‡. Which I wish you maye doe with as much ease as your owne heart desires. And though, perhaps, I cannot end better, than with saying Amen to so good a prayer; yet, now that I have begun to speake to the Lord my Kinge, let him not be offended with mee, if I presume a little further, and offer at least a few of mine owne conceptions, by way of humble remonstrance; not that I can hope (however others|| have sped) to come from an informer to be a counsellour; but because, I believe, there are some things most worthy of your Majesties consideration, that are fitter for an honest man to present than a grate.

The great spectatours of your Majesties wisdome, whose dayly exercise is to multiply the object in the artificiall glasses of fraude, and flattery, are so distracted with the infinite faces of the counterfayts, as they cannot discern the blemishes of the true. But wee that knowe neither the use nor the benefit of such court-perspectives, and have no other waye to understand your Majestie, then by your workes, doe, to our great greife, perceive a number of defects that cover the glory of your raigne, as in a cloude, and much allaye the reverence due to the other excellencies of your person; for mine owne part I cannot see them, and thinke it not inough to murmure as many doe, but must shewe my selfe so affectionate to my prince and country; as to advise your Majestie of them, which I promise to doe with as much humilitie as the matter will bear.

The generall torrent of discontent that raigns with such a seditious noyse over your whole kingdome; though (thanks be to God) it hath made no open breach upon your peoples obedience; yet certainly hath very much weakened their affections, which hath ever bin held dangerous, and of so near neighbourhood as commonly there is no waye to prevent the one, without remedyinge the other§.

The courses from whence that riseth, are two:

I. Discord at home. And,

II. Dishonour abroad.

* Viz. One upon summoning the parliament on the twentieth of January, 1621, and the other, after the King had perswaded the lords to quarrel with the house of commons, and he had adjourned the parliament, forbidding all persons to talk of state affairs, with threats of severe punishment, as well against the concealers of such discourses, as against audacious tongues and pens. See Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 36.

† Of speaking against the King's government and proceedings, or talking of state affairs, contrary to the proclamations above mentioned.

‡ Alluding to the evils of state caused by the male administration of the King and council under the influence of the Spanish ambassador, Gondamora.

§ Alluding to Sir Lionel Cranfield, as mentioned above.

A good admonition to all princes.

For the first, I must confesse, I am not so well read in the newe booke of patents*, as that I can make any longe discourse upon that subject, and therefore to the lower house of parliament will leave it; which is the true christall fountaine that will not onely present to your Majesties vewe, as in a mirrour, all the foule spots of the common-weale, but serve you at the same time with waters, if you please, to wash them out; but for the other†, which toucheth more to the quicke all generouse spirits, and so excels in matter of complaint, as it receives redresse, all other clamours ought to hold their peace; I dare pretend to knowe as much of it as another, and, perhaps, more than the share of a private gentleman. And having bin of late, by I knowe not what inclination of my genius, not onely the chosen fruit of my outward observations, but the very nourishment of my sadd and solitary thoughts; if then your Majestie will give me leave to execute my melancholy office of tellinge truth, and freely to advertise you what this grand grievance is, that cries so loud for reparation in all voices, in all hearts; and it is a just resentment of the decayes of our countreys honour, a trade wherein wee were wont to outbuy all our neighbors: And make the greate ingrosser ‡ of your Weste-Indyes himselfe bankrupt. But, since your Majestie came to be our soveraigne, least we shoulde be too proude of so greate an addition, it seemes the hand of heaven hath thought fit to curbe our felicitie in this point; so that we have lived to see that brave stock of soveraigne reputation, which our greate Queen||, your predecessor, left us, quite banisht, and brought to nothing. And for acquiring of new, that is a thing so long since grown out of use, as that may be very well reckoned, amongst those other inventions, wee have lost through your injurie§ of time.

The old compasse of honour is quite forgott, and our pilotts¶, now adiaies, knowe no other route, than that of their own fortunes; according to which they tacke and untacke all publicke affaires. No marvaile, then, if wee see your goodly vessels of this state misguided and shamefully exposed to all maner of danger. Sometimes by being runn agrounde upon your sands of shallow and uncertaine policie; but most of all, by being kept at anchore**, and full as it is of leakes, and rotten ribbes, in the deepe gulfhe of security. Where that takes in more matter of ruine and corruption, in sixe monthes, then can be pumpt out again in seven yeares. Nor can our statesmen excuse their negligence hereafter, in saying, the wind did not serve. For never did heavens blow more favourably to our advantage, than that hath done of late, had wee the grace but to have fitted our sayles to the fairenes of your occasion. But there hath been I know not what remora, that hath hung a long time upon this unfortunate state; and still continues of that prodigious force, as for ought I see (unles God of his mercie

* This relates to all the patents by which the King, by granting monopolies to certain companies, or persons, ruined the trade of his other subjects, in order to raise a little present money for the support of such a prerogative in the crown, which, being detrimental to the subject, would not be allowed by parliament.

† Viz. The House of Lords.

‡ The King of Spain.

§ Elisabeth.

¶ Of granting patents.

¶ Or ministers of state.

** At Spithead, or elsewhere. This particularly refers us to the mismanagement of the Duke of Buckingham.

putt his helping hand) it will rather sink us, then suffer us to go forward in any course that tends to our prosperitie.

In the meane time our adverse parties have feardome enough, and all is fishe that comes to their netts, that it seemes they have forbidd us, under the paine of their highe displeasure, to deal any more in matters of worthe; and reserving to themselves the rich prizes, and triumphes of the time, have thought that sufficient for us, to sheere our sheepe, and fetch home spices to make ginger-bread. Not so much but the very pedlers*, whome wee ourselves set upp for our owne use, are now become our masters in the Easte-Indyes; and thinke themselves our fellows in any ground of Christendome.

These things are the more irkesome unto us, by reason we did least expect them at your Majesties hands. For, who would have thought, that wee should have lost, but rather infinitely gained, by changing the weaker sexe†, for your more noble, to be our commanders. And having withall to boote the onely nation of the earth‡, that could compare with us in valour, to be our fellowe souldiers? But the event shoves, wee are in nothing more miserable, then in that wee had so much reason to thinke our selves happy, for now that wee see how contrary to our hopes all things have succeeded, and how vilely wee have suffered our brave possibilities to passe away one after another; as in a dreame our greatest comfortes are changed into equall despair, and our most reputed blessings, into moste apparent curses.

Of all the benefits that descend from heaven to earth, there is none to be received with more prayse, and thankfulness, then that of peace. But a man may have too much of his fathers blessing. And I feare we have too much cause to complaine of your Majesties unlimited peace. The excesse whereof hath long since turned vertue into vice, and health into sicknes. As long as other princes kept themselves within their bounds, and followed your great example, it was a thinge rather to be gloried in, than any way reproached, that your Majestie was knowne throughout Christendome, by the name of the Kinge of Peace. But now, that both our sworne enymies, and forsworne friends, have taken up armes with one consent, that defyed your Majesties goodnes by enterprising upon your neerest and dearest interest in all forraign parts. Now, that there is question of Gods glory§, as well as your owne. And that the cause of both your children lyes equally a bleeding: Now, I say, to continue still the faute, as still unmoved, as if you were no king of this world, but stood already possessed of the kingdome of heaven by vertue of (*Beati pacifici*) this certainly is such a strange peace of supererrogation, as will serve to astonish the present age, and that to come; but deserve well of neither. It will rather revoke in doubt your former merit, and make us suspect, that your peaceable disposition all this while hath not proceeded so much out of Christian piety, and love of justice, as out of meere impotency, and desire of ease. Pardon me, O King, if I speak to you § in a language you are not accustomed to heare.

* The Dutch.

† Queen Elizabeth.

‡ Scotland united by King James the First's accession to the crown of England.

§ In the reformed religion, like to be suppressed in Germany.

§ Accustomed to the flattery of courtiers.

It is a part of Supremacy*, not to have your darling sinne layd open; as my lords and bishops do very well observe: But it is now no time to baue, and palliate that which all the world sees. For, though I feare it lies still in your boosom, yet the blasing starr was not more spectable in our horizon, nor gave people more occasion of talke, heaven grant it may not be the cause of more mischief in Christendome, than the other was a signe of. It is in your Majesties power to take away our feare, and danger, both at once, if you will at length but know your owne strength, and take a resolution worthy of yourselfe.

There are two faire occasions, that come, as it were, a woinge to your Majestie at this time, the least of which highly deserves the honour and good fortune of your Mayden Armes†: so just, and so religious, in all humane and divine respects, as I dare say, that if the noble army of martrys were sent downe upon earth to make their fortunes a-new, they would choose noe other quarrel to dye in, nor hope for a surer way to recover againe the crowne of glory.

The one is, to reestablish your owne children in Germany ‡.

The other, to preserve God's children|| in France.

Both of them so universally desired, and so conformable to Christian faith, and good maners, that I doubt not, but that they have long since passed the presse of the conscience, though I know, by what indirect means, they are not suffered to come forth in publike view. I shall not need to rip up these questions of state from the beginninge, and vex your Majestic, with provinge particularly that which is best knowne to your selfe; yet, because I see nothing done, I must needs say somewhat. And first, for the unfortunate princes your children; though they may perhaps have committed a fault, which your Majesty, in your singular wisdom, thought good to make them drinke of, to purge them either of ill counsell, or happily to quench in them betimes their dangerous thirst of ambition, which, not content with Rhine and Danuby§, might afterwards attempt the ocean; yet to let them drinke still, and so deep in the cup of afflictions, as not to be able to stand upon their legges, but reele up and downe, without hope of recovery, is the scorne and opprobry of the nations of the earth.

Hac ratione potes justus fortasse videri:

At non crudelis non potes esse pater.

But some will say, your Majestic hath often advised them to returne to themselves; and which is more, that you sent one of late of purpose to lead them home: But, alas, in their case how vaine is all comfort without handes? And how ill hath this the promisinge endeavour sped the guide you sent (as expert as he made himselfe in the enymies wayes) is come short of his undertaking; and, instead of givinge end to the

* Alluding to the King of England's title, Supreme Head of the Church of England.

† Because never yet used against the enemies of the nation.

‡ Viz. In the Palatinate and Bohemia.

§ The Protestants,

¶ Or the countries lying on the banks of those two rivers.

princes misery, hath only lighted upon a handsome trick to cover his own shame; had fortune so miraculously blest his confidence, as that he had performed this Hercules labour without a lions skin, he would have stayned all wise men for ever, who, before he went, gave him for another last embassadour; it could never appeare to them in the least forme of likelyhood, and having the credit dew to gentlemens complement, that the Spanish counsell of warr would be at the charge of getting a country by force of armes, that they meant afterwards to restore at the kissinge of a hand: They are knowne to be a people so circumspect, and advised in all that they doe, as they never resolved upon the present, without consultinge the future, but make the reasons of both their equal warrant; and therefore, if they had made keeping of words, in matters of this nature, they should questionlesse have judged it more convenient to have taken your Majesties for Bohemia, then have taken theirs for the Palatinate. Which, before they would surrender, they were first obliged to conquer; and consequently to undertake a new warrant to no purpose. But, seeing they would not trust your Majestie in so apparant a congruity, it is not to be wondered at, that they have deceived you, but that they had the meanes to doe so, for not onely Ball, but every Balaams asse, might easily forsee that your Majesties credulity was in the high way to perdition; and could not but bring you where the Spaniard would have you; who, how hee useth all that are at his mercy, I am sorry your Majestie is now to learne from so curst a schoole-master as himselfe. Who will make no new scruple to whipp you as your children, with your owne rods of iron*, though he fainedly promised to use them only against the Turke; and then it will be too late to wish you had beleved Cassandra, the voyce of your loving parliament, who, hearing of it, made a start out of their owne businesse, and could not be quiet, til they had intreated your Majestie to consider what a dangerous gift it was, and how fitt to be revoked. But your answer was, that you had passed your royall word to the Spanish embassadour, and could not break it; as if you were the only unfortunate prince of the world, that were tyed to be faithfull to your owne prejudice. Had your Minister in the court of Spaine subreptitiously obtained a graunt from that King of like importance, his Catholicke Majestie would have bin glad of so good an occasion to render it of no effect: And, without standing on such gentle points of honour, or framing to himselfe, I know not what, chimeras of jealousy betweene his owne absolute power, and his peoples humble desire, would have bin so farre from expecting his parliaments opposition, as he would rather have given them charge under hand to have made it, and by that meanes have recalled his benefitt, and preserved his thanks. But, if your Majestie had made use of this expedient, there might perhapps some inconvenience ensued, for then, it is to be feared, the Spanish embassadour would have bin discouraged from ever asking such unreasonable thinges againe. The

* This refers to the King's permission to Gondamore, to export ordnance, and other warlike stores from England, to supply the Spanish arsenals; and, in particular, to the King's order for whipping one by the common hangman, for reviling Gondamore for the same in London streets. See Rushworth, Tom. I. c. 24.

only hope whereof makes him flatter the state, and tell your Majestie many a pleasant tale. Wee are not yet willing to be undeceived; for, if wee were, wee should not stay till wee sawe the mountaines that are promised us out of Spaine, vanish into smoake: The poore Palatinate shews us sufficiently, what wee are to looke for from the Spaniard; who, if hee were resolved to give us shortly so much of his owne, as is imagined, would never keepe so gripingly from us that which is ours. But I crie the Spaniards mercy: It is not hee (good man) but the revengfull Emperour, that doth us this wrong. As if the Emperour, without him, could wrong a mouse, or doth shew himselfe refractory to the least tittle of his knowne will: Wee may as well suppose the sea turbulent without winde, or the lower spheares to move without the *Primum mobile*. I graunt that wee see the Spanish forces and the signes turne another way, but so as they involue, with a powerfull and secret touch, the rapture of the Palatinate, and all the shirs about it; without the which the Emperour would be as quiet a lumpe of Majestie as wee could wish him. And his commissary, the Duke of Bavaria, did nothing but what became him. It is the Catholicke usurper* that setteth them both a worke, and playes least in sight himselfe. Betweene them they hold faste your childrens patrimony, and play with your Majestie, as men doe with little children at handydandy, which hand will you have? when they are disposed to keepe any thing from them. Or as two†, that having joined together in a theft, hee, that tooke, saies, hee has it not; and hee, that hath it, saies, hee tooke it not: Which is a mockery more insufferable, than the maine injurie, and ought to provoke your Majestie to the highest straine of indignation; for, if you persist in your obdurate patience, and take still for payment all the artifices that their false dealing can coine, wee shall be shrewdly tempted to beleeve for once what the author of all lyes, to justifie the King of Spaine, and the other princes of their‡ religion, doe constantly give out. That your Majestie is sure of the Palatinate by treatie; and that you pretend the contrary, to draw money from the parliament. Out of which opinion, if it be once suffered to take roote, may grow a greate deale of poyson, and fall upon your Majestie as a juste judgment of God: Who, because you would wilfully trust your enymie to your hurte, may now see yourselfe so unhappy, as not to be beleaved by your owne subjects for your good. But, I hope, God of his mercy, will avert so great a disaster, and give your Majestie the grace to discover, and destroy at the same instant, this malicious invention; which may easily be done, if, without any more delay, or reservations, you will now, really, and royally, ingage your selfe in this righteous way. Nor let the scarcitie of meanes, and ways, discourage you. For your Majestie knowes not what a secret treasure lies hidde in your peoples hearts; which (in so good an occasion as this) will be brought forth, and laied at your feete, in greater heapes then the world imagines. Your faithfull parliament hath already made you a liberall offer of our lives, and fortunes, and every good Englishman hath long since confirmed it in his particular

* The King of Spain.

† In the fable.

‡ Popish.

devotion: It wholly depends upon your Majesties wisdome, to make the right use of so great a gift, for therein consists all the danger, all the difficulty. The fundamentall engines of warre, as every man knows, are men and money: And, would to God, your Majesties dominions were as well stored with the one, as they are with the other, then should we not prostitute, as wee doe, to the great Whoremaster of Babylon*, and for a fewe clods of earth give up the honour of our countrey, and violate the love which we owe to religion. But his knowledge of our wants makes him presume on our easiness, and allure us to this base and impious adultery. Though, I verily believe, in this present occasion, hee and his hawds will be much deceived, for, if your Majesty, and your estates now assembled together, will tie the holy knot of union, and make a firm covenant together, wee shall not need to goe so neere hell for gold, as Spanish mines; or, if we doe, wee will take a course to have it without being beholding to the divell; wee shall be able to supply well enough for the businesse in hand out of that wherewith God Almighty hath blest us. Onely, I must advertise your Majesty, that wee expect to see an army raised, as well as subsidies. For, if wee be at the charge of maintaining a war, it is reason wee should partake of the honour and benefitt of it; especially considering how hardly we can spare money, and how easily men.

There are many thousands of your Majesties subjects, able and proper fellowes, that lie languishing, ready to rebell, for want of employment. And, I hope, none will denie, but English-men can earn their wages at this worke, as well any other nation. Sure I am, that it is to be found in very good historie, that forraigne princes have thought it none of their worst stratagems to clad a great parte of their owne people in English Cassocks† to make themselves more terrible to the enymie. Count Mansfield‡ is a gallant man, and deserves not only to be well paid, but highly rewarded, for the good service he hath done your Majestie in that country. Where, had he not arrived when he did, those few all worthie countrymen of ours, that would not goe away before they saw the last danger borne, had bin miserably sacrificed to the Spaniards butcherie, which would have made a great many of us worne blackes§ in England for a while. But nothing would have lasted blacke so long as the story of it. Which, when posterity came to read, they would certainly have blurd that part of your Majesties raigne with teares. But as he came thither by an accident; so (for ought I know) hee may go away by another; and therefore it were fit to provide more certaine souldiers, for so certaine a warre. For (as my Lord Digbey did well show towards the end of his narration) Count Mansfields armye doth not consist of such as have their wives, and children, and friends dwelling in the Palatinate; but of such, to whome all places are alike, so they may set a worke; and upon whome there can be no other tye then precise pay. How much better then were it for your Majestie to satisfie the generall desire, and send over an armye of good English, who, you may be sure, will neither change party, nor spoile the country, but stedfastly adhere, as much out of affection,

* The Pope and his adherents.

† Cloaths, or red coats.

‡ The general of the King of Bohemia's army.

§ Or gone in mourning.

as obligation to the cause, and persons of your children? Besides, if your Majestie will take things aright, wee doe not contribute to this warre, so much to regaine the Palatinate, as to redeeme the credit of our nation, which all the money in the kingdome is not able to doe without action. There are, as I have heard, two reasons made to oppose this resolution; the one, the odds of the charge; the other, the difficulty of getting thither.

To the First, I answer breifly, That, in matter of warre, the best is ever cheapest, and the shortest the best; I meane, not the shortest beginning, but the shortest ending: and, for the other, it is to be presumed, that, where your Majestie shall make this warre royall, by taking it upon your selfe, you will not, for your owne greatnes sake, be seene to send any forces, but such as shall be abl to make their way; if not, at least they may have their commission to take up lodgings by the way, for those shall come after, and so, though they come short of their journeyes end, they may happily make an end of that they goe for the sooner. In plaine termes, Sir, the Palatinate is very ill seated for us to warre in; it being both remote from the sea, and surrounded on all sides with our enymies, whome the Pope hath tyed together, like Sampsons foxes tailes, to set these our parts of Christendome on fire; for which purpose, they call themselves the Catholicke League, and have the Catholicke King* for their head, who sticks close unto them in all adventures. Whereas your Majestie, I know not for what crime, hath long since beheaded the poore Protestant Union, and left it as a body without a soule; yet it is not so dead, and buried, but that there is hope it will rise againe at the first sound of your Majesties trumpets, and joyfully receive a second, and more durable life, from your better resolutions, of all the parts belonging to it, the easiest to be resuscitated: and most usefull for the present business are the United provinces of the Low Countreyes, as being the strongest, and nearest to the head, during this time of dissolution.

They have binn faine to do the office of a breast to give your children suck, but are indeed the armes, and would, ere this, have carried them into their owne countrey, had they not had their handes full of the common enymie † at home: If then your Majestie desires to remove the Spaniards foote out of the Palatinate, the speediest course will be, to give the Hollanders your helping hand in Flanders; or, if your strict alliance with Spaine will not beare such an immediate act of hostility from your selfe, you may, for love, or monie sake, lend the Prince, your son-in-law ‡, an army to dispose of, as hee shall see cause, provided alwaies that you counsaile him underhand to his best advantage; so shall the Spaniard be paid in his owne coin, and our princes restored to their owne possessions: whereas, if you confine the action to the bare Palatinate, and content your selfe with the doves innocency, now that you see the enymie as wise as a thousand serpents, it will never have an end; but draw it selfe into such a continuall circle of trouble, as wee may looke to see a dozen yeares hence two such

Of Spain.

The Spaniards.

‡ The King of Bohemia, and Elector Palatine.

armies keeping one another at bay in the Palatinate, as doe now in the Low Countreys. I will not show so little respect to your Majesties judgment, as to talke any longer in so cleare a case, but will here conclude my reasons with my praiers, humbly beseeching your Majestie to doe your selfe, and Christendome, right in this great affaire: and let it be no longer heard, that the Spaniard hath more witt than the English eyesight, or the King of Spaines Cozen Germanes removed are neerer a kinne to him, then your Majesties owne children are to you.

It remains now, that I speak a word or two in the behalfe of our brethren, Gods children, in France, against the firebrands of hell, which have kindled a persecution without all earthly matter, it being the heavenly cause of religion, and no other, for which they are made to suffer; wherein your Majestie, and state, have as much interest, as is possible for a man to have, when his neighbours house is on fire; indeed so much as would ill become a private man to put you in mind of at any time, but this, when, it seemes, a dead sleep possesses all the land, and that we had rather perish, then be disturbed.

The vigilant parliament* hath laien *sentinell perdu*, and discovered the enemies approaches, but cannot be heard. The watched men of the ballances that stand in high places, though they cannot but see the danger, yet dare they not give the alarme, for fear of disquieting your Majestie. Lastly, and worst of all, the church-men, who are the seers of Israell, and ought to discry from the holy place the troopes of the Philistins, and their plots, are they that doe most of all connive at the stupidity of the time: all of them already, for excuse of their weaknes, urge the strong opinions that they have of your Majesties ablenes, for (say they) it is in vaine either to advertise or advise your Majestie of any thing touching government, because, they are assured, you know as much of it, as naturall man can comprehend. And, for mine owne parte, I thinke a great deale more, otherwise it could not be that your proceedings should so varye as they doe from the whole current of human discretion.

I graunt all wise princes have ever reserved to themselves certain cases of state, which the politicians call *arcana imperij*†; and we should be too injurious to your Majesties wisdom, and power, if we should grudge you the like privilege. But, alas, Sir, wee that have reasonable soules, and cannot but use them in so important a matter, doe find a great deal of difference betweene your Majestie and other princes in this point. For though they have locked up, in the closset of their breasts, their incommunicable purposes, and so worke upon divers occasions, as that the effects have bin scene to come abroad, before the cause could be knowne; yet at last it coms to be evident, that these their secret designs ever tended to the publick good, and the instrumentall meane, were only such Heteroclytes as did transcend, and not overthrowe common reason. Whereas your Majesties courses are not onely inscrutable, but diametrically opposite to poore mans understanding: and so far from giving us any hope of good effects hereafter, as they doe already fulfill the utmost of our feares, insomuch

* That was summoned 20 January 1621.

† *Secreta of Government.*

that wee have no way left to put ourselves out of astonishment, and preserve your Majesties wisdome blameles, but by strainingly beleeving, that, whereas all other princes have liberty to governe themselves according to the rules of worldly policie, your Majesties hands are tied from using such means and advantages by the corrective power of some secret revelation: and as David, who was a King after Gods owne heart, might not for all that build God a temple, because he had his hands in blood; so happily your Majestie may not be suffered to do any thing for the church of God, because you have likewise your hands defiled with blood; for how can they be otherwise, being clast so streightly (as they are) with them, that are red with the blood of the * saints? one that knowes the sweetnes of your Majesties nature, and hath seen with what clemency and mercy you have swayed the scepter, would thinke it little less blasphemy to accuse you of any thing that is bloody. But God judges not, like man. And who can hinder the Eternall from calling your Majestie to account for all the ravage hath bin done in his church of late, since you are his liqutenante of greatest truste, and have received of his heavenly grace both sufficient power and right to oppose such violent innovations? O the good and divine providence of God that hath given your Majestie above all the princes of the earth such tittles and royall attributes, as doe necessarily infer, and transfer a right, and protection upon these his poore persecuted servants; for, whatsoever your Majestie thinks of it, I doe as verily beleeve, as if there were a text for it in the Apocalips, that the great God of the world in his omniscience, and omnipotent prescience, hath so disposed of states to the benefit of the church, as to continew upon your Majestie the tittle of France, to the end that little flocke, which he hath thought good to plant there amongst so many wolves, might have by a just pretence the Defender of the Faith, for theirs; if your Majestie will not owne this poore people, neither as yow are King of France, nor Defender of the Faith, yet ought you to preserve them for your owne Englands sake; and doe that for reasons of state which religion cannot obtain. For should the protestants of France be utterly extirpt, and that puissant kingdome rendred as Catholike as Spaine, I hope our states-men would not think England the same it was; nor your Majestie behold your monarchie, without greiving at so terrible an alteration. For mine owne parte, I should then beginne to beleeve that the time were come Comines the Frenchman spoke of; who, being in discourse with an Englishman about the warres we had had so often, and with so good success, made in France, discreetly said, "That God Almighty had brought the English into France, to punish them for their sins: and when the sins of England should become greater than of France, he would likewise send the French thither to scourge them." And how willingly that nation would imbrace such an imployment, may be easily judged; whether we consider the old or the new cause of their hatred: the virtue of our ancestors sticks still in their stomachs, and the true profession of the gospell enrages their consciences. They who beleeve they do

* Protestant,

God good service in cutting their owne country-mens and kinsmens throats, because they are not Papists, should doubtlesse thinke themselves damned, if they should not doe much more to strangers, and their ancient enymies upon the same occasion. Nor shall they want powerfull incitements to so holy an enterprise: his Holiness himselfe will be tempter, though (thanks be to God) he is nothing yet so cunning as the divell; for, I know not by what pontificall furie, he hath precipitated his instigations, and suffred his malice to outrunne the season; would any (but Antichrist out of his wits) have so abused his most Christian child the King of France, as to put him upon the conquest of England, before he was master of Rochell*. I must confesse, when I first saw his apostolicke letters, I had an opinion that some crafty Hugonot† had devised them, to give your Majestie a more sensible interest in their cause: but, having since been made certaine they came from Rome, and that I find them inserted in a Catholicke writer, *avec privilege du Roy* ‡. I know not what to wonder at most, whether at them that say, the Pope cannot erre at all; or at him, that he should erre so much. I assure my selfe, this famous epistle hath long since beene presented your Majestie in its owne language. Neverthelesse, I will crave leave to make you see, how vilely it shews in English.

To our dearest Sonne in Christ Jesus, Lewis, the most Christian King.

POPE GREGORIE.

MOST deare sonne in Christ: health, and our apostolicke benediction. The high exploits of your royall valour, which have drawn upon them all the eyes of Christendome, bring a great deal of comfort to our fatherly care, as well in regard of the glory of your armes, as the hope of your triumphs; for, considering (as wee doe) with much greife, the impieties of the hereticks§, living in some places, without fear or danger, we now thanke the Lord of Hostes that hath in so fit an opportunity made your Majestie to take up armes, to maintaine the dignity of the Catholicke|| religion: O faire apprenticeship of royall warfare, and worthy of a most Christian King! What an admirable thing is it, that the age, which others, out of a kind of softnes and idlenes, use to pass away in sports and delights, your Majestie should imploy so generously, so fortunately, in appeasing differences, conducting armies, and besieging the places of hereticks, and all not without the speciall counsell of God, by whom Kings raigne? It is almost incredible, that the very first steps of your thought should carry you in so high and troublesome an enterprise; and that the dangers and difficulties, which have stopt others in their course, should onely

* The chief and strongest town belonging to the Protestants in France.

† French Protestants, so called.

‡ With the King's licence.

§ This is the general name given by the Papists to all Protestants.

|| Or Popish; for Catholicke is only a term or name usurped by the Papists.

serve for a spurr to the greatnes of your courage; injoy, dear sonne, the renowne your name hath gott, and follow the God that fights for you, to the end that, as you are now held, in every man's opinion, the thunderbolt of war, and buckler of war, so you may hereafter be esteemed the praise of Israell, and the glory of the world, from the highest of our apostolicke dignity, whereto it hath pleas'd God of his goodnes to raise us unworthy of so great a grace; wee assist your armes with heart and affection, and by our frequent prayers prepare the divine remedies; and, though we doubt not but your owne virtue will make you constant in this worke you have begun, neverthelasse we have thought good to adde our exhortations, that the world may see the care we have of the advancement of the true religion; and how willing wee are to give way to your glory: You have bin hitherto infinitely bound to God for his bounty towards you, and as wee both hope and wish shall hereafter a great deale more: For you, having your mind indued with celestial doctrine, and not with the bare precepts of humane wisdom, doe well know that kingdomes have their foundation upon the truth of orthodox faith, and indeede, unlesse God keep the city, what principality can subsist with any assurance? It may easily be judged, with what fidelity they* are likely to defend your royall throne, that have cast the very saints† themselves out of their temples, and don as much as in them lay, to put them‡ out of the number of the blessed, yea out of paradise it selfe: That with impious temerity condemne the institutions of our forefathers, the customes of kings, the decrees of popes, and the ceremonies of the church; these are the disturbers of the Christian common weale, and the reproaches of France, whom the great God hath reserved to be exterminated in the first year of your raigne. Know then that all Europe (which the event of your armes holds now in suspence) hopes shortly to hoise saile upon the ocean under your conduct, to the end that place||, which serves now for sanctuary, and protection to the hereticks, and rebelles, may one day serve for a marke of your victories; wee are confidently persuaded, that neither fear, nor inconstancy, shall ever be able to divert you from the pursuite of your enterprise; onely wee would have you remember that the saints of heaven assist that prince, who takes upon him the defence of religion, and fight on his side, like fellow souldiers. The same God that hardned the waters like dry land, and turned the waters of the sea into wals, to give safe passage to his childrens army, will certainly be as favourable unto you; and then, we shall have good cause to hope, that, after you have established your owne kingdom, and crusht the impiety that is there, you may one day by the progresse of your victorious armes join the orient to the occident, imitating the glory of your ancestors, who have ever borne as much respect to the exhortations of Popes as to the commandements of God. Saint Lewis, whose name you beare, and whose steps you follow, invites you to it; so doe the first of your race, who, in defending the apostolicke authority, and propagating Christian religion, laid the best and surest foundation

* Protestant subjects.

† Images, pictures, reliques of Popish invention.

‡ That have no farther proof of their sanctity than only their canonisation by the Pope.

|| England.

of your royall house. Follow, deare sonne, which are the ornaments of the world, the commandements of heaven; powre out your wrath and indignation upon those people, that have not knowne God: To the end the divine treasure of heaven may belong unto you, by just acquisition. In the meane time wee send you most affectionately our apostolicke benediction.

Given at Rome, in Great St. Maryes, under the Seale of the Fisher, September 4, 1620, being the 10th yeare of our Pontificate.

BEHOLD the nett, St. Peter's successors hope to catch England with, wherein your Majestie hath more to loose than any man I know. Bee not therefore offended with your loving subjects, if their hearts tremble, though not for feare, yet for greife, to see your Majestie neglect both your selfe, and them, in so pregnant and considerable an occasion: The Pope needed not to have bin so foolish, as to advertise us; we should easily have bin so wise of our selves, to understand how neerly the Protestants of France concerne England.

They are indeed so many hostages which God Almighty hath put into your Majesties hands to secure you, and your Majesties dominions, from all danger of that countrey; and to loose them, were no other, in my opinion, then wilfully to tempt God, to deliver us into the hands of our enymies. As long as God hath any children in France, we shall be sure to have brethren there. But, they once gone, your brother of France will quickly shew whose child he is, and how incompatible the obedience, he owes him*, is with any good will, he can bear your Majestie; since then the tye you have upon that princes friendship is of so loose a knot, what can your Majestie doe better for your selfe, and yours, then to keep his enmity still clogged, by cherishing and maintaining so good a party in his countrey, as those of the religion; who, you may be sure, will be so far at your devotion, as to continue their publike praiers for your prosperity.

Nor have the holy motions of Gods Spirit beene altogether wanting to your Majesties heart in this point, (at least, if wee may believe what is unlawful to doubt) the protestation of your tongue. For it is most true, that, the first time the deputies of Rochell presented themselves before your Majestie, you received their lamentable remonstrances with all the shewes of compassion, and sent them away astonished with your good words. Did you not then tell them that, 'although your conscience would not suffer you to assist your owne children in the warre of Bohemia, because you were not well satisfied of the justice of their quarrel; yet for them, they might assure themselves, you would employ the utmost of your forces in their defence; that you had strictly examined all that had passed betweene their King and them, and could not find wherein they had any way offended; that you were more

* The Pope.

engaged in their behalfe, then perhaps they know of: For when you renewed your alliance with this King, after the death of his father, you caused an expresse article to bee inserted, that those of the reformed religion, as long as they comported themselves as good subjects, should be maintained, and enjoy the benefitts of the edict, in as ample manner, as they had done in his fathers life time; which being so rashly and wilfully infringed, you helde your selfe both in consience and honour to take their cause in hand, and see them righted, as you vowed to God you would.* Considering this your resolution to the imprecations of so high a nature, although I doubt not but they proceeded of zeale, yet dare I not, for the respect I owe unto your Majestie, but remember them in this place; and that nothing might be wanting to make innocency and religion credulous.

My Lord of Buckingham himselfe fell upon his knees, and besought your Majesty to take them into your protection. Insomuch that the poore men were almost ravished with joy at their good succes, and came away praising God for the favour they had found in your Majesties eyes; but, by the time they returned into their country, which was after some eight or nine moneths sollicitung, they hung downe their heads, and said, they would, as long as they lived, call England, the Land of Promise*, for, notwithstanding the great promises that your Majestie made them, they mett with no man, but could tell them, they would be deceived in their expectation; which they would not beleieve, till they sawe at last nothing done, because your Majestie had told them, as became a great priunce, that they were not a people, with whom you had any reason to flatter or dissemble; for, if you had not liked their cause, you would have told them so at first; but, alas! what are they the better for your Majesties liking of their cause? That only shews the goodness of your owne judgment; but doth no way lessen the bitterness of their calamitie.

True it is, such was their humility and discretion, as they desired your Majestie would first be pleased to try all peaceable meanes in their favour; not out of any hope they had, that would produce any good effect, but, because they knew it was a course most suitable to your Majesties inclination; hereupon your Majestie thought good to send my Lord of Doncaster into France, to mediate their peace, in the choice of whose person they held themselves as much gratified as in the embassage it selfe; for, though they were strangers and but newly arrived in the courte, yet had they learned (as indeede who could not tell them, what a spotles and openhearted affection, that Lord bare to the true service of God and his Majestie) but in this employment his well wishes were his owne, and his instructions your Majesties; and, how farre soever the one went before, he was now bound to follow the other. All he could doe voluntarily was, to use his best diligence in matter of time, (as I assure my selfe he did) though it was his misfortune to meete with many heavy rubbs. For, being arrived at the French Kings campe, the canon made such a noyse, at Montabaes, as hee could not of a long time be heard; and, when with much adoe hee had pro-

* And not of Deeds: Whose King spake fair, but performed nothing.

cured that favour, the answer hee received was so unsavoury, as both his businesse and himselfe fell sick upon it.

By occasion whereof more time was spent in this one voyage, then our ancestours were wont to employ in conquering halfe France; and, after all, he came home pitifully complaining of the ill satisfaction he had received. Neverthelesse, your Majestie would not take his faithfull accounte, for finall payment; but thought it worth the labour to send him once againe, furnished (as the world conceived) with stranger charmes then the first; but the effect shewed all was one, for he found the yong King as obstinate as ever in the pursuite of his armes, and not to be perswaded to lay them downe upon bare entreaties. And (to speake truth) it was not to be expected at his handes. For he had no reason to encrease the obligation his Protestant subjects have to his Majestie, by showing them any favour at your instance, since it is well knowne, a greates part of the enmity he bears them proceeds meerely out of a jealousy he hath, that they have already too much dependance upon you. Had your Majestie used your owne perswasions for them, as Edward the Fourth did to Lewis the Second, to make him let the Duke of Brittain alone, I doubt not but his counsell, as fierce a warriour as he is, would have advised him for the best; but this was a point of rhetoricke beyond his lordships commission; and all that was lawfull for him to urge, was easily avoyded either by flatt refusall or by vaine excusall; so as he was forced the second time to return out of France, without leaving behind him any signe that he had been there; that appeared here at home by my lord treasurers accompts, there having been issued as much money out of the exchequer, for the defraying this fruitlesse embassage, as would have satisfied a great part of the * churches necessities; as your Majestie came after to consider, though too late, when you told the deputies†, you could have wished, you had given them the monie my Lord of Doncaster had, and would cost you in this treaty. And, without doubt, the one would have done them a great deal more good then the other. For they were so farre from receiving any benefit by your Majesties intercession, as it did rather infinitely disadvantage them; it no ways slackened or appeased the fury of their Prince; who continued his assaults upon them every day more cruellie then other.

And it was of that force with them, as not to aggravate matters, and so render his Majesties pious indeavours more difficult; they imposed measure and modestie upon their armes, and, in diverse occasions, chose rather to suffer, then employ the extremity of warre, in their defence: Besides, many of their party, seing your Majestie so farre engaged in a treatise of peace, thought it no point of wisdom to declare themselves, before they knew the issue of it; which could not be but a great weaknesse to them; so as the very prejudice they have received by your Majesties occasion (were there no other motive) obligeth you, in point of justice, to do something for them; and, in the name of God, what should hinder you, after so many voves and promises, from performing so easy and meritorious a work? Perhaps,

* Protestant.

† Of the Rochellers.

some false-hearted Achitophell* hath buzd into your apprehension, that, if you should releive the Protestants of France, the French King might likewise be drawne to assist the Papists in England, against your Majestie; but (thanks be to God) wee are not there yet.

For, though our Papists have had more scope given them of late, then all that love their country have wished, yet they are not growne to such a formidable light, that this illusion should be thought of any consequence.

The Protestants of France have lawes† made in their favour, and townes given them for their security; but the Papists of England can expect nothing from the lawes of their country, but penalty; nor challenge any other assurance, then what proceeds from meere connivencie. Besides, the tenets of the one‡ are known to be so conformable to civill government, as they are, and of right ought to be permitted to assemble themselves both in provincionall or nationall synods; whereas the other|| are justly denied this libertie, because both their positions and dispositions are altogether repugnant to the peace and safty of the state. Well may they conspire in secret, two and two; but, to rebell openly, the constable§ will not suffer them; if they were in case to show themselves in right colours, wee should quickly have newes of their freinds beyond the seas. There being a great prince¶ in the world, that openly professes, the English Catholickes are as deare unto him, as his owne proper Castilians; it is not your Majesties example, but your wisdom, that must caution you from this danger. To hinder them from having any forraigne assistance, there is no way but one, to keepe them in such order as they may be incapable of it: The church of Rome, as it for the most part is grounded upon worldly policy, so it doth, above all, excell in this, that it holds the parts firmly linked together, and possesses, by I know not what fascination, with such a spiritt of confederacy, as they partake alike in both fortunes, and passionately espouse one anothers interests: Whereas, if wee pray once a weeke, more out of custome, then any devotion, for the good estate of Christs church**, wee thinke wee have perfourmed the utmost of Christian duty: Hence it is, that the catholicke cause makes such a noyse in the world, and carries all before it in these troublesome times; for, amongst them, it is not inough to profess religion, without contributing to it; whereas wee think God sufficiently honoured, if we beleve his truth; lett him defend it, as hee will: Or, if at any time wee be urged to fight for our religion, wee use only the spirituall sword, whilst our adversaries they are victorious, and confound more in a day with the one, then S. Peter or S. Paul could ever convert with the other. The princes, that have given their power to the beast, send armes: And your Majestie (that should fight the battles of the Lord) embassadours. In a word, whilst your Majestie amaseth your selfe †† to convince an error or two of theirs, they find meanes to conquer a whole province of ours. Certainly, these children of

* Counsellor.

† See the edict of Nantes, and of Mompellier, made 19 Oct. 1682.

‡ viz. Protestants.

|| viz. Papists.

¶ Or, Peace officer.

¶ The King of Spain.

** This alludes to the Prayer for the Church Militant, which, being part of the Communion Office, is seldom said oftner than once a week.

†† By writing.

darknes are wiser in their generation then the children of light; and shall rise up against us at the last day, for bearing more affection to the Alcaron * of Rome, then wee do to the Gospel of Christ.

That I may yet give your Majesty a more lovely touch of these things, let it be lawful for mee to change the present state of religion throughout Christendome, and see what will necessarily ensue. Suppose your Majesty and the body of your estate were Papists, and the recusants Protestants. The French King, and his major part of that kingdome, Protestants, and the Hughonotts Papists; the King of Spain, the Emperour, and all the tribe of Austria, of the confession of Ausburgh; your children, and other princes of Germany, their confederats, Roman Catholickes. Suppose, I say, the differences were in all parts the same, the sides only turned: doth your Majestie thinke you could have shewed your selfe deafe at such crying occasions, without seeing your whole kingdom in commotion? Or, that they would have suffred you to take your pleasure a hunting, whilst your children, and brethren, were made a prey to the common enymie?

No, assuredly; you should have found another manner of busines of it; and scene your selfe forced to prefer your safty before your ease; *dieu & mon droit* *, before *Beati pacifici* †; you should have seen the differences between a Puritane parliament and a Popishe. And wondered at your selfe for being so unequall as to feare the one, and despise the other.

The Popes bulls, and his feircer beasts, the Jesuits, would have beens continually upon your back, and never left you neither safe nor quiet till they thrust you into action: and, for one preacher of ours that chanced to let a word fall from him to this purpose, you should have all theirs treat of nothing else. No prevention could have been used, to make them either silent, or sparing, in a cause that so highly concerned their mother the church. What then shall the true religion, because it teacheth no doctrine but what agrees with the simplicity and purenes of the gospel, be therefore neglected? God forbidd. They, that maintaine the excommunication, deposition, and assassination of princes, would desire no better a ground, then such an advantage for their opinion. And, if it could not but anger the very saints themselves to see their enymies triumph over them, with such unlawfull weapons, your Majestie may say what you heare of Puritanes, and by the authority of your knowne disfavour make that good word to be taken in an ill sence.

But, if my observation have not erred, in some parts of Christendome where I have lived, there is no religion like theirs, for a soveraigne that desires to make himselfe absolute and dissolute. Insomuch that I wonder that such princes, as professe religion onely for policies sake, will suffer any other in their dominions. For let a Protestant King, I meane one that rules over a people of that profession, be never so notoriously wicked in his person, nor so enormous in his government:

* The additional articles of faith contained in Pope Pius's creed.

† God and my Right, which is a motto on the arms of the Kings of England.

‡ Blessed are the Peace-makers; a motto humorously assumed by a cowardly prince, and in which King James the First chiefly boasted.

Let him stampe vice with his example, and make it currant by being his; let him remove the ancient boundworks of soveraigntie, and make every day new yokes, and new scourges for his poore people: let him take rewards and punishments out of the handes of justice, and so distribute them without regard to right or wrong, as may make his followers doubt whether there be a heaven and hell, which desperate point of unbelieve is a great helpe, and preparative to our preferment: In short, let him so excell in mischeife, ruine, and oppression, as Nero, compared with him, may be held a very father of the people: when hee hath donne all that can be imagined to procure hate and contempt, hee shall not, for all that, have any occasion to feare, but may boldly goe in and out to his sports without a publique guard or a privy coate *. And, though every day of his raigne bring forth a new prodigie to greive all that are honest, and astonish all that are wise, yet shall he not neede to take either the lesse drink, when he goes to bedd, or the more thought, when he riseth. Hee may solace himselfe as securely in his bed-chamber as the Grand Signor in his Seraglio; have lords spirituall for his mates, lords temporall for his eunuchs, and whom hee will for his Incubus. There may hee kisse his minions without shame, and make his grooms his companions without danger: Who, because they are acquainted with his secret sins, assume to themselves as much power and respect as catholick princes use to give theire confessions. A pack of ravenous currs, that know no difference betweene the commonwealth, and one of their masters forrests, but think all other subjects beaste, and only made for them to prey upon, that lick theire masters soares not whole, but smooth, and bark at every man that dares be found circled with these sweete beagles. Wee may revell and laugh, when all the kingdome mournes: And upon every foote of ground his prerogative get, and cry with Tiberius, O people prepared for servitude! his poore protestant subjects will only think hee is given them of God for the punishment of theire sinnes; and that hee ought to be obeyed, not because he is good, but because hee is theire king; not because hee rules according to justice and equitie, but because his power is the ordenance of God. Yea the preachers of greatest note and credit will hould themselves bound in duty to praise him against theire consciences, and laying aside divinitie make the pulpitt a stage of flattery; where you shall have them indue him after a most Poeticall manner, with more then all the vertues, and paint him so excellently good, as would make all that hate them happy, if they could believe the thinges of princes, as well as those of God, in spite of their sences.

Nor do their fatherhoods this out of simplicity or ignorance, for they are too well read in the black booke of the court, but out of a politique and officious purpose to sweeten the peoples minds, and keepe them from rebelling.

These are the fruits and prosperities of the reformed religion, which, teaching divine providence according to divine truth, tyes the subject to such wonderful patience and obedience as doth almost verify that

* Of Armour concealed under his cloaths.

bold speech of Macchiavell, when hee sayd, Christianity made men cowards. And, if it be so advantageous to a bad prince, how much more to a good? For, though dutys are and must be payd to both, yet is there a great deale of difference in the manner and proportion, no more nor les then was to be betweene the workes of bare charity and mutuall freindshippe; the one receives the peoples service and obedience, as a mere almes, given for the Lords sake; the other as a free benevolence, wherein men extend themselves with the more alacrity, because they beleve it is rather due to his meritt then to his power. The experience your majestie hath had in your long and prosperous raigne will better declare this truth, then any discourse of myne; I will therefore digresse no farther in this point, but by way of inference returne to the marke I ayme at, which I doubt not but your Majesties quicke apprehension will sooner hitt, then I can show; for can your Majestie but finde it more then reasonable to favour or assist a religion, that you see deserves so well of princes and all humane society? That teacheth tumultuous hearts a harmony of heaven, and makes men obey kings as the angels of God; that charitably beareth with bad, and abundantly requires the good. In shorte, a religion that hates the Jesuites with a perfect hatred, because they are our kings enymies. How ill advised then is that young prince*, that seekes with fire and sword to drive this holy and only true opinion out of his kingdome? What can be pretended by this his crudelity, besides the pleasure of making martyrs? would hee have all his subjects agree that it is lawfull to kill kings, and none else to write against consecrated knife†? Would hee have all his great ones to be pensions of his ambitious neighbours, to winke at every publicke prejudice that may serve to augment their state, and lessen his; and none left to oppose the designs of his envious superiours in the Romane Hierarchie, who have a long while thought the crowne of France too goodly a thing for him, or any French-man to possesse? conformable to which, there is a famous work composed by a Spanish author, where, for the better managing of Christendome, his wisdom thinks it fitt, there should be two monarchies, a spirituall and a temporall; the Pope to have the one, and his Majestie‡ the other; but suppose little Lewis the Just, by reason of his strict alliance with Spain, and his devoute observance to Rome, may promise himselfe more assurance of his life and empire, then Henry the Great, his more worthy father; neverthelesse, if hee were old enough to be wise, hee would never teach his people so dangerous a lesson, once to know their owne strength, nor move them to take up armes in any occasion by compelling them to defend themselves in a just cause. How fatall this indiscretion hath proceeded to as great princes as himselfe, both ancient and moderne examples doe sufficiently instruct; but I cease to wonder at him, that hearkens to lying prophetts, and suffers himselfe to be led away by the spiritt of illusion; that which most disquiets my understanding is, that your Majestie should so much forget the part you have in this good people, neuter betwixt his

* The King of France.

† Alluding to the form of blessing of knives, &c. by the Jesuits, who hired or persuaded Parry. Babington, &c. to murder Queen Elisabeth, &c.

‡ Of Spain.

madnesse and theire innocency. It is nothing so grievous and scandalous in him to murther and scatter Christs flocke, as it is in your Majestie to looke on, who is as well his deputie shepheard as his viceroy; indeede you are nothing, nor can bee considered in any capacities, function, or dignity, which doth not highly oblige you to take the cause of these poore men to heart, and employ your most potent meanes for theire preservation; hitherto you have put God Almighty to doe miracles for them, who will not suffer them to perish for his owne names sake; but it is now expected both of God and man that you should put to the helping hand, and commaund that reason with the sword, which you have so often in vaine desired with your pen.

Your Majestie shall no sooner exceede words, and shew your selfe reall in this resolution; but the foote ball will presently be on your side, and then it will be your turne to receive embassadours as fast as you have sent them for the mediation of peace; that, which is now held too much to graunt your Majestie, may then thinke too little, and have more, for the profit cannot but answer the honour, when you shall see it in your power, to sell the warre to your subjects, and the peace to your enymie, at what rate you please; a traffick farre better becoming a greate prince then that of titles, offices, and such like petty commodities of courte.

I would here willingly make an end, but that there is one motive more offers it selfe to my conceyt, which I thinke fitt to preferr to your Majesties consideration. And that is this:

Your Majestie hath ever expressed a desire worthy your selfe, to unite the people as well as the cuntryes of England and Scotland. And whosoever doth not contribute his best indeavours to so good a worke is unworthy of either; only it is to be wished that your Majestie would thinke upon some better meanes, than hitherto hath beene used, such as may give universall satisfaction, the true and most naturall mother of union: It is not to be done by choosing the minion alternatively out of each nation; not by making Scots-men Lords of England, and English-men Lords of Scotland; nor yet by mixture of marriage, which, though it makes two persons one, cannot make two people one; no nor by the more subtile way, that is now practised, of making England as poore as Scotland. These are too weake and counterfeite ingredients to compound a love-potion for them that were wont to thirst after one anothers blood; it must bee something of more vertue, that must charme the dissonant humors of these two nations, and make them forgett whose fortune it was to be envied, and whose to be contemned in times past; and, if any thing on earth do it, it will be theire friendshipp at armes in some fortunate warre, wher honour and danger may be equally divided, and no jealousie or contention rise, but of well-doing; one victory obtayned by the joint valour of English and Scots will more indelibly christen your Majesties empire Greate Brittain, then any acte of parliament or artifice of state.

If then your Majestie will proceede in good earnest to the accomplishment of the fatherly desire, and relinquishe the unholosome and

unnecessary policy of keeping the two nations in continual faction and counterpoise for the strengthening of your authoritie; what remains then but to bring forth your royall standard, and make the conjunction of your armes the happy instrument of the peoples union? They shall no sooner see the common ensigne of honour, wherein they have both equall interest, but all other notes of diversity will be thought unworthy their remembrance; and then your enymie shall quickly find to his cost, that the two mighty and populous kingdomes of England and Scotland have but one head, and one heart. Now, albeit your Majestie have at this time as good choice of occasions as the world can afford, yet that of Fraunce seemes most proper for this purpose; for, as that countrey was the cause of our ancient enmity, so would it be made to feele the first effects of our reconcilment, were it for nothing else, but to cancell the strict aliance that was wont to be so suspected and prejudiciall to England; had not the Scots of old bene our backe freinds, and should themselves in all occasions more affectionate to the French then us, your Majestie might happily at this day have seene your selfe King of Fraunce.

And yet, had not wee preferd Scotland before Fraunce, your Majestie had never come to be King of England; this will seeme no riddle to them, that are never so little acquainted with the historie of those times; and, if England were able to make her party good both against Scotland and Fraunce, when their league offensive was at the strongest, what might not England and Scotland doe now in Fraunce, where there is another manner of party, then that of Burgundie, to receive us? Surely wee might drive all the Rojolists into the sheepfold of Berris, and make another King of Burges. But I will not labour in vaine to make your Majesties courage exceede your conscience; God Almighty I know hath filled your heart with dominion, and so sealed it up from seditious thoughts, as that you esteeme conquests no better then splendide robberyes, as you are pleased to expresse your selfe in one of your late workes of divinity; nor doe I pretend to incite your Majestie to any thing but what may stand as well with your goodnesse as your greatnesse. Cursed be they that tell the King, hee may doe all he can; for my part I shall thinke my selfe blest of heaven, if I may but obtaine my humble desire, which goes no further then to what you ought; it is not spoile, nor the bellowes of warre, that I thinke worthy to move your Majestie to forgoe the long contentment of peace. Nothing should make me so hardy for to wish it, were there any other hope, but in your armes to right the wronged world, and acquite your selfe of the duty to God and nature.

Behold, sir, as much as I am able to present, and perhaps more then I should have thanks for, but that is the least part of my intention. The love to truth, and your Majesties service, deserve this and a great deale more of an honest man, and hee that seeks reward of well-doing knows not the true value of a good conscience.

I shall bee content to remaine unknowne, so as I make your Majestie know what false and wicked men keepe from you, the misfortunes of yournment, and the just complaint of your subjects.

If I have offended your patience, your Majestie may be pleased to consider how long yours * hath offended all the world, and forgive mee.

Let it not seeme strange or evil in your Majesties eyes that I have used a few hartly words in a cause my soule loves, above all that is mortall. And, for the advancement whereof, I dare suffer as much as they deserve that dissuade you from it.

THE

COUNTESS OF LINCOLN'S NURSERY.

At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short, Printers to the famous University, 1692. Quarto, containing twenty-one Pages.

To the right honourable, and approved virtuous Lady, Bridget, Countess of Lincoln.

FOR the better expressing and keeping in memory my love, and your worthiness, I do offer unto your ladiship the first work of mine that ever came in print; because your rare example hath given an excellent approbation to the matter contained in this book; for you have passed by all excuses, and have ventured upon, and do go on with that loving act of a loving mother in giving the sweet milk of your own breasts, to your own child; wherein you have gone before the greatest number of honourable ladies of your place, in these latter times. But I wish many may follow you, in this good work, which I desire to further, by my kind persuasion. And such women, as will vouchsafe to read this little short treatise, may be put in mind of a duty, which all mothers are bound to perform; and I shall be glad if any will consider, and put in practice, that which is both natural and comfortable. I hope they will at least commend with me such as do this good deed, and no more speak scornfully of that which is worthy of great praise; and, for my part, I think it an honour unto you, to do that which hath proved you to be full of care to please God, and of natural affection, and to be well stored with humility and patience, all which are highly to be praised; to give praise to any person or thing deserving praise, I dare do it; and for this lovely action of yours, I can with much thankfulness praise

* With the enemies of our church and state.

God, for all his gracious gifts of grace and nature, whereby he hath enabled you to do the same; desiring also with my heart, that you may ever, and every way, honour God, who hath honoured you many ways, above many women; and I rejoice, that I can bear witness, that God hath adorned you with fair tokens of his love and mercy to your soul: As the practice of true christian religion; dedicating yourself to God's service; answerableness to all holy commands of the holy God, which are testimonies of God's love, and do challenge a very great esteem from me, amongst the rest, that can truly judge and rightly discern what is best: I am full of thoughts in this kind, or of this matter; yet I say no more but this, Go on and prosper, hold fast all that is good, trust in God for strength to grow and continue in faithful obedience to his glorious Majesty; and I will not cease to intreat the Lord of heaven, to pour abundantly all blessings of heaven and earth upon you, and your children, as they increase in number.

Your Ladiship's, in the best and safest love.

ELISABETH LINCOLN.

To the courteous, chiefly most Christian, Reader.

THE general consent of too many mothers in an unnatural practice (most christian reader) hath caused one of the noblest and fairest hands in this land to set pen to paper: as ashamed to see her sex farther degenerate; desirous for the glory thereof, to have all both rightly know, and answer their kind, hath made honour itself stoop to these pains, which now she sends thee to peruse. Three things easily invite to read what to view is offered: Eminency or interest in the author, rarity in the handled matter, brevity in the quick dispatch. These three meet in this one. The author, so eminent in honour, thou canst hardly be anciently honourable, and not be interested in her honour's acquaintance, scarcely not alliance. Next for the rareness, a peculiar tract of this subject, I believe, is not in thine hands. Lastly, It is so brief, as I am persuaded, it smoothly gliding thee along in the reading, thy sorrow will be, it lands thee so soon. What may give satisfaction to a reader, let me acquaint thee next, is here to be found. These are two things, usefulness of the subject, fullness of the prosecution. If method and soundness can make full, this is full. What, not alone confirmation ushering in the assertion, but refutation, for ushering out objections; can do, to making sound and thorough, this is such. The accommodation to these particulars (gentle reader) I leave to thyself, lest I become tedious, whilst I am honouring brevity. The pay, assure thyself, will be larger than the promise: The wine much better than the bush. This one word, and I will stand out of the gate, thou mayest go in. If noble who readest (likeness is mother

and nurse of liking) this comes from nobility; approve the rather and practise. If meaner, blush to deny, what honour becomes speaker to persuade to, precedent to lead the way to. And so I either humbly take my leave, or bid farewell.

Bless'd is the land where sons of nobles reign,
 Bless'd is the land where nobles teach their train.
 To church for bliss, kings, queens, should nurses be.
 To state its bliss great dames babes nurse to see.
 Go then, great book of nursing, plead the cause;
 Teach highest, lowest, all, its God's and nature's laws.

THOMAS LODGE.

BECAUSE it hath pleased God to bless me with many children, and so caused me to observe many things falling out to mothers, and to their children; I thought good to open my mind concerning a special matter belonging to all child-bearing women, seriously to consider of; and to manifest my mind the better, even to write of this matter, so far as God will please to direct me; in sum, the matter I mean is, the duty of nursing, due by mothers to their own children.

In setting down whereof, I will, first, shew that every woman ought to nurse her own child; and, secondly, I will endeavour to answer such objections, as are used to be cast out against this duty, to disgrace the same.

The first point is easily performed, for it is the express ordinance of God, that mothers should nurse their own children, and, being his ordinance, they are bound to it in conscience. This should stop the mouths of all repliers, for God is most wise, and therefore must needs know what is fittest and best for us to do: and, to prevent all foolish fears, or shifts, we are given to understand, that he is also all-sufficient, and therefore infinitely able to bless his own ordinance, and to afford us means in ourselves (as continual experience confirmeth) toward the observance thereof.

If this, as it ought, be granted, then how venturous are those women that dare venture to do otherwise, and so to refuse, and, by refusing, to despise that order, which the most wise and Almighty God hath appointed, and instead thereof to chuse their own pleasures? O what peace can there be to these women's consciences, unless, through the darkness of their understanding, they judge it no disobedience?

And then they will drive me to prove that this nursing and nourishing of their own children in their own bosoms is God's ordinance. They are very wilful, or very ignorant, if they make a question of it. For it is proved sufficiently to be their duty, both by God's word, and also by his works.

By his word it is proved, first, by examples, namely, the example of Eve. For who suckled her sons Cain, Abel, Seth, &c. but

herself? Which she did not only of mere necessity, because yet no other woman was created; but especially, because she was their mother, and so saw it was her duty; and because she had a true natural affection, which moved her to do it gladly. Next, the example of Sarah, the wife of Abraham; for she both gave her son Isaac suck, as doing the duty commanded of God; and also took great comfort and delight therein, as in a duty well pleasing to herself; whence she spoke of it, as of an action worthy to be named in her holy rejoicing. Now if Sarah, so great a princess, did nurse her own child, why should any of us neglect to do the like, except (which God forbid) we think scorn to follow her, whose daughters it is our glory to be, and which we be only upon this condition, that we imitate her well-doing. Let us look therefore to our worthy pattern, noting withal, that she put herself to this work, when she was very old, and so might the better have excused herself, than we younger women can; being also more able to hire, and keep a nurse, than any of us. But why is she not followed by most in the practice of this duty? Even because they want her virtue and piety. This want is the common hinderance to this point of the woman's obedience; for this want makes them want love to God's precepts, want love to his doctrine, and, like step-mothers, want due love to their own children.

But now to another worthy example, namely, that excellent woman Hannah, who having, after much affliction of mind, obtained a Son of God, whom she vowed unto God, she did not put him to another to nurse, but nursed him her ownself, until she had weaned him, and carried him to be consecrated unto the Lord; as well knowing that this duty, of giving her child suck, was so acceptable to God; as, for the cause thereof, she did not sin, in staying with it at home from the yearly sacrifice: but now women, especially of any place, and of little grace, do not hold this duty acceptable to God, because it is unacceptable to themselves; as if they would have the Lord to like, and dislike, according to their vain lusts.

To proceed, take notice of one example more, that is, of the blessed Virgin; as her womb bare our blessed Saviour, so her paps gave him suck. Now who shall deny the own mother's suckling of their own children to be their duty, since every godly matron hath walked in these steps before them: Eve, the mother of all the living; Sarah, the mother of all the faithful; Hannah, so graciously heard of God; Mary, blessed among women, and called blessed of all ages. And who can say, but that the rest of holy women, mentioned in the holy scriptures, did the like; since no doubt, that speech of that noble dame, saying, Who would have said to Abraham, that Sarah should have given children suck? was taken from the ordinary custom of mothers in those less corrupted times?

And so much for proof of this office and duty to be God's ordinance, by his own word according to the argument of examples: I hope I shall likewise prove it by the same word from plain precepts. First, from that precept, which willeth the younger women to marry, and to bear children, that is, not only to bear them in the womb, and to bring them forth, but also to bear them on their knees, in their arms,

and at their breasts; for this bearing a little before is called nourishing, and bringing up; and to inforce it the better into women's consciences, it is numbered as the first of the good works, for which godly women should be well reported of. And well it may be the first, because if holy ministers, or other Christians, do hear of a good woman to be brought to bed, and her child to be living; their first question usually is, whether she herself give it suck, *yes*, or *no*? If the answer be she doth, then they commend her; if she doth not, then they are sorry for her.

And thus I come to a second precept. I pray you, who that judges aright, doth not hold the suckling of her own child the part of a true mother, of an honest mother, of a just mother, of a sincere mother; of a mother worthy of love, of a mother deserving good report, of a virtuous mother, of a mother winning praise for it? All this is assented to by any of good understanding. Therefore this is also a precept, as for other duties, so for this of mothers to their children; which saith, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are worthy of love, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things; these things do, and the God of peace shall be with you.

So far for my promise, to prove, by the word of God, that it is his ordinance that women should nurse their own children; now I will endeavour to prove it by his works: First, by his works of judgment; if it were not his ordinance for mothers to give their children suck, it were no judgment to bereave them of their milk; but it is specified to be a great judgment to bereave them hereof, and to give them dry breasts; therefore it is to be gathered, even from hence, that it is his ordinance, since to deprive them of means to do it is a punishment of them.

I add to this, The work that God worketh in the very nature of mothers, which proveth also that he hath ordained that they should nurse their own children; for, by his secret operation, the mother's affection is so knit by nature's law to her tender babe, as she finds no power to deny to suckle it, no not when she is in hazard to lose her own life, by attending on it; for in such a case it is not said, let the mother fly, and leave her infant to the peril, as if she were dispensed with; but only it is said, woe to her, as if she were to be pitied, that for nature to her child, she must be unnatural to herself; now if any then being even at liberty, and in peace, with all plenty, shall deny to give suck to their own children, they go against nature; and shew that God hath not done so much for them, as to work any good, no not in their nature, but left them more savage than the dragons, and as cruel to their little ones as the ostridges.

Now another work of God, proving this point is the work of his provision, for every kind to be apt and able to nourish their own fruit; there is no beast that feeds their young with milk, but the Lord, even from the first ground of the order of nature, Grow and multiply, hath provided it with milk to suckle their own young, which every beast takes so naturally unto, as if another beast come towards their young

to offer the office of a dam unto it, they shew, according to their fashion, a plain dislike of it; as if nature did speak in them, and say it is contrary to God's order in nature, commanding each kind to increase and multiply in their own bodies, and by their own breasts, not to bring forth by one dam, and to bring up by another; but it is his ordinance, that every kind should both bring forth, and also nurse its own fruit.

Much more should this work of God prevail to persuade women, made as man in the image of God, and therefore should be ashamed to be put to school to learn good nature of the unreasonable creature. In us, also, as we know by experience, God provideth milk in our breasts, against the time of our children's birth, and this he hath done ever since it was said to us also, Increase and multiply; so that this work of his provision sheweth that he tieth us likewise to nourish the children of our own womb, with our own breasts, even by the order of nature; yea it sheweth that he so careth for, and regardeth little children, even from the womb, that he would have them nursed by those that in all reason will look to them with the kindest affection, namely their mothers; and in giving them milk for it, he doth plainly tell them that he requires it.

Oh consider, how comes our milk? Is it not by the direct providence of God? Why provides he it but for the child? The mothers then, that refuse to nurse their own children, do they not despise God's Providence? Do they not deny God's will? Do they not as it were say, I see, O God, by the means thou hast put into me, that thou wouldst have me nurse the child thou hast given me, but I will not do so much for thee. Oh impious and impudent unthankfulness; yea monstrous unnaturalness, both to their own natural fruit born so near their breasts, and fed in their own wombs, and yet may not be suffered to suck their own milk.

And this unthankfulness and unnaturalness is oftener the sin of the higher and the richer sort, than of the meaner and the poorer, except some nice and proud idle dames, who will imitate their betters, till they make their poor husbands beggars. And his is one hurt which the better rank do by their ill example; egg and inbolden the lower ones to follow them to their loss. Where is not better for us greater persons to keep God's ordinance, and to shew the meaner their duty in our good example? I am sure we have more helps to perform it, and have fewer probable reasons to alledge against it, than women that live by hard labour, and painful toil. If such mothers as refuse this office of love and of nature to their children, should hereafter be refused, despised, and neglected of those their children, were they not justly requited according to their own unkind dealing? I might say more in handling this first point of my promise; but I leave the larger and learned discourse hereof unto men of art and learning; only I speak of so much as I read, and know in my own experience, which if any of my sex and condition do receive good by, I am glad; if they scorn it, they shall have the reward of scorers. I write in modesty, and can reap no disgrace by their immodest folly.

And so I come to my last part of my promise; which is, to

answer objections made by divers against this duty of mothers to their children.

First, It is objected, that Rebecca had a nurse, and that therefore her mother did not give her suck of her own breasts, and so good women, in the first ages, did not hold them to this office of nursing their own children. To this I answer, that if her mother had milk, and health, and yet did put this duty from her to another, it was her fault, and so proved nothing against me: but it is manifest, that she, that Rebecca called her nurse, was called so, either for that she most tended her while her mother suckled her; or for that she weaned her; or for that, during her nonage and childhood, she did minister to her continually such good things as delighted and nourished her up. For to any one of these the name of a nurse is fitly given: whence a good wife is called her husband's nurse; and that Rebecca's nurse was only such a one, appeareth, because afterwards she is not named a nurse, but a maid, saying: Then Rebecca rose, and her maids; now maids give not suck out of their breasts, never any virgin or honest maid gave suck, but that blessed one from an extraordinary and blessed power.

Secondly, it is objected, that it is troublesome; that it is noisome to one's cloaths, that it makes one look old, &c. All such reasons are uncomely and unchristian to be objected, and therefore unworthy to be answered; they argue unmotherly affection, idleness, desire to have liberty to gad from home, pride, foolish fineness, lust, wantonness, and the like evils. Ask Sarah, Hannah, the blessed Virgin, and any modest loving mother, what trouble they accounted it to give their little ones suck? Behold most nursing mothers, and they be as clean and sweet in their cloaths, and carry their age, and hold their beauty, as well as those that suckle not, and most likely are they so to do; because, keeping God's ordinance, they are sure of God's blessing; and it hath been observed in some women that they grow more beautiful, and better favoured, by very nursing their own children.

But there are some women that object fear, saying that they are so weak, and so tender, that they are afraid to venture to give their children suck, lest they indanger their health thereby. Of these, I demand, why then they did venture to marry, and so to bear children? And if they say they could not chuse, and that they thought not that marriage would impair their health: I answer, that for the same reasons they should set themselves to nurse their own children, because they should not chuse, but do what God would have them to do; and they should believe that this work will be for their health also, seeing it is ordinary with the Lord to give good stomach, health, and strength to almost all mothers that take this pains with their children.

One answer more to all the objections that use to be made against giving children suck, is this, that now the hardness, to effect this matter, is much removed by a late example of a tender young lady; and you may all be encouraged to follow after, in that wherein she hath gone before you, and so made the way more easy, and more hopeful, by that which she findeth possible and comfortable by God's blessing, and no offence to her lord nor herself; she might have had as many doubts, and lets, as any of you, but she was willing to try how God

would enable her, and he hath given her good success, as I hope he will do to others that are willing to trust in God for his help.

Now if any reading these few lines return against me, that it may be I myself have given my own children suck, and therefore am bolder and more busy to meddle in urging this point, to the end to insult over, and to make them to be blamed that have not done it. I answer, that, whether I have, or have not, performed this my bounden duty, I will not deny to tell my own practice. I know and acknowledge that I should have done it, and, having not done it, it was not for want of will in myself, but partly I was over-ruled by another's authority, and partly deceived by some ill counsel, and partly I had not so well considered of my duty in this motherly office, as since I did, when it was too late for me to put it in execution. Wherefore, being pricked in heart for my undutifulness, this way, I study to redeem my peace, first, by repentance towards God, humbly and often craving his pardon for this my offence; secondly, by studying how to shew double love to my children, to make them amends for neglect of this part of love to them, when they should have hung on my breasts, and have been nourished in my own bosom; thirdly, by doing my endeavour to prevent many Christian mothers from sinning, in the same kind, against our most loving and gracious God.

And for this cause I add unto my performed promise this short exhortation; namely, I beseech all godly women to remember, how we elder ones are commanded to instruct the younger, to love their children; now therefore love them so as to do this office to them, when they are born, more gladly for love sake, than a stranger, who bore them not, shall do for lucre sake. Also I pray you to set no more so light by God's blessing in your own breasts, which the Holy Spirit ranketh with other excellent blessings; if it be unlawful to trample under feet a cluster of grapes, in which a little wine is found; then how unlawful is it to destroy and dry up those breasts, in which your own child, and perhaps one of God's very elect, to whom to be a nursing father is a King's honour, and to whom to be a nursing mother is a Queen's honour, might find food of sincere milk, even from God's immediate providence, until it were fitter for stronger meat; I do know that the Lord may deny some women, either to have any milk in their breasts at all, or to have any passage for their milk, or to have any health, or to have a right mind; and so they may be letted from this duty, by want, by sickness, by lunacy, &c. But I speak not to these: I speak to you, whose consciences witness against you, that you cannot justly alledge any of those impediments.

Do you submit yourselves to the pain and trouble of this ordinance of God? Trust not other women, whom wages hires to do it, better than yourselves, whom God and nature tie to do it. I have found, by grievous experience, such dissembling in nurses, pretending sufficiency of milk, when, indeed, they had too much scarcity; pretending willingness, towardness, wakefulness, when, indeed, they have been most wilful, most froward, and most slothful, as I fear the death of one or two of my little babes came by the default of their nurses. Of all those which I had for eighteen children, I had but two which

were thoroughly willing and careful; divers have had their children miscarry in the nurses hands, and are such mothers (if it were by the nurses carelessness) guiltless? I know not how they should, since they will shut them out of the arms of nature, and leave them to the will of a stranger; yea, to one that will seem to estrange herself from her own child, to give suck to the nurse-child: this she may feign to do upon a covetous composition, but she frets at it in her mind, if she has any natural affection.

Therefore, be no longer at the trouble, and at the care, to hire others to do your own work; be not so unnatural as to thrust away your own children; be not so hardy as to venture a tender babe to a less tender heart; be not accessory to that disorder of causing a poorer woman to banish her own infant, for the entertaining of a richer woman's child, as it were, bidding her unlove her own to love yours. We have followed Eve in transgression, let us follow her in obedience. When God laid the sorrows of conception, of breeding, of bringing forth, and of bringing up her children upon her, and so upon us in her loins, did she reply any word against it? Not a word; so I pray you all my own daughters, and others that are still child bearing, reply not against the duty of suckling them, when God hath sent you them.

Indeed, I see some, if the weather be wet, or cold; if the way be foul, if the church be far off, I see they are so coy, so nice, so lukewarm, they will not take pains for their own souls. Alas! No marvel if these will not be at trouble and pain to nourish their children's bodies; but fear God; be diligent to serve him; approve all his ordinances; seek to please him; account it no trouble or pain to do any thing that hath the promise of his blessing; and then you will, no doubt, do this good, laudable, natural, loving duty to your children. If yet you be not satisfied, inquire not of such as refuse to do this, consult not with your own conceit, advise not with flatterers; but ask counsel of sincere and faithful preachers. If you be satisfied, then take this with you, to make you do it cheerfully: think always, that, having the child at your breast, and having it in your arms, you have God's blessing there. For children are God's blessings. Think again how your babe crying for your breast, sucking heartily the milk out of it, and growing by it, is the Lord's own instruction, every hour, and every day, that you are suckling it, instructing you to shew that you are his new-born babes, by your earnest desire after his word, and the sincere doctrine thereof, and by your daily growing in grace and goodness thereby; so shall you reap pleasure and profit. Again, you may consider, that, when your child is at your breast, it is a fit occasion to move your heart to pray for a blessing upon that work, and to give thanks for your child, and for ability and freedom unto that, which many a mother would have done and could not; who have tried and ventured their health, and taken much pains, and yet have not obtained their desire. But they, that are fitted every way for this commendable act, have certainly great cause to be thankful; and I much desire that God may have glory and praise for every good work, and you much comfort, that do seek to honour God in all things. Amen.

A BRIEF CHRONICLE
OF
ALL THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND:

DECLARING

In what Year of the World, and of Christ, they began to reign,
how long they reigned, of what Qualities they
were, and how they died.

Aberdeen, printed by Edward Raban, for David Melvill, 1693. Octavo, containing forty-one Pages.

I.

FERGUS, the first King of Scotland, the son of Ferquhard, a prince of Ireland, began to reign in the year of the world 3641; before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 330 years, in the first year of the 112th Olympiad, and in the 421st year of the building of Rome, about the beginning of the third monarchy of the Grecians, when Alexander the Great overthrew Darius Codomannus, the last monarch of Persia. He was a valiant prince, and died ship-broken upon the sea-coast of Ireland, in the 25th year of his reign.

II. Feritharis, brother to Fergus, began to reign in the year of the world 3666, in the year before the coming of Christ 305. He was a good justiciar, in whose time there was a law made, that, if the sons of the king departed were so young that they could not rule, then, in that case, the nearest in blood should reign, being in age sufficient for government; and then, after his death, the king's children should succeed. Which law continued until Kenneth the Third's days, almost 1025 years. He was slain by the means of Ferlegus, Fergus's brother's son, in the 15th year of his reign.

III. Mainus, King Fergus's son, succeeded to his father's brother, in the year of the world 3680, and in the year before the coming of Christ 291. He was a wise and good King, and died peaceably, in the 29th year of his reign.

IV. Dornadilla succeeded to his father Mainus, in the year of the world 3709, in the year before the coming of Christ 262. He was a good king, who made the first laws concerning hunting, and died peaceably, in the 28th year of his reign.

V. Nothatus succeeded to his brother Dornadilla, in the year of the world 3738, and in the year before the coming of Christ 233. He was a greedy and cruel tyrant, and was slain by Dovalus, one of his nobles, in the 20th year of his reign.

VI. Reutherus, the son of Dornadilla, began to reign in the year

of the world 3758, in year before the coming of Christ 213. He was a good king; and died peaceably, in the 26th year of his reign.

VII. Reutha succeeded to his brother Reutherus, in the year of the world 3784, in the year before the coming of Christ 187. He was a good king; who, after he had ruled 14 years, left the government of the kingdom, even of his own accord, and lived a private life.

VIII. Thereus, the son of Reutherus, began to reign in the year of the world 3798, in the year before the coming of Christ 173. He was an unwise and cruel tyrant; who was expelled, and banished the realm, by his own nobles, in the 12th year of his reign; and Conanus, a wise and grave senator, was made governor of the land. And Thereus died in exile, in the city of York.

IX. Josina succeeded his brother Thereus, in the year of the world 3810, in the year before the coming of Christ 161. He was a quiet and good prince, a good medicinar and herbister. He died in peace, in the 24th year of his reign.

X. Finnanus, Josina's son, began to reign in the year of the world 3834, in the year before the coming of Christ 137. A good King. He was much given to the superstitious religion of the Druids. He died in peace, in the 30th year of his reign.

XI. Durstus, Finnanus's son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 3864, in the year before the coming of Christ 107. A cruel and a traiterous tyrant, slain by his nobles in battle, in the 9th year of his reign.

XII. Evenus, the First, succeeded to his brother Durstus, in the year of the world 3873, in the year before the coming of Christ 98. A wise, just, and virtuous prince. He died peaceably, in the 19th year of his reign.

XIII. Gillus, Evenus's bastard son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 3892, in the year before the coming of Christ 79. A crafty tyrant, slain in battle by Cadallus, in the 2d year of his reign.

XIV. Evenus the Second, Dovallus's son, King Finnanus's brother, began to reign in the year of the world 3894, in the year before the coming of Christ, 77. A good and civil King. He died in peace, in the 17th year of his reign.

XV. Ederus, Dochamus's son, Durstus's son, began to reign in the year of the world, 3911, in the year before the coming of Christ, 60. A wise, valiant, and good prince. He died in the 48th year of his reign.

XVI. Evenus the Third succeeded to his father Ederus, in the year of the world 3959, in the year before the coming of Christ 12. A luxurious and covetous wicked king. He was taken by his nobles, and imprisoned, and died in prison, in the 7th year of his reign.

XVII. Metellanus, Ederus's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 3966, four years before Christ's incarnation. A very modest and good king. He died in the 39th year of his reign.

XVIII. Caractacus, Cadallanus and Eropeia Metellanus's sister's

son, began to reign in the year of the world 4005, in the year of Christ 35. He was a wise and valiant king, and reigned 20 years.

XIX. Corbredus the First succeeded to his brother Caractacus, in the year of the world 4025, in the year of Christ 55. A wise king, and a good justiciar. He died in peace, in the 18th year of his reign.

XX. Dardannus, nephew to Metellanus, began to reign in the year of the world 4042, in the year of Christ 72. A cruel tyrant. He was taken in battle, and beheaded by his own subjects, in the 4th year of his reign.

XXI. Corbredus the Second, surnamed Galdus, Corbredus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4046, in the year of Christ 76. A valiant and worthy king; for he had many wars with the Romans, and was often victorious over them. He died in peace, in the 35th year of his reign.

XXII. Lugthacus succeeded to his father Corbredus the Second, in the year of the world 4080, in the year of Christ 110. A lecherous, bloody tyrant. He was slain by his nobles in the 3d year of his reign.

XXIII. Mogallus, Corbredus the Second's sister's son. He began to reign in the year of the world 4083, in the year of Christ 113. A good king, and victorious, in the beginning of his reign; but, in the end of his life, became inclined to tyranny, leachery, and covetousness, and was slain by his nobles in the 36th year of his reign.

XXIV. Conarus succeeded to his father Mogallus, in the year of the world 4119, in the year of Christ 149. A lecherous tyrant. He was imprisoned by his nobles, and died in prison in the 14th year of his reign; and Argadus, a nobleman, was made governor.

XXV. Ethodius the First, Mogallus's sister's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4133, in the year of Christ 163. He was a good prince. He was slain by an harper in the 33d year of his reign.

XXVI. Satraell succeeded to his brother Ethodius the First, in the year of the world 4165, in the year of Christ 195. A cruel tyrant. He was slain by his own courtiers, in the 4th year of his reign.

XXVII. Donald the First, the first Christian king of Scotland, succeeded to his brother Satraell, in the year of the world 4169, in the year of Christ 199. A good and religious king. He was the first of the kings of Scotland that coined money of gold and silver. He died in the 18th year of his reign.

XXVIII. Ethodius the Second, Ethodius the First's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4186, in the year of Christ 216. An unwise and base-minded king, governed by his nobles. He was slain by his own guard in the 16th year of his reign.

XXIX. Athirco succeeded to his father Ethodius the Second, in the year of the world 4201, in the year of Christ 231. A valiant prince in the beginning; but he degenerated, and became vicious; and, being hardly pursued by his nobles for his wicked life, slew himself, in the 12th year of his reign.

XXX. Nathalocus, brother's son (as some write) to Athirco, began to reign in the year of the world 4212, in the year of Christ 242. A cruel tyrant, slain by his nobles, and cast away into a privy, in the 11th year of his reign.

XXXI. Findocus, Athirco's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4223, in the year of Christ 253. A good king, and valiant, slain by feigned hunters, at the instigation of Donald, Lord of the Isle's brother, in the 11th year of his reign.

XXXII. Donald the Second succeeded to his brother Findocus, in the year of the world 4234, in the year of Christ 264. A good prince. He was wounded in battle, and, being overcome, died of displeasure, in the 1st year of his reign.

XXXIII. Donald the Third, Lord of the Isles, brother to Findocus, began to reign in the year of the world 4235, in the year of Christ 265. A cruel tyrant, slain by Crathilinthus, in the 12th year of his reign.

XXXIV. Crathilinthus, Findocus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4247, in the year of Christ 277. A valiant and a godly king; he purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the Druids, and planted the sincere Christian religion. He died in peace, in the 24th year of his reign.

XXXV. Fincormachus, father's brother's son to Crathilinthus, began his reign in the year of the world 4271, in the year of Christ 301. A godly king, and valiant. He was a worthy promoter of the kingdom of Christ in Scotland. He died in peace, in the 47th year of his reign.

XXXVI. Romachus, brother's son to Crathilinthus, began to reign in the year of the world 4318, in the year of Christ 348. A cruel tyrant, slain by his nobles, and his head struck off, in the 3d year of his reign.

XXXVII. Angusianus, Crathilinthus's brother's son, succeeded to Romachus, in the year of the world 4321, in the year of Christ 351. A good king, slain in battle by the Picts, in the 3d year of his reign.

XXXVIII. Fethelmachus, another brother's son of Crathilinthus; he began to reign in the year of the world 4324, in the year of Christ 354. He was a valiant king, for he overcame the Picts, and slew their king. He was betrayed to the Picts by an harper, and slain by them in his own chamber, in the 3d year of his reign.

XXXIX. Eugenius the First, Fincormachus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4327, in the year of Christ 357. A valiant, just, and good king. He was slain in battle by the Picts and Romans, in the 3d year of his reign. And the whole Scottish nation was utterly expelled the Isle by the Picts and Romans, and remained in exile about the space of 44 years.

XL. Fergus the Second, Erthus's son, son to Ethodius, Eugenius the First's brother, returning into Scotland, with the help of the Danes and Goths, and his own countrymen, who were gathered to him out of all the countries where they were dispersed, conquered his kingdom of Scotland again, out of the Romans and Picts hands. He began his reign, in the year of the world 4374, in the year of Christ 404. He was a wise, valiant, and good king. He was slain by the Romans, in the 16th year of his reign.

XLI. Eugenius the Second, Fergus the Second's son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 4390, in the year of Christ 420.

He was a valiant and a good prince. He subdued the Britons, and died in the 32d year of his reign.

XLII. Dongardus succeeded to his brother Eugenius the Second, in the year of the world 4421, in the year of Christ 451. A godly, wise, and valiant prince. He died in the 5th year of his reign.

XLIII. Constantine the First succeeded to his brother Dongardus, in the year of the world 4427, in the year of Christ 457. A wicked prince. He was slain by a nobleman in the Isles, whose daughter he had defiled, in the 22d year of his reign.

XLIV. Congallus the First, Dongardus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4449, in the year of Christ 479. He was a good and quiet prince, and died in great peace, in the 22d year of his reign.

XLV. Goranus, or Conranus, succeeded to his brother Congallus the First, in the year of the world 4471, and in the year of Christ 501. A good and wise prince. He died even in the 34th year of his reign.

XLVI. Eugenius the Third, the son of Congallus, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 4505, and in the year of Christ 535. He was a wise king, and a good justiciar, and died in the 23d year of his reign.

XLVII. Congallus the Second, or Convallus, succeeded to his brother Eugenius the Third, in the year of the world 4528, and in the year of Christ 558. A very good prince, and died in peace, in the 11th year of his reign.

XLVIII. Kinnatillus succeeded to his brother Congallus the Second, in the year of the world 4539, and in the year of Christ 569. He was a good prince, and died (alas!) in the 1st year of his reign.

XLIX. Aidanus, the son of Conranus, began his reign in the year of the world 4540, and in the year of Christ 570. A very godly and good prince, who reigned 35 years, and died in great peace.

L. Kennethus the First, surnamed Keir, the son of Congallus the Second, began to reign in the year of the world 4575, and in the year of Christ 605. A very peaceable prince, and departed this life in the 1st year of his reign.

LI. Eugenius the Fourth, the Son of Aidanus, began his reign in the year of the world 4576, and in the year of our Saviour 606. A valiant and good king, and died in the 16th year of his happy reign.

LII. Ferquhard the First succeeded to his father Eugenius the Fourth, in the year of the world 4591, and in the year of our Redeemer 621. He was a bloody tyrant, and, being imprisoned, he slew himself, in the 12th year of his reign.

LIII. Donald the Fourth succeeded to his brother Ferquhard the First, in the year of the world 4602, and in the year of Christ 632. He was a good and religious king. He was drowned in the water of Tay, while he was a fishing, in the 14th year of his reign.

LIV. Ferquhard the Second succeeded to his brother Donald the Fourth, in the year of the world 4616, and in the year of Christ 646. A very wicked man. He was bitten by a wolf in hunting, of the which ensued a fever, whereof he died, in the 18th year of his reign.

LV. Maldvine, Donald the Fourth's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4634, and in the year of Christ 664. A good prince,

strangled by his wife, who suspected him of adultery, in the 20th year of his reign.

LVI. Eugenius the Fifth, Maldvin's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4654, and in the year of Christ 684. A false prince, slain by the Picts in battle, in the 4th year of his reign.

LVII. Eugenius the Sixth, Ferquhard the Second's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4658, and in the year of Christ 688. A good prince. He died in peace in the 10th year of his reign.

LVIII. Ambirkelethus, Findanus's son, Eugenius the Fifth's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4667, and in the year of Christ 697. He was slain by a shot from an arrow; by whom it was shot is unknown, (a vicious prince) in the 2d year of his reign.

LIX. Eugenius the Seventh succeeded to his brother Ambirkelethus in the year of the world 4669, and in the year of Christ 699. He died in peace, in the 17th year of his reign. A good prince.

LX. Mordacus, Ambirkelethus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4685, and in the year of Christ 715. A good prince. He died in the 16th year of his reign.

LXI. Etfinus, Eugenius the Seventh's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4700, and in the year of Christ 730. He died in peace, in the 31st year of his reign.

LXII. Eugenius the Eighth, Mordacus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4731, and in the year of Christ 761. A good prince in the beginning of his reign; but, thereafter degenerating from his good life, he was slain by his nobles, in the 3d year of his reign.

LXIII. Fergus the Third, Etfinus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4734, and in the year of Christ 764. A lecherous prince, poisoned by his wife, in the third year of his reign.

LXIV. Solvathius, Eugenius the Eighth's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4737, and in the year of Christ 767. A good prince. He died in peace, in the 20th year of his reign.

LXV. Achaius, Etfinus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4757, and in the year of Christ 787. A peaceable, good, and godly prince. He made a league with Charles le Main, Emperor, and King of France, which remaineth inviolably kept to this day. He died in the 32d year of his reign.

LXVI. Congallus, or Convallus, Achaius's father's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4789, and in the year of Christ 819. A good prince. He died in the 5th year of his reign.

LXVII. Dongallus, Sonvathius's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4794, and in the year of Christ 824. A valiant and good prince. He was drowned coming over the river Spey, to war against the Picts, in the 7th year of his reign.

LXVIII. Alpinus, Achaius's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4801, and in the year of Christ 831. A good prince. He was taken in battle, and beheaded by the Picts, in the 3d year of his reign.

LXIX. Kenneth the Second, surnamed the Great, succeeded to his father Alpinus, in the year of the world 4804, and in the year of Christ 834. A good and valiant prince. He utterly overthrew the Picts in

divers battles, expelled them out of the land, and joined the kingdom of the Picts to the crown of Scotland. He died in peace, in the 20th year of his reign.

LXX. Donald the Fifth succeeded to his brother Kenneth the Second, in the year of the world 4824, and in the year of Christ 854. A wicked prince. He slew himself in the 5th year of his reign.

LXXI. Constantine the Second, Kenneth the Second's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4829, and in the year of Christ 859. A valiant prince. He was slain by the Danes in a cruel battle fought at Carrail in Fife, in the 16th year of his reign.

LXXII. Ethus, surnamed Alipes, Constantine the Second's son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 4844, and in the year of Christ 874. A vicious prince. He was imprisoned by his nobles, where he died, in the 2d year of his reign.

LXXIII. Gregory, surnamed the Great, Dongallus the Second's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4846, and in the year of Christ 876. A valiant, victorious, and renowned prince through the world in his time. He died in peace, in the 18th year of his reign.

LXXIV. Donald the Sixth, Constantine the Second's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4863, and in the year of Christ 893. A valiant prince. He died in peace, being beloved of his subjects, in the 11th year of his reign.

LXXV. Constantine the Third, Ethus Alipes's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4874, and in the year of Christ 904. He was a valiant king; yet he prospered not in his wars against England; and, therefore, being weary of his life, he became a monk, and died, after he had reigned 40 years as king.

LXXVI. Malcolm the First, Donald the Sixth's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4913, and in the year of Christ 943. A valiant prince, and a good justiciar. He was slain in Murray, by a conspiracy of his own subjects, in the 9th year of his reign.

LXXVII. Indulfus, Constantine the Third's son, began to reign, in the year of the world 4922, and in the year of Christ 952. A valiant and a good prince. He had many battles with the Danes, whom he overcame; but, in the end, he was slain by them in a stratagem of war, in the 9th year of his reign.

LXXVIII. Duffus, Malcolm the First's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4931, and in the year of Christ 961. A good prince, and a severe justiciar. He was slain by one Donald, at Forres in Murray, and was buried secretly under the bridge of a river beside Kinloss; but the matter was revealed, and the murderer and his wife, that consented thereto, were severely punished. He reigned 5 years.

LXXIX. Culenus, Indulfus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4936, and in the year of Christ 966. A vicious and an effeminate prince. He was slain at Methwen, by Radardus, a nobleman, whose daughter he had defiled in the 4th year of his reign.

LXXX. Kenneth the Third, Duffus's brother, began to reign in the year of the world 4940, and in the year of Christ 970. A valiant

and a wise prince : But, in the end, he became cruel, and slew Malcolm, his brother's son ; and, in God's judgment, who suffereth not innocent blood to be unpunished, he was slain by a strange engine, an image fixed in a wall, at Feticarne, by the means of a noblewoman there, called Fenella, in the 24th year of his reign.

LXXXI. Constantine the Fourth, surnamed Calvus, Culenus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4964, and in the year of Christ 994. An usurper of the crown. He was slain in battle at the town of Crawmond, in Louthian, in the 2d year of his reign.

LXXXII. Grimus, Duffus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4966, and in the year of Christ 996. A vicious prince ; he was slain in battle by Malcolm the Second, his successor, in the 8th year of his reign.

LXXXIII. Malcolm the second, Kenneth the Third's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4974, and in the year of Christ 1004. A valiant and a wise prince, who made many good laws, of the which a few are yet extant. He was slain by a conspiracy of his nobles, at the castle of Glamme ; who after the slaughter, thinking to escape, were drowned in the lock of Forfar, for, it being winter, and the lock frozen, and covered with snow, the ice brake and they fell in, shewing even the righteous judgment of God. He reigned thirty years.

LXXXIV. Duncan the First, Beatrix Malcolm the Second's daughter's son, began to reign in the year of the world 5004, and in the year of Christ 1034. A good and modest prince. He was slain by Mackbeth traiterously, in the 6th year of his reign.

LXXXV. Mackbeth, Dovada Malcolm the Second's daughter's son, began to reign in the year of the world 5010, and in the year of Christ 1040. In the beginning of his reign, he behaved himself as a good and just prince, but thereafter he degenerated into a cruel tyrant. He was slain by his successor Malcolm the Third, in battle, in the 17th year of his reign.

LXXXVI. Malcolm the Third, surnamed Cammoir, Duncan the First's son, began to reign, in the year of the world 5027, and in the year of Christ 1057. A very religious and valiant prince. He married Margaret, daughter to Edward, surnamed the Out-Law, son unto Edward, surnamed Iron-Side, King of England ; a very good and religious woman, according unto those times, who bare unto him six sons, and two daughters. The sons were Edward the prince, Edmond, Etheldred, Edgar, Alexander, and David. The daughters were Mathildis, or Maud, surnamed Bona, wife unto Henry the First, surnamed Beauclerk, King of England ; of whose virtues, is yet extant among us this old epigram :

*Prospera non lætam fecere, nec aspera tristem,
Prospera terror ei, aspera risus erant ;
Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptrum superbam,
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.*

That is to say in English :

Prosperity rejoic'd her not :
 To her grief was no pain.
 Prosperity afraid her eke :
 Affliction was her gain.
 Her beauty was no cause of fall :
 In royal state not proud.
 Humble alone in dignity :
 In beauty only good.

She founded the kirk of Carlisle. Now the other daughter was Mary, wife unto Eustathius, Earl of Bologne. King Malcolm built the Kirks of Durham and Dumfermling. He, with his son prince Edward, were both slain, at the siege of Anwick, in the 36th year of his reign, by Robert Mowbray, surnamed Pierce-eye. He was first buried at Tinmouth ; but afterwards his corpse was removed to Dumfermling, and buried there.

LXXXVII. Donald the Seventh, surnamed Bane, usurped the crown, after the death of his brother, in the year of the world 5063, and in the year of Christ 1093. But he was expelled, in the very first year that he began to reign, by Duncan the second, King Malcolm's third bastard son.

LXXXVIII. The said Duncan the second usurped the crown, in the year of the world 5064, and in the year of Christ 1094. A rash and foolish prince, and, by the procurement of Donald the Seventh, he was slain in the Thane of the Meirnes, by Mac-Pendir, when he had reigned a little more than one year.

Then Donald the Seventh was made king again, in the year of the world 5065, and in the year of Christ 1095. He gave the west and north isles to the King of Norway, for to assist him to attain unto the crown of Scotland. But, within three years, he was taken captive, by Edgar ; his eyes were both put out, and, after much misery, he died most odiously, even lying in prison.

LXXXIX. Edgar, Malcolm the Third's son, began his reign in the year of the world 5068, and in the year of our Saviour 1098. He built the priory of Coldingham. He reigned 9 years, and was a good and loving prince. But he died without succession, at Dundee, and was buried at Dumfermling.

XC. Alexander the First, surnamed the Fierce, succeeded unto his brother in the year of the world 5077, and in the year of Christ 1107. A very good and valiant prince indeed. He built the abbies of Scone, and of Saint Colmes-inch. And he took to wife Sibylla, daughter unto William the Good, Duke of Normandy, &c. He died in great peace at Strivling, but without succession, God wots, in the 17th year of his reign, and was buried at Dumfermling.

XCI. David the First, commonly called St. David, King Malcolm the Third's youngest son, succeeded to his brother, in the year of the world 5094, and in the year of Christ 1124. A good, valiant, and religious prince, according to those times. He built very many abbies,

and other religious houses, such as Holy Rood-house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Dundranan, Cambus-kenneth, Kinloss, Mell-ross, Newbottle, Dumfermling, Holm in Cumberland, and two religious places at Newcastle, in Northumberland. He erected four bishopricks, to wit, Ross, Brechin, Dumblane, and Dunkeld. He married Maud, daughter to Woldeofus, Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon; and, after her decease, he married Judith, daughter's daughter to William the Conqueror, King of England; by whom he had one son, named Henry, a worthy and good youth; who married Adama, daughter unto William, Earl Warren, who bare unto him three sons, to wit, Malcolm the Maiden, William the Lion, and David, Earl of Huntingdon; and two daughters, Adama, wife to Florentius, Earl of Holland, and Margaret, wife to Conanus, Duke of Britain. He died before his father. St. David died in peace at Carslile, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at Dumfermling.

XCII. Malcolm the Fourth, surnamed the Maiden, because he would never marry, succeeded unto his grand-father, David the First, in the year of the world 5123, and in the year of Christ 1153. He was a good and meek prince; who built the abbey of Cowper in Angus; and departed this life, in the 12th year of his reign, at Jedburgh, and was buried likewise at Dumfermling.

XCIII. William, surnamed the Lion, succeeded unto his brother, Malcolm the Fourth, in the year of the world 5135, and in the year of Christ 1165. A very good and valiant king, indeed. He married Emergarda, daughter unto the Earl of Beaumont. This good King built the abbey of Aberbrothock; and his wife and queen aforesaid, built the abbey of Balmerinoch. He reigned happily 49 years, and then died at Striviling; from whence his dead corpse was solemnly transported unto Aberbrothock, and buried there.

XCIV. Alexander the Second succeeded to his father William, in the year of the world 5184, and in the year of Christ 1214. A good prince. He married Jane, daughter to John, King of England, by whom he had no succession. After her death, he married Mary, daughter to Ingelram, Earl of Coucey in France, by whom he had Alexander the Third. He died at Kernery, in the west isles, and was buried at Melross, in the 35th year of his reign.

XCV. Alexander the Third succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5219, and in the year of Christ 1249. A good prince. He married first Margaret, daughter to Henry the Third, King of England, by whom he had Alexander, the prince who married the Earl of Flanders's daughter; David, and Margaret, who married Hangananus, or, as some call him, Ericus, son to Magnus the Fourth, King of Norway, who bare to him a daughter, commonly called the Maiden of Norway, in whom, King William's whole posterity failed, and the crown of Scotland returned to the posterity of David, Earl of Huntingdon, King Malcolm the Fourth, and King William's brother. After his son's death (for they died before himself, without succession) in hope of posterity, he married Joleta, daughter to the Earl of Dreux in France, by whom he had no succession. He builded the Cross Kirk of Peebles. He died of a fall off his horse upon the sands,

betwixt east and west Kinghorn, in the 37th year of his reign, and was buried at Dumfermling.

After the death of Alexander the Third, which was in the year of the world 5255, and in the year of Christ 1285, there were six regents appointed to rule Scotland: For the south-side of Firth were appointed Robert, the Bishop of Glasgow, John Cummin, and John, the great steward of Scotland. For the north-side of Firth, Mac-duffe, Earl of Fife, John Cummin, Earl of Buchan, and William Fraser, Archbishop of St. Andrews; who ruled the land about the space of seven years, until the controversy was decided betwixt John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, grandfather to Robert Bruce, the King of Scotland, come of the two eldest daughters of David Earl of Huntingdon; for Henry Hastings, who married the youngest daughter, put not in his suit with the rest, and therefore there is little spoken of him.

XCVI. John Baliol was preferred to Robert Bruce, to be King of Scotland, by Edward the First, surnamed Long-shanks, King of England, who was chosen to be judge of the controversy, upon a condition, that he should acknowledge him as superior; which condition, like an unworthy man, he received. He began his reign in the year of the world 5263, and in the year of Christ 1293. He was a vain-glorious man, little respecting the weal of his country. He had not reigned fully four years, when he was expelled by the said Edward, and, leaving Scotland, departed into the parts of France, where he died long thereafter in exile. And so Scotland was without a king and government, the space of nine years; during which space, the said Edward the First, Long-shanks, cruelly oppressed the land, destroyed the whole ancient monuments of the kingdom, and shed much innocent blood.

XCVII. Robert Bruce began to reign, in the year of the world 5276, and in the year of Christ 1306; a valiant, good, and wise king. In the beginning of his reign, he was subject to great misery and affliction, being oppressed by England; but at length, having vanquished Edward the Second of Caernarvon, at the field of Bannockburn, by the help of God he delivered his own country of Scotland from the slavery of England; yea, and set it at full liberty, expelling, even by force of arms, the English nation quite out of the land.

He married first Isabel, daughter unto the Earl of Mar, who bare unto him a comely daughter, called Margery, wife unto Walter the Great Steward of Scotland; of whose happy race is ruling, this day, not only in Scotland, but also over whole Britain, Ireland, &c. as ye shall hear, God willing, anon in its own place.

Now, after the death of King Robert the Bruce's first wife, Isabel, the Earl of Mar's daughter, as is said, he married another of the same name, Isabel, who was the only daughter and heretrix unto Haynerus de Bure, Earl of Ultonia, or Ulster, in Ireland; and she bare unto him one goodly son and two daughters, to wit, David the Second, Margaret the Countess of Southerland, and her youngest daughter, Maud, who died in her childhood. This good King, after he had reigned 24 years, ended his toilsome days at Cardross, and was honourably buried at Dumfermling with great solemnity.

XCVIII. David, the second Bruce, succeeded unto his father, in the year of the world 5300, and in the year of our redemption 1330. He was a good prince, and subject unto very much affliction in his youth; for, first, after the death of Thomas Ranulph, his regent, he was forced to flee into France, even for safeguard of his life; and after certain years, returning homewards to Scotland, was taken prisoner at the battle of Durham by the Englishmen, and holden almost twelve years captive in England; but at length, as God would, he was restored to his free liberty: and he married, first, Jane, daughter unto Edward the Second, King of fair England; and after her death, he married Margaret Logy, daughter unto Sir John Logy, Knight; and yet he died without any succession, in the 40th year of his reign, at Edinburgh, and was buried at Holy-Rood-House.

XCIX. Edward Baliol, son to John Baliol, usurped the crown of Scotland, being assisted by Edward the Third, King of England, in the year of the world 5302, and in the year of Christ 1332; but he was expelled at length by David the Second's regents, and David the Second established king.

C. Robert the Second, surnamed Blear-eye, the first of the Stewards, son to Sir Walter Steward and Margery Bruce, King Robert Bruce's daughter, succeeded to his mother's brother, in the year of the world 5341, and in the year of Christ 1371. A good and a peaceable prince. He married first Eupheme, daughter to Hugh, Earl of Ross; who bare unto him David, Earl of Strathern; Walter, Earl of Athol; and Alexander, Earl of Buchan, Lord Barwynoch: and after her decease (even for the affection which he bare unto his children, which he had begotten before he was first married) he married Elisabeth Mure, daughter unto Sir Adam Mure, a worthy knight; who (aforetimes) had borne unto him John, who thereafter was called Robert the Third, Earl of Carrick: Robert, Earl of Fyfe and Monteith; and Eupheme, wife to James, Earl of Douglas. But at length this good prince behoved to go the way of all flesh; and, when he had reigned happily about 19 years, he departed this life in peace, at Dun-Donalde, and was solemnly buried at Scone.

CI. Robert the Third, surnamed John Earnyear, succeeded unto his father, in the year of the world 5360, and in the year of our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus 1390. He was a quiet and peaceable prince, and took to wife Annabel Drummond, daughter unto the Laird of Stob-hall, who bare unto him David the Prince, Duke of Rothesay, that died in prison, of very extreme famine, at Falkland; and James the First, taken captive in his voyage to France, and detained a captive, against all equity, almost the space of 18 years in England. He died of displeasure at Rothesay, when he heard of the death of his own son, and captivity of the other. He was buried at Paisley, in the 16th year of his reign.

Then Robert, Earl of Fyfe and Monteith, began to govern the kingdom of Scotland, in the year of the world 5376, and in the year of Christ 1406; and he died in the 14th year of his government, James the First being yet holden captive in England.

Murdo Steward succeeded to his father, Robert, Earl of Fyfe, in the government of Scotland, in the year of the world 5390, and in the year of our blessed Redeemer 1420; and ruled four years, James the First still continuing a captive in England. But the father, and his son Walter thereafter, were both executed, even by the said James the First, for oppression of the subjects.

CII. James the First began for to reign in the year of the world 5394, and in the year of Christ 1424. He was a good, learned, virtuous, and a just King. He married Jane, daughter unto John Duke of Somerset, and Marquis of Dorset, son to John of Gaunt, the third son to the victorious King of England, Edward the Third; and she bare to him only one son, and six daughters; to wit, James the Second; Margaret, wife to Lewis, the eleventh of that name, the dauphin of France, and thereafter king; Elisabeth, the Duchess of Brittany; Jane, Countess of Huntley; Eleanor, Duchess of Austria; Mary, wife to the Lord of Camp-Vere; and Annabella, who was yet but young.

This good prince was slain traiterously (alas!) at Perth, by Walter, Earl of Athol, and Robert Graham, together with their factious confederates, in the 31st year of his reign, if we count from the death of his father; and in the 13th year of his reign, if we count from his happy deliverance out of England. He was buried at the Charter-house of Perth, the which he indeed had builded.

CIII. James the Second succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5407, and in the year of Christ 1437. A prince greatly subject to troubles in his youth. He married Mary, daughter to Arnold, Duke of Geldre, sister's daughter to Charles, surnamed Audax, the last Duke of Burgundy, &c. And she bare unto him three sons, to wit, James the Third, John, Earl of Mar, and Alexander, Duke of Albany. Moreover, she bare a daughter unto him, called Mary, who was first married unto Thomas Boyde, Earl of Arran; and, after his decease, unto James Hamilton, of Cadsow. And the king was slain at the siege of Roxburgh, in the 24th year of his reign.

CIV. James the Third succeeded unto his father, in the year of the world 5430, and in the year of our redemption 1460. A prince corrupted by wicked courtiers, God knows. He married Margaret, daughter unto Christianus the First, surnamed Dives (that is to say, Rich), King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. And when he had reigned 29 years, he was slain at the field and battle of Bannock-Burn, and princely buried at Cambus-Kenneth.

CV. James the Fourth succeeded to his father in the year of the world 5459, and in the year of Christ 1489. A very noble and courageous king. He married, first Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry the Seventh, Earl of Richmond, and thereafter King of fair England. And, after her decease, he married Elisabeth, daughter unto Edward the Fourth, King of England. In whose two persons, the two houses of Lancaster and York were united, and the bloody civil wars of England finished. This good prince was slain at* Flowdon, by England, in the 25th year of his reign.

* The battle of Flowdon-Field.

CVI. James the Fifth succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5484, and in the year of Christ 1514. A just prince, and severe. First, he married Magdalene, daughter to Francis the First, King of France; but she died very shortly thereafter, without any succession. Then he married Mary of Lorraine, Duchess of Longueville, daughter unto Claud, Duke of Guise. He died at Falkland, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at Holy-Rood-House.

CVII. Mary succeeded unto her Father, James the Fifth, in the year of the world 5513, and in the year of our blessed Lord 1543. A princess virtuously inclined. She first married Francis the Second, Dauphin of France, and thereafter King; and, after his decease, returning home to Scotland a widow, she married Henry Steward, Duke of Albany, &c. Lord Darnley, son to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, a comely prince, and pro-nephew to Henry the Second, King of England, unto whom she bare James the Sixth. But (alas!) after 18 years captivity, she was put to death in England, in the year of Christ 1586, the 8th day of February, and lieth now intombed at Westminster.

CVIII. James the Sixth succeeded unto his mother, in the year of the world 5537, and in the year of Christ 1567. A very good, godly, peaceable, wise, and learned prince, as, indeed, his sundry works, which are already gone forth in print, in sundry languages, even to the view of the whole world, to the great comfort of us, his loving subjects, and all others, who truly profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the terror of Hereticks, Atheists, and Papists, can testify.

He married Anna, daughter to Frederick the Second, King of Denmark, &c. and to Sophia, Ulricus, the Duke of Mecklenburg's daughter, who bare unto him Henry Frederick, the prince who died in the prime of his youth; Elisabeth, wife to the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, &c. and Charles, our hopeful prince, now about the age of 23 years.

The said James the Sixth, even through God's providence, and righteous succession, is now presently King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, whom we beseech even the God of Heaven, upon the knees of our loyal hearts, to continue his days longer than long amongst us; yea, that his happy posterity remain still to govern over ours, to the farther advancement of God's glory, and the comfort of his elect, even for ever and ever, Amen.

From Aberdeen, 1623, Jan. 30.

ELYNOVR RVMMIN;
THE
FAMOUS ALE-WIFE OF ENGLAND.

WRITTEN BY MR. SKELTON,

Poet Laureat to King Henry the Eighth.

[From an Edition printed at London, 1624.]

Henry the Eighth's reign abounded with poetical productions, published in loose sheets, and other forms in small pamphlets, amongst which writers John Skelton was one of the most remarkable; and, though he is deservedly commended for his other works, yet the most comical of all his pamphlets is this of *Elynor Rymmin*, the famous ale-wife of England, &c. containing two sheets and an half in quarto, with the picture in the title-page, and the like on the last page, representing an old ill-favoured woman, holding in her hand a pot of ale, and underwritten with these verses:

When Skelton wore the lawrell crowne,
My ale put all the ale-wines downe.

TO all tapsters and tiplers,
And all ale-house vitlers,
Inne-keepers, and cookes,
That for pot-sale lookes,
And will not giue measure,
But at your owne pleasure,
Contrary to law,
Scant measure will draw,
In pot, and in canne,
To cozen a man
Of his full quart a penny,
Of you there's too many:
For in King Harry's time,
When I made this rime
Of Elynor Rymmin,
With her good ale tunning;
Our pots were full quarded,
We were not thus thwarted,
With froth-canne and nick-pot,
And such nimble quick-shot,

That a dowzen will score,
 For twelue pints, and no more.
 Full Winchester gage,
 We had in that age;
 The Dutchman's strong beere
 Was not hopt ouer heere,
 To vs 'twas vnkowne;
 Bare ale of our owne,
 In a bowle, we might bring,
 To welcome the King,
 And his Grace to beseech,
 With Wassal my Leigh.
 Nor did that time know
 To puff and to blow
 In a peece of white clay,
 As you doe at this day,
 With fier and coale,
 And a leafe in a hole;
 As my ghost hath late scene,
 As I walked betweene
 Westminster-hall
 And the church of St. Paul,
 And so thorow the citie,
 Where I saw and did pittie
 My countrymens cases,
 With fiery-smoake faces,
 Sucking and drinking
 A fylthie weede stinking
 Was ne're known before
 Till the Deuil, and the More,
 In th' Indies did meete,
 And each other there greete,
 With a health they desire
 Of stinke, smoake, and fier:
 But who e're doth abhorre it,
 The city smoakes for it;
 Now full of fier-shops,
 And fowle spitting-chops,
 So neeing and coughing,
 That my ghost fell to scoffing,
 And to my selfe said,
 Here's fylthie fumes made:
 Good physicke of force
 To cure a sick horse.
 Nor had we such slops,
 And shagge-haire on our tops;
 At wearing long haire,
 King Harry would swear,
 And gaue a command,
 With speede out of hand,

All heads should be powl'd,
 Aswell young as old,
 And his owne was first so,
 Good ensample to show.
 Y'are so out of fashion,
 I know not our nation,
 Your ruffes and your bands,
 And your cuffes at your hands;
 Your pipes and your smoakes
 And your short curtall clokes;
 Scarfes, feathers, and swerds,
 And thin bodkin beards;
 Your wastes a span long,
 Your knees with points hung,
 Like morris-daunce bels,
 And many toyes els,
 Which much I distaste,
 But Skelton's in haste.
 My masters, farewell,
 Reade ouer my Nell,
 And tell what you thinke
 Of her and her drinke;
 If she had brew'd amisse,
 I had neuer wrote this.



The Tunning of Elynoor of Rommin.

TELL you I chill, if that you will,
 A while bestill, of a merry gyll,
 That dwelt on a hill, but she is not grill:
 For she is somewhat sage, and well worne in age,
 For her visage it would asswage

A man's courage.

Her lothly leere is nothing cleere,
 But vgly of cheere, droupy and drowsie,
 Scuruy and lowsie, her face all bowsie;
 Comely cryncled, wondrously wrinckled,
 Like a roast pigge's ear, bristled with haire,
 Her lewd lips twaine, they slauer men sayne

Like a ropie rayne.

A gummy glaire, she is vgly faire,
 Her nose somedeale hooked, and camously crooked,
 Neuer stopping, but euer dropping;
 Her skin loose and slacke, grain'd like a sacke,

With a crooked backe;

Her eyne gowndy, are full vnsoundy,
 For they are bleared, and she gray-haired,
 Lawed like a ietty, a man would haue pittie,

To see how shee's gum'd, finger'd and thumb'd,
 Gently ioynted, greas'd and annointed
 Vp to the knuckles, the bones her buckels
 Together made fast, her youth is farre past.
 Footed like a plane, legged like a crane,
 And yet she will iet, like a iolly set,
 In her furred flocket, and gray russed rocket,
 With Symper the cocket.
 Her huke of Lyncolne greene, it had bin hers I weene
 More then fortie yeare; and so it doth appeare,
 The greene bare threds looke like seere weedes
 Wither'd like hay, the wooll worne away;
 And yet, I dare say, she thinks her selfe gay,
 Vpon the holyday, when she doth her aray,
 And girdeth in her geetes, stitched with pleetes;
 Her kirtill Bristow red, with clothes on her hed,
 That waigh a sow of lead.
 Written in a wonder-wise, after the Sarsans's guise,
 With a whim-wam, knit with a trim-tram,
 Vpon her brain-pan, like an Egyptian
 Capped about, when she goeth out
 Her selfe for to shew, she driueth downe the dew
 With a paire of heels, as broad as two wheelles;
 She hobbles like a goose, with her blaiked hose,
 Her shoone smear'd with tallow greased vpon dyrt,
 That baudeth her skirt.

Primus Passus.

And this comely dame, I vnderstand her name
 Is Elynovr Rvmmin at home in her wonning,
 And as men say, she dwelt in Sothray,
 In a certain steed, beside Lederhede.
 Shee is a tonnish gib, the deuill and she be sib,
 But to make vp my tale, shee brueth nappy ale,
 And makes thereof pot-sale.
 To trauellers and tinkers, to sweaters and swinkers,
 And all good ale drinkers, that will nothing spare,
 But drinke till they stare, and bring themselues bare,
 With now away the mare, and let vs sley care,
 As wise as an hare.
 Come who so will, to Elynovr on the hill,
 With fill the cup, fill, and sit thereby still,
 Early and late; thither comes Kate,
 Cisly, and Sare, with their legs bare,
 And also their feete, hardly vnsweet;
 With their heeles dagged, their kirtles all to iagged,
 Their smockes all to ragged;
 With titters and tatters, bring dishes and platters,

With all their might running, to Elynovr Rymin,
 To haue of her tunning.
 Shee giues them of the same, and thus begins the game;
 Some wenches vnbraced, and some all unlaced,
 With their naked paps, their flaps and flaps,
 It wigs and it wags, like tawny saffron bags;
 A sort of foule drabs, all scurue with scabs;
 Some be flye-bitten, some skew'd like a kytten.
 Some, with a shoe-clout, hinde their heads about;
 Some haue no haire-lace, theire lockes about their face;
 Their tresses vntrust, all full of vnlust;
 Some looke strawy, some cawry mawry;
 Some vntydie tegges, like rotten egges;
 Such a lewd sort to Elynovr resort,
 From tide to tide, abide, abide,
 And to you shall be told, how her ale is sold
 To mawte and to mold.

Secundus Passus.

Some haue no money, that thither commy
 For their ale to pay, that is a shrewd aray:
 Elynovr swears nay, ye bear not away.
 My ale for nought, by him that me bought;
 With her dogge, hey, haue these dogges away;
 With get me a staffe, the swine eat all my draffe,
 Strike the hogs with a club, they haue drunke vp my tub;
 For be there neuer so much prese, the swine go to the hy dese:
 The sowe with her pigges, the bore his taile wriggles,
 Against the high bench, with fough, here's a stench:
 Gather vp then, wench; seest thou not what's fall,
 Take vp dirt and all, and beare out of the hall;
 God give it ill preeuing, clenly as euill chieuing:
 But let vs turn plaine, where we left againe,
 For as ill a patch as that, the hens run in the mash-fat;
 For they goe to roust, straight ouer the ale iust,
 And dong, when it comes, in the ale-tonnes:
 Then Elynovr taketh the mash-boule, and shaketh
 The hens dong away, and scomes it in a tray
 Where the yeast is, with her mangie fistis:
 And sometimes she blens the dong of her hens
 And the ale together; and saies, Gossip, come hither,
 This ale shall be thicker, and flower the quicker;
 For I may tell you, I learn'd it of a lew,
 When I began to brew, and I haue found it trew,
 Drink now, while it is new;
 And ye may it brooke, it shall make you looke
 Yonger then you be, yeares two or three,
 For you may proue it by me; behold, I say, and see
 How bright I am of blee,

Ich am not cast away, that can my husband say :
 When we kisse and play in lust and liking,
 He cals me his whiting, his mulling and his mittine,
 His nobes and his conny, his sweeting and honny,
 With basse, my pretty bonny, thou art worth good and mony ;
 This make I my falyre Fanny, till he dreame and dronny ;
 For, after all our sport, then he will rout and snort ;
 Then sweetly together we lye, as two pigges in a styte :
 To cease me, seemeth best, of this tale to rest,
 And leaue this letter, because it is no better :
 Because 'tis no sweeter, we will no farther rime
 Of it at this time ; but we will turne plaine,
 Where we left againe.

Tertius Passus.

Insteeede of quoine and mony, some bring her a conny,
 And some a pot with honny, some a salt, some a spone,
 Some their hose, some their shoone ; some rvn a good trot,
 With skillett or pot ; some fill a bagge full
 Of good Lemster wooll ; an huswife of trust,
 When she is a-thirst, such a web can spin,
 Her thrift is full thin.
 Some go straight thither, be it slaty or slidder,
 They hold the high-way, they care not what men say,
 Be they as be may. Some, loth to be espide,
 Start in at the backside, ouer hedge and pale,
 And all for good ale. Some rvn till they sweat,
 And bring malt or wheat, and Elynovr entreate,
 To byrle them of the best. Then comes another guest,
 Shee swear'd by the roode of rest, her lips are so dry,
 Without drinke she must die, therefore fill by and by,
 And haue her pecke of rye.
 Anon, comes another, as dry as the tother,
 And with her doth bring meale, salt, or other thing,
 Girdle, or wedding-ring, to pay for her scot,
 As comes to her lot. Some bring their husbands hood,
 Because the ale is good ; another brought his cap
 To offer at the ale-tap, with flaxe and with toe,
 And some brought sower dowe, with hey and with hoe,
 Sit we down arow, and drink till we blow,
 And pipe tirly, tirly lowe.
 Some lai'd to pledge their hatchet and their wedge,
 Their hickell and their reele, their rocke and spinning-wheele ;
 And some went so narrow, they laid to pledge their wharrow,
 Their ribskin and spindle, their needle and thimble :
 Heere was scant thrift, when they made such shift :
 Their thirst was so great, they neuer asked for meat,
 But drinke, still drinke, and let the cat winke ;
 Let vs wash our gummies from the dry crummes.

Quartus Passus.

Some, for very neede, lay down a skaine of threed,
 Some beanes and pease; some chaffer doth ease;
 Sometime, now and than, another there ran,
 With a good brasse pan, her cullour full wan;
 Shee ran in all haste, vnbrac'd and vnlaste,
 Tawny, swart, and sallow, like a cake of tallow,
 I swear by All-hallow, it was a stare to take
 The deuill in a brake.
 Then came halting Ione, and brought a gambone
 Of bacon that was restie; but Lord how testie,
 Angry and waspie, she began to yawne and gaspie,
 And bad Elynovr goe bet, and fill in good met,
 It was deere that was farre fet.
 Another brought a spicke, of a bacon slicke,
 Her tongue was very quicke, but she spake somewhat thicke.
 Her fellow did stammer and stut, but she was a foule slut;
 For her mouth foamed, and her belly groaned.
 Ione saine she had eaten a fyest, Queane (quoth she) thou lyst,
 I haue as sweet a breath, as thou, with shamefull death.
 Then Elynovr said, ye callets, I shall breake your pallets,
 Without you now cease, and so was made a drunken peace.
 Then came drunken Ales, and she was full of tales
 Of tidings in Walles, and St. Iames in gales,
 And of the Portingales, with loe Gossip I wis,
 Thus and thus it is, there hath beene great warre
 Betweene Temple-Barre, and the Crosse in Cheape,
 And there came a heape of mill-stones in a rout;
 Shee speaketh thus in her snout, sniueling in her nose,
 As though she had the pose; loe here is an old tippet,
 You shall giue me a sippet of your strong ale,
 And God send good sale; and as she was drinking,
 Shee fell in a winking with a barly-hood,
 Shee pist where she stood; then began shee to weepe,
 And forthwith fell a-sleepe: Elynovr tooke her vp,
 And blest her with a cup of new ale in cornes,
 Ales found therein no thornes; but supt it vp at once,
 Shee found therein no bones.

Quintus Passus.

Now in commeth another rable, first one with a ladle,
 Another with a cradle, and with a side-sadle,
 And there began a fable, a clattering and a bable,
 Of foles silly; that had a fole with Willy,
 With iast you and gup gilly, she could not lie stilly.
 Then came in a gennet, and sware by Saint Bennet,
 I dranke not, this sennet, a draught to my pay;
 Elynovr, I thee pray, of thy ale let me assay,

And haue here a pelch of gray ; I wear skins of conny,
 That causeth I looke so donny. Another then did hitch-her,
 And brought a pottell-pitcher, a tonnell and a bottell,
 But she had lost the stoppell ; she cut of her shooe-sole,
 And stopt therewith the hole.
 Among all the blommer, another brought a scommer,
 A frying-pan, and slice, Elynovr made the price
 For good ale each whit. Then start in mad Kit,
 That had little wit, shee seemed some deale seeke,
 And brought a penny cheeke, to Dame Elynovr,
 For a draught of liquour.
 Then Margery milke-ducke her kirtle did vp tucke,
 An ynych aboue her knee, her legges that ye might see ;
 But they were sturdy and stubled, mighty pestels and clubbed,
 As faire and as white as the foote of a kite ;
 She was some-what foule, crooked neck'd like an owle,
 And yet she brought her fees, a cantle of Essex cheese,
 Was well a foot thicke, full of magots quicke ;
 It was huge and great, and mighty strong meat,
 For the deuill to eat, it was tart and punieate.
 Another sort of sluts ; some brought walnuts,
 Some apples, some peares, and some their clipping-sheares ;
 Some brought this and that, some brought I wot nere what,
 Some brought their husbands hat :
 Some puddings and linkes, some tripe that stinkes.
 But of all this throng, one came them among ;
 Shee seem'd halfe a leach, and began to preach
 Of the Tuesday in the wecke, when the mare doth kicke ;
 The vertue of an vnset leeke, and her husbands breeke ;
 With the feathers of a quaille, she could to bord onsaile,
 And, with good ale-barme, she could make a charme,
 To helpe withall a stitch ; she seemed to be a witch ;
 Another brought two goslings, that were naughty froslings,
 Some brought them in a wallet, she was a comely callet ;
 The goslings were vntide, El'novr began to chide,
 They be wrethocke thou hast brought, and shire-shaking nought.

Sextus Passus.

Maud ruggie thither skipped, she was vgly hipped,
 And vgly thicke lipped, like an onyon sided,
 Like tan'd leather hided, she had her so guided,
 Betweene the cup and the wall, she was there-withall
 Into a palzie fall :
 With that her head shaked, and her hands quaked :
 One's heart would haue aked, to haue seene her naked ;
 She dranke so of the dregs, the dropsie was in her legs ;
 Her face glistring like glasse, all foggie fat she was ;
 She had also the gout in all her ioints about,
 Her breath was sower and stale, and smelled all of ale,

Such a bed-fellow would make one cast his craw ;
 But yet for all that, she dranke on the mash-fat ;
 There came an old ribibe, she halted of a kibe,
 And had broken her shin, at the threshold comeing in,
 And fell so wide open, one might see her token,
 The deuill thereon be wroken, what need all this be spoken,
 She yelled like a calfe: rise vp on God's halfe,
 Said Elynovr Rvmmmin, I beshrew thee for comming ;
 As she at her did plucke, quacke, quacke, said the ducke
 In that lampatram's lap, with fie couer the shap,
 With some flip-flap ; God give it ill hap,
 Said Elynovr for shame, like an honest dame:
 Vp she start halfe lame, and scantly could goe,
 For paine and for woe.
 In came another dant, with a goose and a gant ;
 She had a wide wesant, she was nothing pleasant,
 Necked like an elephant, it was a bullifant,
 A greedy cormorant.
 Another brought garlike-heads, another brought her beads,
 Of iet or of cole, to offer to the ale pole.
 Some brought a wimble, and some brought a thymble :
 Some brought a silke lace, and some a pin-case :
 Some her husband's gowne, some a pillow of downe ;
 And all this shift they make for the good ale sake.
 Then start forth a phisgigge, and she brought a bore-pigge,
 The flesh thereof was ranke, and her breath strongly stanke ;
 Yet ere she went she dranke, and gate her great thanke
 Of Elynovr for her ware, that she thither bare,
 To pay for her share. Now trully, to my thinking,
 This was a solemne drinking.

Septimus Passus.

Soft, quoth one hight Sibbill, first let me with you bibbill ;
 Shee sate down in the place, with a sorry face,
 Whey-wormed about, garnished was her snout,
 With here and there a puscull, like a scabbed muscull :
 This ale, said she, is noppy, let us sipp and soppy,
 And not spill a droppy, for so mote I hoppy,
 It cooleth well my coppy.
 Dame Elynovr, said she, haue, here's for me,
 A clout of London pins, and with that she begins
 The pot to her plucke, and dranke a good lucke,
 She swing'd vp a quart at once for her part:
 Her paunch was so puffed, and so with ale stuffed,
 Had she not hyed a-pace, she had defiled the place.
 Then began the sport amongst the drunken sort,
 Dame Elynovr, said they, lend here a locke of hay,
 To make all things cleane, you wot well what I meane.
 But, Sir, among all that sate in that hall,

There was a prick-me-dainty sate like a sainty,
 And began to painty, as though she would fainty;
 She made it as coy as a lege demoy,
 She was not halfe so wise as she was peeuish nice;
 She said neuer a word, but rose from the bord,
 And called for our dame, Elynovr by name.
 We supposed I wis, that she rose to pisse;
 But the very ground was to compound
 With Elynovr in the spence, to pay for her expence.
 I haue no penny nor groat, to pay, said she, God wot,
 For washing of my throat.
 But my beades of amber, beare them to your chamber.
 Then Elynovr did them hide within her bed-side;
 But some sate right sad, that nothing had,
 There of their owne, neither gelt nor pawne;
 Such were there manny, that had not a peny:
 But, when they should walke, were faine with a chalke,
 To score on the balke:
 Or score on the taile, God give it ill haile,
 For my fingers itch, I haue written to mych,
 Of this mad mumming of Elynovr Rvmmmin.
 Thus endeth the gest of this worthy feast.

Skelton's Ghost to the Reader.

THUS, countrymen kinde,
 I pray let me finde,
 For this merry glee,
 No hard censure to be.
 King Henry the Eight
 Had a good conceit
 Of my merry vaine,
 Though duncicall plaine:
 It now nothing fits
 The times nimble wits;
 My lawrell and I
 Are both wither'd dry,
 And you flourish greene,
 In your workes daily seene,
 That come from the presse,
 Well writ I confesse;
 But time will deuouer
 Your poets as our,
 And make them as dull
 As my empty scull.

APHORISMS OF STATE:

OR,

CERTAIN SECRET ARTICLES

FOR THE

RE-EDIFYING OF THE ROMISH CHURCH,

Agreed upon, and approved in Council by the

COLLEGE OF CARDINALS IN ROME,

Shewed and delivered unto

POPE GREGORY THE FIFTEENTH,

A little before his Death.

Whereunto is annexed a Censure upon the chief Points of that which the Cardinals had concluded.

BY THOMAS SCOTT.

Very needful and profitable for all those, who are desirous to understand the event of the Restitution of the Palatinate, and of the State of the Princes Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, in the Behalf of the Clergy in Rome. Fit for the British Nation especially to take notice of, that they may evidently see the issue of all our Treaties, Ambassages, and Promises, with other Hopes depending; wherein we have been long held in Suspence, and are still like to be, to our irrecoverable Loss.

Faithfully translated, according to the Latin and Netherlandish Dutch, into English. Printed at Utrecht, 1694, Quarto, containing thirty Pages.

The First Article.

WHEREAS Maximilian the Duke of Bavaria, for the establishing the state of his prince electorship, hath sought unto the authority of the apostolical seat*; thereby hath the apostolical church obtained opportunity, to recover their lost obedience in the denied ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The 2d Article.

Since the Pope of Rome, by means of the present Duke of Bava-

* Viz. The Pope's chair, called by his disciples, apostolical.

ria, as being the most obedient son of the church, may obtain again the rights, which, for these two-hundred years and more, have been lost in the constituting of certain things, and orders in the empire, belonging to the church, it will be a very small labour to pluck the possessions of the church goods, which depend upon the ecclesiastical rights, out of the hands of the hereticks.

The 3d Article.

Whereas the Duke of Bavaria, according to the especial oath made unto the church, hath an earnest desire to restore again the Ecclesiastical state, as it was before the time of Pope Gregory the Eleventh, the hereticks, (who are the temporal arm of the empire) shall be bound to restore again those goods which they have possessed since the Passawish transaction.

The 4th Article.

Since that it properly appertaineth to the church to discern and take notice of the state and order of the empire, wherefore those hereticks which deny this antiquity, and the rights of the church in the state and order of the empire, which now, by the Duke of Bavaria, shall be re-established in time to come, are not to be tolerated.

The 5th Article.

Since that Pope Leo the Third had the power, in respect of the heresy, to cut off, and separate the eastern* authority from the western; and to pluck that from the Grecians: wherefore shall not the Pope now have the same power, to take the Prince Electorship from the Palsgrave, as being an arch-heretick, and transport the same unto the Duke of Bavaria, the most obedient son of the church.

The 6th Article.

Since the divulsion of the Eastern empire from the Western, which was performed by the most blessed Pope, Leo the Third, hath continued so firm and sacred even to this very time, that, although the Western empire hath often times been void of a possessor, it was never as yet united unto the Eastern empire, nor the laws of the one in the provinces of the other were ever of force: wherefore then shall not the divulsion of the prince elector's dignities of the Palsgrave, that arch-heretick, be maintained upon the most catholick Duke of Bavaria, in the like sanctity of perpetuity and stability, by the Pope and the holy league?

The 7th Article.

Since that the transport of the empire, from the Grecians unto the French, performed with such a free arm, and such an active power by Pope Leo: the Grecian Emperors themselves, although they were the strongest, durst never oppugn the same, nay have many times and

* i. e. Empire.

often very significantly commended and firmly kept the same; in like manner the ability nor the opposition of the arch-heretick, the Saxon, who is yet remaining, may not hinder, much less make opposition to the transport of the Prince Elector's dignity, unto the most catholick Duke of Bavaria: in regard that he, as being an heretick, and not knowing the sanctity, nor the antiquity of the right original of the empire, and ignorant of the laws and privileges thereof, may not enjoy that right.

The 8th Article.

Whenas Frederick the First, according to the will and pleasure of Pope Alexander the Third, was detrudd from the Imperial seat, then Emanuel Comnenus presented both men and money unto the Pope against Frederick, to the end the Grecian church might be united to the Latins: by which undoubtedly he confesseth, that to establish and fortify the Pope's cutting off, and transport, and the uniting of one kingdom with another, was forbidden all men whatsoever, save only the Pope, who had first separated them; so in like manner these things like as they also be, so is it true that the Pope, with the holy league, are bound to employ all their power against the arch-heretick, the Saxon*, and all those rebels, that depend upon him: that the sanctity of the apostolical stool†, and the antiquity of the Romish empire, in the transport of the Prince Elector's dignity, might be preserved and maintained.

The 9th Article.

After Pope Leo, have other Popes, also, only by the authority of their chair, very often transported the said Western empire from one nation to another; wherefore then may not the Pope, by the same authority of the chair of Rome, pluck the Prince Elector's dignity out of the hands of the hereticks, and transport the same to the catholick princes, to the end that the sacred essence of the Romish empire, by the extirpation of hereticks, be again established?

The 10th Article.

Whereas, in all right, Pope Boniface the Eighth, unto whom the supreme authority in the church belonged, would not admit that Albert the First of that name, Emperor of the Romans, by right of inheritance might come to the empire, like as he had sought both for himself and for his posterity and successors, but only by election: in like manner may the Pope, the Emperor, and the holy league, without violating the apostolical seat, which always, to be kept sacred in her antiquity, must be defended, not to suffer the Saxon and the Brandenburgher, that they should seek to draw the authority of the antiquity in the transport of the electorship from the chair of Rome, to bring the same to the college of the Prince Electors.

* The Elector of Saxony, who first protected Luther and continued, till of late years, the support of the Protestant interest in Germany.

† *i. e.* The chair.

The 11th Article.

Philip, King of the Franks, sent Ambassadors to Avignon* unto Pope Clement the First: that they very humbly should intreat him, that he would restore the empire again to the French, under whom before it had been. Then did the Pope send ambassadors unto the Prince Electors, by whom he commanded them, that they should chuse Henry of Luxemburgh Emperor: and that, if they did the contrary, that they should incur great danger, and should forfeit the empire, and the right of their election unto others for ever; whereupon they presently assembled, and elected Henry Emperor. From all this very plainly appeareth, that the French assuredly knew, that it was in the Pope's power to establish the Imperial command in that kingdom, and to transport from the Germans the empire and the right of the election: and therefore may the Pope, according to the plenitude of his power, no longer use connivance, when as these arch-hereticks, the Saxon and the Brandenburgher, would throw down into hell the antiquity and order of the empire.

The 12th Article.

It is in the Pope's hands, as in all histories appeareth, to renew the Emperor in the empire, to transport the authority of one nation unto another, and utterly to abolish the right of election: how wickedly and ungodly then doth the Saxon, in labouring to pluck the said power from the chair of Rome, and to unite the same unto the college of the Prince Electors? By this means the Pope of Rome and the Emperor may expect, that from this permission the rest of the arch-hereticks, the Saxon and the Brandenburgher, may change the essence of the holy church and of the empire, into an abominable and cursed monster.

The 13th Article.

Since that Wenceslaus, by reason of his follies, by the prince electors, was deposed from the imperial seat, and contrarily Robert Palsgrave of the Rhine, by the command and authority of Pope Boniface the Ninth, ascended to that high dignity: In like manner also is the Palsgrave, that arch-heretick, because he had committed high treason, and had disturbed the common peace of the emperor and the empire, detruded from the Prince-electorship: and contrarily, for the recovering of the antiquity, the emperor, with the sacred and true prince electors, as sons obedient to the church, and diligent in maintaining antiquity, by commission from the Pope, hath promoted Maximilian Duke of Bavaria in all right unto that high degree of prince electorship.

The 14th Article.

So that, by the authority of the apostolical seat, the power of electing an emperor, and a prince elector, is drawn into the number of seven princes: Yet whereas, according to the concession of Gregory

* A city in France, where the Pope, being banished Rome, kept his residence for about 70 years.

the Fifth, it appertained unto all the princes of Germany: Also, by the same plenitude of power, it is lawful for the Pope to cut off the dignity of the prince electorship, from the Palgrave and his heirs, and to transport the same unto the Duke of Bavaria.

The 15th Article.

The plenitude of the power of the apostolical state is proved by the publick documents, as is the election of Rudolph, of Habsburgh, Adolph, Henry the Seventh, Charles the Fourth, Wenceslaus, and Rupertus, who had no other stability, but from the grant and consent of Nicholas the Third, Boniface the Eighth, Clement the Fifth, Clement the Sixth, Gregory the Eleventh, and Boniface the Ninth, which publick documents are kept with the writings of the apostolical seat.

The 16th Article.

To the end that the antiquity of the empire may the better be manifested, that the Pope and the church hath only the power to take notice, discern, and to dispose of the affairs of the empire: Therefore the emperor is crowned with the crown by the pope, who therein hath the highest authority, and, this work effected, then is he established in the imperial seat: Therefore all doctors do agree herein, that he, that is crowned by the Pope, hath the power only to bear the title of emperor and Augustus: To sign with the sign of the golden bull, and to take upon him the administration of the empire: And, when the prince is not crowned by the pope, he is rightly forbidden to use the same.

The 17th Article.

At what time a great contention was risen between Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, and his brother Lodowick, in behalf of the empire: Then presently Charles posted unto Rome, and so with gifts and intreaties obtained the crown: And therefore, according to the form of antiquity, the Pope only hath the power to take notice of matters of the empire: And therefore the German hereticks do very ill in saying, that the same belongeth to the College of the Prince electors.

The 18th Article.

Since that Frederick the First, by the Bishop of Bambergben, required the crown of the empire from Pope Adrian the Fourth (where the words under-written are used and placed to express the same sense) from whence very plainly appeareth, that he, that receiveth not the crown out of the pope's hand, is in very deed no emperor: Therefore, most holy father, fulfil, without any longer delay, that which Maximilian, the Duke of Bavaria, wanteth in the plenitude of the dignity of his prince electorship, that the same may be accomplished by your holiness's liberality, to the end the empire may be reduced and brought into its old fashion again.

The 19th Article.

Since that, in the disposing and ordering of the affairs of the empire, the Pope's respect only extendeth so far, that it now and then hath been vexed, suppressed, nay, hath been wholly and totally circumvented and defrauded; like as many histories do testify, what hath passed between Pope Gregory the Seventh, and the Emperor Henry the Fourth, between Pope Alexander and the Emperor Frederick the First, between Pope Innocent the Third and the Emperor Ottoman the fourth, between Pope Innocent the Fourth and the Emperor Frederick, between Pope John the Twenty-first and the Emperor Lodowick the Fourth, between Pope Boniface the Ninth and the Emperor Wenceslaus: By the same respect hath the Pope that undoubted right to take notice of the affairs of the empire, and to discern thereof, and not the College of the prince electors.

The 20th Article.

Since that the power of the electing the emperor was not purchased for money by the prince electors, nor obtained by force of arms, nor enjoyed by right of inheritance, nor befallen unto them by the hands of the emperor, but is descended from the authority of the apostolical seat: Therefore it is not lawful for the German arch-hereticks*, now at this present to believe any otherwise, thereby to molest the antiquity and sanctity of the empire.

The 21st Article.

Whenas for a long time the custom of electing the emperor had been in use, according to the constitution of Pope Gregory the Fifth, by the intercession of all the chiefs and princes of Germany, and that many troubles and divisions arose by the great diversity of voices in their election, the empire is at last come to nought; so that the chiefs and princes with one accord, according to the decree and approbation of the apostolical seat, were agreed, that all the power which was granted unto them, all of Pope Gregory the Fifth, should descend unto six † princes only, viz. three Spiritual and three Temporal, unto whom afterwards the seventh was adjoined, and solemnly concluded, that of these alone, without admitting any other thereunto, from henceforth the emperor should be chosen, although they were of the faculty, power, and authority.

The 22d Article.

Like as in former time the election was performed by virtue of the grant of Pope Gregory the Fifth: The same shall now at this present, by the same power proceeding from the good pleasure of the Pope's transport, be effected by the Seven. And like as, in old time, the Popes commanded all the chiefs and princes of Germany, that they should chuse an emperor, even so at this time, when need requireth, it shall be lawful for the pope to command the seven prince electors,

* The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg.

† Electors.

who do represent the assembly of all the princes there. And like as the seven prince electors do enjoy a like power and authority of right, which in old time the princes of Germany enjoyed, in like manner the Pope doth enjoy wholly that authority, which they had in the time of that assembly, in regard, through process of years, or length of time, the vigour of the church diminisheth not, nor the rights of the apostolical seat do wax decrepit: How great then is the ignorance of those doctors and counsellors of the German arch-hereticks, which neither know the antiquity nor the rights; but, according to their malicious conceit, are not ashamed to pervert the antiquity and sanctity of the empire into novelty, and to bring order into confusion?

The 23d Article.

Since then it hath been very amply proved, and shewed to his holiness, that the power as well of the new as the old prince electors, to elect emperors, hath been obtained by no other means, but from the most high apostolical seat, which may be proved by the writings of the most famous authors, as Jacob Winphilingus, Krantzius, Nauclerus, Carion, Aventinus, Cuspinianus, and other Transmontanian writings, omitting the Italian doctors, because that they, in this point of controversy, might peradventure come in suspicion to be corrupted, and by that means might be rejected of the German hereticks. Therefore it is, * &c.

The 24th Article.

Since the seven prince electors, by the publick proofs of writings, subscribed with their own hands and seals, do not deny that the faculty of electing emperors is descended unto them from the apostolical seat; and, if the ignorant counsellors of Saxony and Brandenburg will not believe the same, the writings themselves shall be produced and laid open before them, which do approve the same, dated in the year 1279, when Nicholas the Third was Pope, and Rudolphus Habsburgensis was emperor, which are whole and good, in parchment, remaining with the secretary of the castle of St. Angelo; where the seven prince electors most of them use these words:

“The mother church of Rome, in times past, as with a natural love embracing Germany, hath as with a present of temporal dignities honoured the same, with that which is above all names, only as temporally upon the earth, planting princes therein as godly trees, and watering the same with a singular grace, and hath given unto them that growth of worldly power; that they, being supported by the authority of the same church, as a choice and famous plant, may cause to spring or grow up, by their election, him who hath the reins of the Roman empire in his hand. Therefore it is, † &c.”

* The rest, that should follow, must be taken from the former.

† Here lacketh something, which is to be conceived out of that which goeth before

The 25th Article.

The seven prince electors must confess to have this power from the apostolical seat, like as sufficiently is proved in the former article. And contrarily, no man can take away the same, without the authority and consent of the same apostolical seat. If it be taken from any, as being robbed thereof, it must not be esteemed as lawfully done, and that dignity which after that manner is so taken from one, and transported to another without the Pope's consent and authority, hath no vigour, in regard the same is taken and given to them, to whom in all right it is forbidden. Therefore, if it be bestowed upon any man after this manner, in process of time, taking the right title, he shall not keep the same.

The 26th Article.

Since that the transport of the dignities of the prince electorship unto this present line of Saxony, is not established by the most holy apostolical seat; therefore, the Pope and the Emperor, for the dealing of the transport of the electorship unto the Duke of Bavaria, shall not once be moved, but his exception against the transport shall be esteemed for no exception; for that which is lawfully done, and simply is not done, is all one.

The 27th Article.

Since that the transport of the dignities of the prince electorship is passed unto Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, and is confirmed by the most holy father: Therefore it is no longer in the emperor, nor in the King of Spain's power, to place that arch-heretick the Palsgrave, or his heirs, in that dignity and dominion out of which their father is cast, nor to place him again in the electorship, in regard that these controversies do belong to the most holy apostolical seat, and neither to the emperor, nor the King of Spain.

The 28th Article.

Since that the Pope hath confirmed the transport of the electorship; so is that demand (which the King of England, the King of Denmark, the Saxon, and the Brandenburgher, of the restitution of the Palsgrave into his dignities and electorship, which they seek of the emperor very unreasonable; for the requiring thereof is nothing else, but the defrauding the apostolical seat) from the right of her Majesty, and to attribute unto the emperor the fundamental original, contrary to the antiquity and sanctity of the church and empire: And, therefore, the holy father shall be wary, that, from such like connivance, there ariseth not a greater discommodity to the farther ruin of the church.

The 29th Article.

To the end then that the essence of the church may be preserved in her antiquity and sanctity: The most illustrious prelates, the cardinals, with one consent and accord, have sworn that the holy father, having permitted the confirmation on Maximilian the Duke of Bavaria, may

not revoke the same, without prejudice of the most holy apostolical seat, and are bound by the laws of God, simply to maintain the aforesaid Duke of Bavaria with one common hand, with conjoined power of the whole church, and with force of arms, in the dignities of the prince electorship.

Here followeth the Censure, or Consideration upon the aforesaid Articles.

HERE are presented unto us twenty-nine articles, from the prelates of the Romish church, whose elegance is not much to be commended, and do tend to the prejudice of Germany: For the better examination whereof, we will course through all the members or particulars; and, to the end that no man may be bewitched therewith, we will administer unto the simple an antidote against this poison.

The beginning shall be of the three first articles, wherein the clergy of Rome do imagine unto themselves a most excellent growth, as well of the jurisdiction, as of the temporal goods.

To speak in order of both these: I say the pope, forasmuch as he is pope, hath no jurisdiction at all, but, forasmuch as he is enriched by the liberality of princes, he hath also his own lands, and hath a certain jurisdiction, which is well to be understood in his own lands: But in the empire, where he hath no place amongst the princes of the empire, no jurisdiction may be allowed him, without diminishing of the imperial Majesty: Let no man suffer himself once to be moved, for that which hath been so long said, "That the Pope of Rome is in the place of Christ here upon earth." Christ himself denied that his Kingdom was of this World. The disciple is not mightier than his master, nor the servant greater than his lord.

What is more evident and plain, than that which Christ himself saith? Let the Kings of the nation bear rule, but with you it must not be so. Neither is that firmer, that they hope for the victory, from the triumph, and other proofs, wherewith they have always defended their cause, that Christ said, All power is given me in heaven and earth. Maldonatus* refuteth this with these words, "Christ speaketh not here of all power, but of that which he gave to the apostles, that is, of the power to obtain and gather together his spiritual kingdom; for which business he sent out the apostles; like as temporal princes are careful of their temporal goods, so are they also of their jurisdictions." Here availeth that which the old father Bernard wrote to pope Eugenius, in his first book of observations, "Your power is over offences or sins, and not over possessions. These base and earthly things have their judges, kings, and princes of the earth: wherefore dost thou enter upon other men's jurisdictions? Wherefore dost thou thrust thy sickle or scythe into another man's harvest?" Moreover, he saith in his eleventh book, "Dominion was forbidden the apostles; darest thou then use it

* A Jesuit commentator of great note.

(A Lord) the apostleship, or an apostolical person's dominion? verily both these are forbidden you, if you will enjoy both these at once." Therefore asketh Hostiensis, "What shall we say of that which concerneth the pope in worldly or temporal affairs?" Whereunto he maketh answer, with his lord Innocentius, "That unto him, viz. the Pope, it concerned nothing at all." The same also may be read by John Parisiensis, in the tenth chapter of the Power of Kings and Popes. This is long ago told unto them, but they gave it no audience; from hence ariseth the English complaint by Mathew Paris, where he treateth of Henry the Third: "That it is sufficiently known and found, that the wrath of God is fallen upon the Romish church, because their magistrates and regents do not diligently apply themselves for the devotion of the people, nor for the gaining of souls; but to purchase revenues, and to scrape money together."

Other nations used very grievously to complain thereof, and that with good reason, especially Germany, whose princes long ago, seeking remedy hereof, were not very acceptable, who could never satisfy the Romish clergy, with riches and dignities. From this unsatiable gulph also ariseth, that they, in the third article, desire to cut off the conditions for their advantage, which, for the common peace-sake, were received above seventy years since at Passaw. But it is not in the Pope's power, nor in the clergy, to break that which was concluded by a general council of the states, where the authority of * Charles was entertained.

Here followeth the censure upon the second part, which extendeth itself larger than the first, in regard that it not only sheweth the cardinalish prince †, but that which lieth next under. This aforesaid part containeth twenty articles, in which they, with the like proofs, do proceed, as yet seemeth; yet their object indeed is something else, more than in the former. In which it seemeth to be sufficient to Michael Longius: That, if the Duke of Bavaria could but be persuaded, that he would seek for the consent of the Pope, in those dignities where he was honoured. In such manner the chiefest cardinals do take the reins of good reason too long into their hands; nay, as Phaeton, upon the waggon of their avarice, to the danger of the world, and more especially of Germany, do ride out of the common route of the Popes; like as if it were of no moment, to pronounce such an horrible sentence of the transport of the electorship of the Palsgrave, and the occasion thereof; whereof we will not now dispute; and so they fall a-board the Prince Electors of Saxon and Brandenburg, in the behalf of the rights of the election: What is it else but, with the like thunder-bolt, to dash the heads of the sacred empire? they say they are hereticks: It is now no time to enquire after heresy, but rather soundly to dispute, whether that a bishop, like as he, hath right to excommunicate a man for heresy? Whether therefore he hath the power also to rob and spoil a man of his dignities and means? Verily therein is great difference: Christ commanded, that the excommunicated should be counted as

* The Emperor.

† The Pope, being prince of his cardinals.

an heathen or publican : but in no place willeth he that men should rob the heathens or publicans of their authority, or should spoil them of their goods. Christ himself paid toll unto the publicans, and, by his example, hath shewed us the way what we should do. The apostles lived under heathenish emperors, and were obedient to their laws ; in like manner also were all their successors ; nay, the apostles, being obedient, used to pray to God for them : Therefore, saith Tertullian in his apology, in the thirtieth chapter, " We invoke the eternal God for the prosperity of the emperor, praying, that he may have a long life, a peaceful government, an established habitation, strong armies, faithful counsellors, and a peaceful world." When Julian left Christianity, and betook himself to heathenism, did the Christians then detrude him forth of his empire ? When they hear of this, then they will contend with latter examples, saying, wherefore then may not the Pope, by the same right for heresy, transport the dignity of the prince electorship unto another, since that Pope Leo the Third, for the same occasion, transported the empire from the Grecians upon the Franks. This is that Achilles which so boasts in the college of the cardinal, but yet he is not strong enough to take in our city of Elizeum. They abuse themselves exceedingly with this example ; first, from the act of the Pope, they conclude the justness of the act ; if we may so drive our arguments, there is no act of any man, but it may be found fault withal ; they err also herein, that they affirm that to be done, which was never done.

We know it all of us, that the empire was transported, but withall, that it was done by the council of * Rome, as also all Italy, consented thereunto, either privately or publickly. Of the western people I will pass over in silence. They say again, that we have many writers, which make repetition of that which Leo did. Who denieth that ? But they commend Leo, as being one of the chiefest citizens, and so had the greatest respect of any man in the city : They commend him also, as being Bishop of Rome, who, with his hands, was to set up the crown, as being a sign or representation of the empire : Therefore these writers were in no heresy, because they meant that either Leo did the same alone, or else principally could have done it. Many others, who are no less in number, nor in respect than these, do relate unto us the clean contrary : They say expressly, that the same was done and performed, according to the decree and will, as is aforesaid, of the council of Rome. Sigibertus saith, in the year 801 : " The Romans now, who long ago had withdrawn their affections from the Constantinopolitan emperor, as then finding very good opportunity, because that a woman, when the emperor Constantine was deprived of his sight, governed them by his son : Then proclaimed they with one accord the emperor Charles for their emperor, they crowned him by the hand of Pope Leo, they stiled him emperor and Augustus." A Popish writer, Theodoricus de Niem, who afterwards was bishop of Verden, saith, " About the very time of the coronation, the people of Rome made a law, according to the old custom, but it was very

* The State and not Church.

troublesome to recollect all things that happened so often: therefore the sentence, right, and power of the empire, was left unto the Emperor, as we find it written: Then the people of Rome transported all this unto Charles, and gave unto him all that right and power.

Blondus also, in his first book, Decad. 2. and Æneas Silvius, or Pius the Second, in Blondus's short relation; also Jacobus Wymphelingius, in his short relation of the Pope of Rome, in the eleventh chapter, do affirm, that the coronation by Leo was performed and done with the knowledge, and at the intreaty, of the people of Rome. These are the words of Onuphrius Panvinus in Fastis: Leo, by the consent of the people of Rome, and at the intreaty of the clergy of Rome, proclaimeth Charles Emperor. So that from those and others, who affirm, that it was done by the council, and the people of Rome; must those writers be interpreted, that they do not confirm, nor yet deny the same.

How much more is it to believe that which is confirmed by witnesses, which is denied by none; than not to believe those which do confirm the same, because that all of them do not affirm, although there be no body that do deny the same: For, after this manner, writeth Michael Coccimus very well, in his book of the transport of the empire: 'We must believe that the same transport was performed, and had its power or operation from the consent and authority of the Romans, and other people of Italy.' That which Innocentius the Third wrote unto Barthold, Duke of Zaringe, doth not contradict the same: 'That the apostolical seat of Rome transported the Roman Empire unto the person of the famous Charles, from the Grecians unto the Germans, for in this we consent: That the apostolical seat, upon no other meaning, did transport the empire, but that they, who did transport the empire, did consent thereunto, or else made declaration that they should transport the same. But such a transport hath had its power from the uniform consent of the people.'

Hence may very plainly appear, in what manner the transport which Leo performed was done, and by this means that is very easily overthrown, which they say: That the empire was transported for heresy: The occasion of the transport is here formerly related out of Sigibertus: The true cause thereof was, ~~because~~ the Emperors of the East did neglect, or were careless of the Western Empire and authority; and so, as is aforesaid, did let it pass: This we can confirm and approve with very firm testimony. Lupoldus saith, in his fourth book of the rights of the authority of the empire, in this manner:

'The Grecian Emperor, in the time of Carolus Magnus, nay, before his time also, (viz: when his father Pepin, and his grandfather Carolus Mertellus lived) governed only with the name of the Western Empire; so that neither the Romish church, nor the other christian congregations, nor those of the Longobards, who were, contrary to all law, suppressed, could either by the Eastern Emperor, nor by their authority, obtain any right in the Western Empire; so that the aforesaid Emperor made no account nor reckoning of the Western Empire, but held it loosely as a derelict, only commanding therewith the name, as appeareth in divers chronicles.' Of the same opinion is Johannes Parisiensis, in his

sixteenth chapter, writing of the Kingly and Papal power: 'It was not done by the Pope only, but that it was the people's desire, who may subject themselves to whom they will, without prejudice to any other; and therefore that was done for a necessary reason, for to defend them against the heathens and infidels, because they could not be defended by any other; which rightly they might do, for the people make the King, and the army the Emperor.' *Aeneas Sylvius*, in his book of the rising and authority of the Roman Empire, saith, in the ninth chapter: 'At the last, when the Grecians were careless of Rome, and leaving the same to be made a prey, and to be ransacked one while by the barbarians, and also by others, the people of Rome, who with their blood had got such great riches, who by their valour had erected the monarchy of the world, saluted, by the name of Emperor, *Carolus Magnus*, then King of the Franks, being a German born, who delivered the city and the holy place from the invasion of enemies, first greeting him with this title, *Patricius*, and afterwards *Augustus*, the Pope's good-will and pleasure hereunto concurring.' Also, saith *Nauclerus*, in his twenty-seventh *Generat.* 'In the year 800, upon the day of the birth of our Lord, good deliberation preceding, *Leo*, the Pope of Rome, considering that the Constantinopolitan Emperors did very carelessly defend that name, and held the Western Empire as lost, declared, with the consent of the people of Rome, *Charles*, Emperor of the Romans, and crowned him with the crown, when the commonalty of the Romans three times cried out aloud, *Carolo Augusto, &c.*' *Paulus Æmilius*, in his history of the Franks, saith thus: 'The majesty of the Emperon was now at this time, and before, very slight.' And thereafter he saith: 'The principallest of the Romans, being of another courage and audacity, gave their voices, That the seat of the empire, being, as it were, void, and possessed of none (as if it had been God's will, and had been so ordained) should be invested with the King of the Franks, because that he, by his service which he had done for the church, had well deserved the same; and that they were obliged and bound to him, &c.'

Michael Coccimus speaks yet more plainly concerning the transport of the empire, saying, 'When the Romans, and almost all the people of Italy, by process of time, and the invasion of many nations, and pillagings, as being subject to the Goths, Vice-Goths, Hunns, and Longobards, and being not able with their own forces to defend themselves, and the Grecians taking no care at all of them, for the performance thereof; nay, (that which is more) they themselves heaping evil upon evil, and using all diligence to suppress and spoil them, using too great avariciousness and desire of authority over them; they marking the excessive covetousness of the Grecians, and also their carelessness; observing also the worthiness, capacity, and equity of the Germans, they transported the empire from the Grecians unto the Germans, and recommended the same to *Carolus Magnus*. This transport of the empire, being effected by the Romans, and other people of Italy, and that with the common consent and authority of them all, without all doubt, had full power, and hath remained firm.'

Hence appeareth plain enough, that they are either fools, or else are

much deceived, which think, that the empire was transported to the Franks for heresy.

This also is worthy consideration, That, although the Eastern empire was transported by Pope Leo to the Western, the Pope hath now the same right to remove the empire, according to his will. In old time it was otherwise than it is now. Let us grant, That the Pope of Rome had some right, as the best qualified citizen of the city; nay, that the city (which never yet was done) had transported all her power unto him: What doth that concern these our present times, since that the Pope hath driven the Emperor out of the dominion of the city? After what manner, say I, hereafter, shall either Rome itself, or the Pope of Rome, pretend any right in the electing of an Emperor, since they do not acknowledge the Emperor for their Lord? Yea, since it is acknowledged, that the Princes Electors are to be ordained by the consent and voices of the states, and this is by the approbation of Gregory the Fifth. Hath not the Pope lost his right, when he consented hereunto? So that hereby that authority, which the Pope ascribeth to himself, is quite overthrown. What a number of proofs might be produced against this power of the Pope! Yea, the testimony of principal personages, who, by reason of their learning, are exceeding famous.

Here followeth the third part, which falleth very grievously, both with tooth and nail, upon the bodies of all those that dislike the sentence of the Pope; and that consisteth in the three last articles.

And, first, that is touched, which concerneth the election, that is the right of voice is taken from the Prince Elector, the Duke of Saxony, under this pretext; because, forsooth, the Pope of Rome hath not confirmed that dignity, wherewith that family, for these many years, hath been invested; nor is it confirmed by the Pope, as if that illustrious family had not been so wise, as never to have required the same of the Pope. It is but too well known unto them, that they, whom the Pope glorieth to have honoured with the name of empire or authority, he taketh away from them the majesty of authority; so that his investing may well be called a disrobing, and his crowning a dethroning, or deposing. For, I pray you, Of what consequence is the confirmation of the Pope unto those, whom he drives into a bodily fear, if he had no temporal power? It is such, as Origen long ago understood it to be, which he taught, as appeareth by his writings upon Matthew, in his twelfth homily: 'Among you, which are mine, these things shall not be, to the end that those, which have any power in the church, do not seem to domineer over their brethren, nor to use any authority. For, like as a necessity is imposed upon temporal matters, and not left to the will; and spiritual matters in will, and not in necessity; so shall the dominion of spiritual princes be confirmed in love, and not in bodily fear.' If, therefore, the power of the Princes Electors be from the Pope, because that the imperial power is from him, as our adversaries affirm, How can they prove, that the dignity of the Prince Elector must proceed from the Pope, if it be not needful that the Emperor be confirmed by the Pope? There is a text that saith, The army maketh an Emperor. The gloss saith thereby, He is a right Emperor, before he be confirmed by the Pope. This they of Basil understood very well, who, after the death of

Lodowick, where the Lord of Bannburgher was chief president, made this answer: 'That Emperor, which the Princes Electors shall ordain for us, him will we accept of, although he have no respect unto the Pope.' This appeareth in *Supplemento Urspergensis*. Nay, that which is more, the Pope himself confesseth, that not the empire itself, but the imperial title rested only in him. Pope Adrian the Fourth, in his Epistle to the Archbishops of Ments, Triers, and Cologne, saith: 'The name of the Emperor is from the Pope, but the empire and authority cometh from the Princes Electors.' Hence, then, is confuted that which is said in the twenty-seventh article, since that the Pope hath confirmed the Duke of Bavaria in the dignity of Prince Elector, That then not only the King of Spain, (who is there mentioned) but also the Emperor is bereaved of the power to restore again unto the Palsgrave his hereditary possessions, and the dignity of the Prince Electorship. For, if the Pope hath no power in the affairs of the empire, then shall the Emperor, by his doings, not lose his right, much less any other prince, if he, before the Pope's deed, had any right of suffrage.

I am forced to stop my ears, by reason of that extremely proud and ambitious affront, which is set down in the twenty-eighth article: That although the most puissant Kings of Great Britain and Denmark, or the two illustrious Princes Electors of Saxon and Brandenburg should require of the Emperor that the Palsgrave of the Rhine might be restored again unto his hereditary possessions and dignity of Prince Elector, that they then robbed the state of Rome of the right of its majesty, and did attribute the power of the Princes Electors dignity unto the Emperor. The Pope of Rome doth very falsly attribute that majesty unto himself, which appertaineth to the Emperor, and to the princes of the empire and the states. Very falsly is the Pope of Rome called, here, the fountain and source of the Princes Electors dignities, because that power is sprung out of the council of the German princes. Like as Naclerus saith, Generat. 34. The writer Theodoricus Niemus uses these words: The Princes of Germany have ordained it so. The very same also do other writers affirm. Neither do I deny that it was with the approbation of Pope Gregory the Fifth. Therefore the temporal dignity is not chiefly from the Pope, for not the Pope, but the Princes of the empire do represent the whole body and people of the empire, in whom immediately, as in the subject, the temporal power consisteth.

Nicholas Cusanus, in his third book of the Catholick Concordance, in the fourth chapter, who in my judgment judgeth very well thereof, writing in this manner, saith, "The princes electors, who elected in the place of others, were (in the time of Pope Gregory the Fifth, being a German) ordained of the natural kindred of Otho: and therefore it is not tolerable that the princes electors should have their power of electing from the Pope of Rome; (so that now, unless he consented these should not have it: or, if he pleased, that he would take it from them,) I ask, who hath given the people of Rome power to elect an emperor, but the law of God and nature? For, by way of a voluntary subjection, and consent in precedence, all sorts of governments are well and holy instituted: and afterwards there he setteth down yet

something else: the princes electors that were constituted by the general uniformity of voices, of all Germans and others belonging to the empire, in the time of Henry the Second, had their fundamental power from the general consent of voices of all, who by the law of nature might chuse themselves an emperor, not from the Pope of Rome himself, in whose power it is not to give to every province a king or an emperor when it pleaseth him, and when it doth not please him.'

Lastly, the articles were sealed up with this oath: that the Pope himself, without prejudice to his seat, may not revoke the electorship from the Duke of Bavaria, since that he hath confirmed him in that dignity; nay, that all the prelates of the Romish church are bound with force of arms to maintain the Duke of Bavaria: and yet more, that all those that are of the Romish church, are bound to bring all their force together to maintain the same. So that the Romish clergy, disdaining the prerogative of kings and princes, do very boldly determine and decide those controversies, which arise in the empire, and threaten to force them by war, who are not content with the Pope's sentence; how ill-savourily those things do suit and agree with the Pope and clergy of Rome, is shewed unto us in that famous place of Peter Damianus, who lived in the year 1060; his words in his letter unto the bishop of Firminus are these:

"Like as the Son of God himself did overcome all obstacles of this raging world, not by any proof of vengeance, but by constant patience, and invincible majesty: so fitteth it best that we rather suffer, and patiently endure the world's raging, with humility, than either by taking arms in hand, or requiring wounds with wounds: especially since, that, between the empire and the priesthood, the offices are several; the king shall use the temporal arms, the priest shall put on a spiritual sword, which is the word of God; Paul saith of the princes of this world, 'that he beareth not the sword in vain, being a minister of God, and his revenger in wrath, upon him that doth evil.' King Azarias, because he took upon him the priest's office, was stricken with leprosy: so that priest, which shall take up arms (which is the work of the laity) what deserveth he? If now any man would object, that Pope Leo oftentimes thrust himself into wars, and yet for all that was a just pope: I tell you my opinion. Peter never obtained the apostleship, because he forsook his master; nor David the gift of prophesying, because he defiled another man's bed. Here is not be considered of good and evil things according to the desert of the possessors, but they are to be judged according to their own qualities. Do we read any where that Pope Gregory, who endured so many robberies and pillages of the Longobards, either did or wrote the like; do we read any where, that any of the holy and worthy Popes did ever take up arms to make a war; no, never, in no place; grant then that the laws of the civil magistrate may narrowly sift, pry, and determine any certain question, which arises in the church: or else determine and judge of that, which concerns not the judgment-seat of the civil magistrate, by an edict of the council, or an assembly of divines: to the end that either by the judgment of the magistrate, or

the judicature of the pope, there arise no war, which might be accounted to our shame."

The clergymen of Rome are altogether of another opinion, practising and endeavouring almost nothing else but war, not only with their arms, but also threatening others; and, whilst they are doing this, they are not ashamed to affirm, that they are bound thereunto by the laws of God; let them observe what 'Christ commanded the Apostle Peter, to 'put up the sword into the sheath.' Where hath ever God commanded the clergy, that they should intermeddle in matters of temporal dignities, or should undertake wars, much less that they should blow the trumpet, or beat alarms as they do now? (Have I the desire of dominion, their God) observe diligently I pray you, that bloody oath intended by all the prelates, to the end the fashion of the ancient and holy church might be maintained intire, like as if the fashion of their church now were, as it was wont to be in former times; let us read that which Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, and other writers, who subject the clergy under the power of the temporal; Pope Gregorius Magnus writeth himself unto the Emperor Mauritius these words: 'I, the unworthy servant of your piety:' and a little after he saith yet farther, 'to this end authority is given to me from heaven above all men, that belong to my Lord the Emperor, for piety cause.' Whenas the said Mauritius would have that Pope Gregory should publish a law, which he had made: and this Pope adjudging the same to be unreasonable, and opposing the liberty of the church: he therefore did not blaspheme against the empire, but was obedient unto the command of the Emperor his master, not dissembling to speak his mind and opinion of the Emperor's laws: these are the Pope's own words: 'I, being subject to authority, have sent these laws into several quarters of the world, and, because they are not agreeable to Almighty God, I have communicated the same unto the illustrious lords, by a missive of my own opinion, so that I have fully discharged my duty on both sides: shewing, as I am bound, obedience to the Emperor: and not concealing my opinion in that which concerneth God.'

Here ought we to observe, how cunningly and craftily the college of cardinals observe and aim at the example of the ancient holy church, chiefly in the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh; under which this lurketh, that this Pope Gregory was the very first, who durst ascribe, and take upon himself, the right of the empire: at what time, I pray you, lived this Pope? About the year 1100, is the antiquity whereof they boast: I may affirm, with Tertullian, that this is novelty: what holiness was there in those days, when all manner of factions, cou-senings, frauds, deceits, and villainies had their full swing? And to write much thereof would be too dangerous, and be no honour to Chiristendom: like as the writer of those times affirmeth in the days of the Emperor Henry the Fourth. It is very well known unto all men, what Cardinal Benno hath written and translated of the Pope (although Cardinal Bellarmine judged that the same was written by a Lutheran): In like manner, it is also but too well known by other writers, who have painted out in lively colours this Pope Gregory

even to the life. A certain man, named Orthamus Gratosus, very much addicted to the Romish church, was the first publisher thereof in a book, wherein are contained very many remarkable observations: out of the actions of this Pope Gregory, the college of cardinals, in the nineteen articles, do conclude the Pope's authority, and not out of these actions only, but also of other popes, who have dealt most tyrannically with the empire. One could also hit the cardinals in the teeth, with that which Cardinal Bellarmine, in his second book of the Popes of Rome, saith, in the twenty-ninth chapter, upon the fourth argument, viz. 'That the Christian Emperors have oftentimes been judges of the Popes:' whereto, very subtly he inferred, or answered, 'That these things have been done, but how well they have done the same, and by what right, that they themselves shall answer.'

It is indeed much to be wondered at, that the clergymen are grown to that pass, that they so stoutly attempt that, which all the world hath in abomination, and, with such polluted hands, to lay hold upon the most famous state of the empire. We observe also, how shameless the college of cardinals are, willing that we, from the evil lives and wicked actions of deceased popes, should conclude how great the authority of the Pope is; at least, they need not be so contumelious and arrogant against those emperors, which, in former times, the popes have acknowledged to be themselves servants of the emperors; the Pope also ought to have in consideration, that he, by means of the empire, hath obtained so great riches, and now, by the greatness of his power, and all manner of sensualities, blindeth the eyes of many temporal princes.

How blind are the men of this age, when the sun shineth so bright? How little do they know, or think, what will fall out in the end? He hath got so great treasures from those of the empire, to the end that, he wanting nothing, might give the better lustre unto his religion; now abuseth he these gifts, by driving the empire into a great fear. He is enriched with earthly countries, to the end he should enrich us with the heavenly, and now they serve him to take away our earthly; he is enriched, to the end, that, by his religious care, he might live in great security in the empire; now he careth not for that, although there be trouble raised in the empire, so he may live bravely and lasciviously: this is the reward of perverted liberality; so that for many ages it has been very truly said, 'religion brought forth riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother.'

You props and pillars of the empire (most illustrious emperors, princes electors, and states) tolerate no longer this triumph, and pride of the Romish clergy: you see how boldly they violate the laws of the empire; they limit your established law, and prefer unto you that, which they do but think and invent; leaving unto you the bare name of the empire, but have drawn the majesty thereof long ago to themselves.

What will this work in the end, if you be content any longer, with patience, to behold or look upon the same? Never think that they will omit to increase theirs, and decrease yours: you have heard how they threaten you, and what they intend, as enemies, to prosecute; and

you know, that the abominable deeds, which the Popes have performed against the emperors, do serve them now for very fair examples.

Since then it is not yet too late, take counsel providently, that the Romish cardinals, in the end, may be glad to leave their affronts, and their proud courage may quail; undertake firm and substantial courses, that their dissolute and insolent desire of dominion may be restrained and bridled; then shall the majesty of the empire be preserved; whereunto Almighty God give you his blessing in all your consultations, from whom you have received the possession and government of the empire,

ROBERT EARL OF ESSEX'S GHOST;

SENT FROM ELYSIUM,

TO THE

NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND COMMONALTY OF ENGLAND.

Virtutum Comes Invidia,

Printed in Paradise, 1634. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages.

Nobles, Gentlemen, and Commons,

ALTHOUGH, in this most holy and glorious assembly of angels and saints, in the most high Star-chamber court of heaven, where Almighty God, and his son Christ Jesus, are King and Prince, we, the saints, do neither participate, nor sympathise, of the good or evil conditions of you mortals on earth; yet, seeing it is a part of that glory, that God affordeth us in heaven, to have a measure of knowledge of your condition on earth; and I, particularly, taking knowledge of the miserable and distracted present state of the formerly flourishing realm of England, in the days of my then dread sovereign, now fellow-saint, Queen Elisabeth, of blessed and immortal memory on earth, and in heaven; could do no less, than give you this my sacred declaration, and admonishment, which I send you, by this my blessed genius, written with a pen, made of an angel's pinion, and agreeing with my apology, which I left behind me on earth, in mine own defence, and for the good of my country, after my decease.

The lawful succession of your now King, when I was amongst you on earth, I never questioned, but maintained, and was ever ready to maintain, with dint of my sword, if need had been, his title, against whomsoever offered to question the same, as was, and is well known

to his Majesty. That he was a prudent, learned, and religious educated prince, I also never doubted; but that such a prudent, learned, and religious prince, should be so far misled, by some false-hearted counsellors at home, and fawning foreign ambassadors, from the enemies of God and his gospel, professed in England, to the detriment of the kingdom; that, I say, makes me not a little to marvel, and mourn I should, for my native country, but that here, in heaven, we are not subject to passion.

Upon my certain knowledge, notwithstanding all the fair shew of league and amity, betwixt James, King of Scots, and Philip, King of Spain, the crown of Scotland was no longer safe on King James's head, than whilst my sovereign lady and mistress, Queen Elisabeth, by her valiant men of action, curbed King Philip, and kept him in awe; for, had his ambitious, wicked, and devilish design, of England's invasion, in 1588, taken effect, is there any so childish, to think, that his invasion would have had any period at Barwick? Sure I am, King James had wisdom enough, to know that his crown and kingdom lay then at the stake, in the second place, next unto England. For King James, then of Scotland, made a sweet sonnet, as a monument, and commemoration, of his and our deliverance, from that foreign and godless fleet, as he then termed it; which sonnet, as I then received it, I here present unto your view and consideration:

The nations banded 'gainst the Lord of might,
 Prepar'd a force, and set them to the way:
 Mars dress'd himself in sick and awful plight,
 The like whercof was never seen, they say:
 They forwards came, in monstrous array,
 Both sea and land beset us every where;
 Brags threaten'd us a ruinous decay,
 What came of that? The issue did declare:
 The winds began to toss them here and there,
 The seas began, in foaming waves, to swell;
 The number, that escap'd it, fell them fair,
 The rest were swallowed up in gulfs of hell.
 But how were all these things miraculous done?
 God looks at them, out of his heavenly throne.

[The same sonnet is extant in Latin, by Metellanus, Lord Chancellor of Scotland.]

Matters so standing, the marvel is, that, upon the mature shutting in of the evening of your long summer's day, of Queen Elisabeth's reign, King James lawfully and peaceably succeeding to the crown of England and Ireland, he so suddenly concludes, as it were, an inviolable league with that ambitious King Philip of Spain, that never made league with any king, prince, or state, but for his own end and advantage.

If I were on earth, I know some of you would answer me, King James was a peaceable Prince, and so loved to beat peace and in amity

with other Christian Princes : yea, and it seems, your King himself is very much affected with the very name of peace, alledging, that he hath been a peaceable king from his cradle ; that *beati pacifici* is his happy destined motto ; and, with such like self-pleasing songs, hath, a long time, sung a *requiem* to himself, &c. I must confess, it is a happy thing for Christian and religious kings, princes, and states, to be at peace, in unity, and amity, one with another. But, on the other side, it is an unhappy and dangerous thing to have league or amity with Roman Catholick kings and princes, who are, I say, sworn and professed enemies to God, and his gospel, as was, and is this great Catholick King, Philip, and his Austrian-Castilian family.

When I was a servant to my prince and country on earth, my affection, in nature, was indifferent, *tam Marti, quam Mercurio* ; and I was more inflamed with the love of knowledge, than the love of fame ; which some of your* men of state, and great place, yet living, that know my heart, can bear me witness.

But my noble and religious father†, Walter, Earl of Essex, upon his death-bed, gave me, in precept, three main and weighty matters, viz. First, To serve God, according to his ordinance in his word. Secondly, To obey my prince. Thirdly, to love and serve my country ; unto which he added, to beware of, and to hate all popish superstition and idolatry. All which he religiously enlarged, and pressed unto me ; the more, in regard of my tender, youthful, and unripe years. Which swan-like song of my dear parent took so deep an impression in me, that I, being called by my sovereign, the queen, and, being but a youth, she was pleased to call me her boy, to serve her Majesty, and my country, did the willinger yield, and obey my prince's command, and entered into action.

First, In the year of our Lord, 1585, and the nineteenth of my pupil age, I went, with the Earl of Leicester, my father-in-law, into the Netherlands, where I had the honourable charge of general of the horse, in a fair army ; where I ventured my life, and subjected myself to many kinds of wants, disagreeing with my education and years, &c. which I did, for the honour of my prince and country.

Secondly, In the year 1589, I enterprised my voyage into Portugal, with a poor, distressed, and exiled king, Don Antonio, whom I, many times, with pity, heard repeat, with tears, the story of his oppressions, by Philip King of Spain ; who, by force and tyranny, had usurped his crown of Portugal ; also, considering the enemy against whom I went, an insolent, cruel, and usurping prince, that disturbed the common peace, was a general enemy to the liberty of all Christendom, and, in particular, aspired the conquest of my country ; and the cause I went for, was to deliver the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor, and, by giving the Castilian his handful at home, to free both mine own country, and our confederates, from the fear and danger of his attempts : and, Lastly, a time in which I went, when my eyes, full of disdain, had so lately seen his, falsely called, Invincible Armada sail by our shore ; when all the brave hearts in England boiled, till they

* Henry, Earl of Southampton, &c.

† He died Earl Marshal of Ireland, Ann. 1576.

saw that insolent enemy taught, both to know himself, and value us. And, had the Portuguese risen, and assisted me, I should have gone nigh to have plucked Portugal's crown off the usurper's head, and placed it on the lawful king's head; but they, for fear of Philip, were faithless to Antonio: yet, in that my voyage, what I attempted, to aid the wronged and banished king, and for honour of my prince and country, if you know it not, let your chronicles resolve you.

Thirdly, In the year 1591, I conducted, and was general, of her Majesty, my sovereign's succours, to Henry the French King; a prince, who, for his admirable valour, and often fighting with his own hands, against his enemies, was not only the most famous, but the most renowned and redoubted Captain of Christendom: and the end of that my service, was, to free the maritime parts of Normandy from the hands of the league and power of the Spaniard, that, thereby, he, our enemy, should find less succour, or favour, in those seas, &c. This, also, was done, for the honour of my prince and country.

Fourthly, In the year 1596, I undertook my Spanish voyage to Cadiz, where, not only I soon seized on, sacked, and burnt the town, and enriched my followers and soldiers, but we burnt his best shipping, and brought away his ordnance, and some ships, destroying his sea provisions; yea, put him to such charge and loss, as he, shortly after, played bankrupt with all his creditors, &c. And this, likewise, I did, for the honour of my prince and country.

Fifthly, In the year 1597, my Spanish voyage towards the Terceras was intended, with her Majesty's leave, and, by her command; for Fayall, to assail the Adelantado there, and thither I shaped my course; and, had it been prosperous and fortunate, I had made my sovereign such an absolute queen of the ocean, and disarmed, and disabled the enemy at sea, as that she might either have forced him to any conditions of peace, or made war on him, to her infinite advantage, and his utter ruin.

But that my design was fatally frustrated, by violent and long tempests, which took us in the height of forty-six degrees, which scattered our fleet, disabled, and almost drowned most of our principal ships; and, when we could no longer bear it up against the wind, drove us back upon our own coast, and, to what a desperate case my own ship was brought, there witnesses were enough; my attempts and endeavours were never the less, my danger and endurance of hardness the more, &c. and all for the honour of my prince and country.

When Philip, King of Spain, that mortal enemy of my prince and country, who had made many attempts and assaults upon us, failed, and was frustrated in all; then he begged of the Pope my Sovereign's kingdom of Ireland, and sent his bastard brother, Don John d'Aquila, to take possession of it.

But this messenger, a viceroy in his conceit, was soon sent back with an English flea in his Spanish ear, that made such a buzzing in his head, that, either with that, or else by a Spanish fig, the good Don, discontentedly, departed this life, in short time after his return into Spain.

At length, and it was my last voyage, by command of my Sovereign, I was made, and sent lord-general into Ireland of all her Majesty's forces; and there, when I had begun to subjugate those head-strong rebels, and brought their ring-leader, that notable rebel Tyrone, upon his knees: I was forced, abruptly, to return back into England, and my commission was conferred upon another nobleman*, my inferior, who was sent over to wade against those rebels, after I had broken the ice beforehand; and he had the honour, happily, to perform, what I had carefully, and painfully, projected and intended. In the interim, the fatal thread of my mortal life was almost spun, and my glass nigh run through; my enemies laying many heinous crimes to my charge, and, therewith abusing my sovereign's ears, and incensing her sacred Majesty against me.

But, beloved mortals, it is not my meaning, neither would I have you expect it, to touch the injury of the times, in that my latter time, nor the state-faction of men in place, my then enemies: I forbear to touch also, how, by the machinations of men, my gracious Sovereign was forced to sign the hastening of my death: For, before my head was severed from my shoulders, (with which stroke my immortal soul was separated from my mortal body) I forgave them all, and left my cause to God, to whom vengeance is due; and certainly, my God hath been thoroughly avenged of them all, my enemies, to their dishonour and disgrace upon earth; yea, before men and angels. And all was but like an impetuous storm, to hasten my arriving in the harbour of heaven: Here, where there is no room for revenge, nor ought else but holy love; which hath moved me to send you, of my *quondam* country, this my declaration or discourse, call it what you will; wherein, I list not neither to meddle with the *arcana imperii* of your king and state, further than shall beseem a zealous patriot, that tendereth still, and wisheth the welfare and flourishing state of his once dear and native country.

And now, well-beloved Englishmen, in the premisses I have given you a brief account of my life, and, as it were, an epitome of my time-spending on earth: In which employments, I impaired my hereditary estate, lost my dear and only † brother, the half arch of my house, and buried also many of my nearest and dearest friends; subjected myself to the rage of the sea's violence, general plagues, famine, and all kind of wants; discontentments of undisciplined and unruly multitudes, and reception of all events; and all, for the honour and renown of my gracious Prince, and dear country, keeping in mind my father's charge: *Sic tota Britannia testis.*

Now, beloved mortals, let me come more nearly to counsel and advise with you: First, That the Spanish King's revengeful humour was insatiable, appeared, when, in my time, Anno 1597, when he came newly out of a trance, which was thought would have been his last swoon, he asked (the first word that he spoke) whether the Adclantado were gone for England; and, if remorse of conscience would have quenched his thirst of revenge, he would not, a little before his death,

* Charles, Lord Mountjoy.

† Mr. Walter Devereux, slain at the siege of Rouen, 1591.

in his devotions, being all mass, have vowed to be revenged on England, though he sold all those candlesticks upon the altar before him.

Secondly, That all treaties with Spain (an idolatrous and irreligious nation) were both unsafe and dangerous, I proved by unanswerable arguments in my Apology, pages 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. And, how injurious the zealous peace-makers of those times were to the state, I proved, pages 35, 36. How necessary, gainful, and honourable it was for the state of England to have wars with Spain, I proved pages 36, 37, and so to the end of my Apology. But some of you haply will now say, That, now, the times are changed; and, with the times, the Spaniard's mind is altered. Indeed, I remember the old poet said,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis.

But that is quite contrary in the Spaniard: For, although old King Philip be dead, yet there is a young (jesuited) Philip sprung from his loins. It is an old and homely proverb, That, which is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh; but it is a true and observable saying, and in that house above all others. For, as I told you in my Apology*, 'Whenever the old King Philip should die, his son's blood would be as hot, and hotter than his father's, and his humour of ambition was like to be greater, as having been bred in *domo regnatrice*, and his mind swoln, *vetere & insita Austriacæ familiæ superbia*.' So as, in the Spaniards seeming peaceable proffers, there is no hope, &c.

Nay, if it chance there be infancy, or idiotism, found in any heir or offspring of that race, the state of Spain are politick enough, as being sworn thereunto (though by never so dishonourable and degenerate machinations) to promote the enlargement of his western monarchy. And certainly, he having of late years, since the death of my Sovereign Lady Elisabeth, gotten such a footing in Christendom, by dispossessing of and incroaching upon some princes and states, their ancient and lawful inheritance, principedoms, and territories, by which means he hath, as it were, begirt France with his garisons: Is, I say, his ambition thereby lessened? Surely, no; but, as his conquests are enlarged, so his ambition and malice are abundantly increased towards other Christian princes and states: Witness his late cruel and bloody attempts, and perpetual designs to his universal monarchy; and the progress of his conquests, with the help of his confederates of the (terrestrial) omnipotent Austrian house; in Italy, the Grisons country, Switzerland, Bohemia, Germany, and I say, the frontiers of flourishing France, since the death of Henry the Fourth, the French King, of famous memory. And, in all these places, he and the Emperor, his confederate and cousin, do labour to extirpate the gospel, and persecute the professors thereof, even unto the death.

It would be known, what King James saith to all this; who is

defender of the faith, and head of all the united kings and princes of that religion in Christendom.

There is here, in heaven, secret intelligence, that he, not contenting himself with making that league with Spain, hath also entertained a treaty of marriage for the Prince his only son, with the daughter of Spain: And certainly, the very angels have blushed at this news, that your king, who is of so profound judgment, learning, and knowledge in divine matters, should ever assent to treat of matching his only son, with a wife of a contrary religion; especially, with an imp sprung from such an incestuous generation, as is that of Austria and Spain, or Spain and Austria, chuse you whether, which is unanswerably proved by one of your most acute and ingenious * writers. Without doubt, King James cannot but know in his conscience, that it is directly against the revealed will of God in holy writ, for Christian princes and people that profess the gospel, to match with Roman Catholics; which made himself match with Denmark's daughter, a protestant princess, and afterwards he matched his only daughter with the Count Palatine, a protestant prince; witness also his Majesty's own pen, in Basilicon Doron.

How comes it then to pass, that he is so misled, as not only to entertain this treaty with Spain, but suffer himself to be so baffled and abused, as that, about the said treaty, he hath wasted the treasure of his kingdom, in a far greater measure than his royal predecessor Queen Elisabeth, my gracious sovereign, did to maintain wars against Spain, and all his adherents. I fear, I fear, you of his nobility and council (unto whom it belongs) are not so faithful, true-hearted, and stout, as religiously to advise, and counsel your king, as you ought, not to suffer himself to be so abused, his kingdom to be well-nigh ruined, and his subjects impoverished.

Oh! the flourishing state of your fairy-land, in the days of yore, whilst I lived on earth, under the government of that glorious Queen, of eternal memory: The christian world did admire her government, and your flourishing state; nay the very Mahometan † monarchs did admire and acknowledge the same.

But, now, the case is altered, and I can hardly forbear to weep, to see what a piteous petition that glorious queen, my now fellow Saint Elisabeth, lately received from you the commons of England: But thereof I say no more, considering she, according to her commission from the highest power, answered that your petition.

Let me now admonish you all, of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty: First, seriously and yet submissively, to exhort and dissuade your king, to leave off, and absolutely dissolve all treaties of matches, or whatsoever else, with that perfidious and dangerous Spanish nation; and, in lieu of the Spanish match, to promote the English match. What, though his Majesty's treasure be drawn deep into, the poor countryman by these late hard years be impoverished, the merchandise

* Sandys's Relation of the West Parts, Pages 26, 27.

† Speed, in Hist. Pag. 852. 853.

and trading of your kingdom much decayed, &c. Yet, if your sumptuous buildings, your surfeiting diets, your prodigality in garments, your infinite plate, and costly furniture in your houses, and the pride of your wives, especially, be considered, England cannot be thought so poor. Can you exceed all nations in Christendom in wasteful vanities? And, can you not arm yourselves against one nation, which you have ever beaten, for your necessary defence? Was Rome so brave a state, as that the very ladies, to supply the common treasure, and to maintain the wars, despoiled themselves of their costly jewels and rich ornaments? And, is England become so base a state, as that the people therein will not bestow some part of their superfluous expences, to keep themselves from conquest and slavery? (The only end of all Spain's treaties: Witness their treaty of peace in 88, when, even at that instant, their mighty navy came to invade us.) Did the godly kings, and religious people, which you may read of in the Old Testament, to maintain the wars against the enemies of God, sell the ornaments of the temple, and things consecrated to holy uses? and, will ye, that have as holy and as warrantable a cause of war, spare those things that you have dedicated to your idle and sensual pleasures? Could your nation in those former ages, when the country was far poorer than now it is, levy armies, maintain wars, achieve great conquests in France, and make their powerful arms known as far as the Holy Land? And is this so degenerate an age, as you will not be able to defend your own land? No, no, I hope there is yet left some seed of that ancient virtue: Remember with what spirit and alacrity the gentlemen of England did contribute, and put themselves voluntarily into action, in my time on earth. And, doubtless, there will ever be found some Valerii, who, so the state may stand and flourish, will not care, though they leave not wherewith to bury themselves; though other-some bury their money, not caring in what estate they leave the state.

You had a queen, in my time on earth, who was ever open-handed to men of desert, yet never wasteful in her private expences; but maintained armies and garisons, not a few, a well-rigged navy, assisted and lent money to her neighbouring states. And, why will ye doubt but with your seasonable counsel, in a parliamentary course, the ancient and laudable course of England, your king will rather sell his plate, and jewels in the Tower, which in my time were of inestimable value, if yet they be not sold, nor given away, rather than his people shall be undefended? And, ye his people, I hope will turn your gold and silver coats, into coats of mail, or iron jacks; and your silver plate, into iron corslets of plate; rather than your sovereign and country shall be unserved. But, what need all this? A free and chearful contribution to the wars, according to your abilities, will serve the turn. And so, oh noble prince, and valiant people, agree to go on, the one to send forth, the other to lead on God's armies, to fight his battles, against his and your enemies; lest they suddenly surprise you unawares, by some new invasion; and remember, that the Almighty, as he is a God of peace, in the conscience of his elect; so is he a man of

war to his enemies, even so his Majesty hath expressed himself in holy writ.

Again, in any wise beware of disuniting yourselves from the United States of the Netherlands; for it will be to your infinite disadvantage so to do: But rather, assist, cherish, and hearten them? They are the best confederates you have. Remember, in what stead they stood you, in that memorable year 88. And they, being firmly knit unto you, are of more use unto you, than all the friends you have, or can have in Christendom. In my time on earth, they were able, upon my certain knowledge, to find sixty or eighty-thousand fighting soldiers, three-hundred ships of war, besides an infinite number of transporting vessels, and commodious ports, that are but a days sailing from the very heart of England: Since my time on earth, they are increased in men, in ammunition, in shipping, and in wealth; and which should make the knot of unity more strong and fast with you, they were, and are of the same true religion, which you profess: And moreover, now, which should not be of least consideration, with your king and you: They are, of late years, harbourers of the exiled princes, his Majesty's children, who are beaten out of their lawful inheritance by Spain and Austria.

And, verily, were it not that my condition here, I say, were free from all passions, my very heart would bleed to think of the deplorable state of Christendom; how drunk those two houses of Spain and Austria have made themselves, in the blood of Christians, professors of Christ's gospel; and the very angels do wonder to see how they are suffered to go on in their inveterate malice, and furious rage, against God's church, and that other christian princes do not stop the current of their fury: Especially, that our king, who is a professor of the gospel, and faith's great defender on earth, is so backward in the business.

Which considered, it is your parts, especially that are of his Majesty's council and nobility, with faithful hearts to persuade, and stir him up, not to let the lion, in his princely breast, any longer to sleep and slumber, but to awake and rouse up himself, and to go forth against the Romish wolves, and Spanish foxes, who have devoured so many of Christ's sheep, and laid his vineyard so waste: yea, the blood of the saints doth continually cry at heaven's gates for vengeance.

To draw to an end, I will not cease to intercede to the Almighty, my ever glorious God, that he never denounce the curse against your king, or you his nobles, which he once in his word denounced against Meroz, &c.

My conclusion still is, and shall be: *Justissimum vis Bellum quibus necessarium, et pia Arma quibus nullum nisi in armis spes est.* And for an *ultimum Vale*, as in my Apology, I advised to remember, how Bernardine Mendoza, the then ambassador of Spain, spent his time here in England: So, I now advise you, remember how your late Spanish ambassadors have spent their times, and behaved themselves here in England, &c.

The peace of God, which passeth all (earthly) understanding be with you, and dwell in your hearts.

My declaration's ended, I must no longer stay,
Because heav'n's cornets summon me away :
The blessed choir of heaven I do hear,
Tuning their voices to th' Almighty's ear.

Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah.

A Postscript, or a Second part of Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost.

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of England.

THRICE beloved mortals, I being still studious of your welfares ; and having obtained leave of the Almighty, I am now to give unto you, and commend unto your consideration, a catalogue, and commemoration, of such cruel plots, as were practised, in my time, on earth, by the King and State of Spain, against the Queen and state of England : Wherein, I will not meddle with practises and cruelties to other nations ; and, therefore, I omit to tell you, how far their cruelties extended to the poor naked Indians in America ; though, I remember, whilst I was on earth, I have seen a book, as well in English, as in Spanish and Latin, intituled, ' The Cruelties and Tyrannies of the Spanish colony, perpetrated in the West-Indies, commonly called the New-found World, written in the Castilian tongue, by the Reverend Bartholomew de las Casas, a friar of the order of St. Dominick, and bishop of the royal town, called Chiapa ; serving as a warning to the twelve United-Provinces of the Low-Countries : Translated into English, and printed, as I take it, in the twenty-fifth year of the happy reign of that virgin empress, Queen Elisabeth, my gracious sovereign.' The lamentable relation whereof, if you would particularly know, I wish you would have recourse to the said book. And, of their cruelties and tyrannies, exercised by their arch-tyrannous general, Duke d'Alva, towards the Netherlanders, if you know them not, look but into their chronicles : And, for their plots and practices towards England, before my time, look but into your own chronicles.

But, before I come to my catalogue, I must commend unto your consideration, when I was but an infant, there came a certain bull from Pius Quintus, that impious Pope of Rome, against Queen Elisabeth ; the copy of which bull is, also, to be seen in your chronicles ; but the copy of her sacred Majesty's answer unto the said bull,

because you have not else-where seen it, as most worthy your reading, and observation, I here insert it :

The Lord that reigns on high, in heaven's throne,
 Doth kingdoms rule below ; 'tis he alone
 That earth doth govern, with high thundering might,
 And moderates the staff of kingdoms right :
 'Tis he that guides, with his Almighty name,
 The wheel of all the universal frame :
 'Tis he, that kings anointed, and elect,
 And sacred captains strongly will protect.
 Why should this bull-head bishop, therefore, full
 Of rage, against me roar, with brazen bull,
 To pluck me from my sacred seat and throne,
 To out-root the plant, which Christ himself hath sown ?
 Why doth this Pius seek, with impious guilt,
 To pull down that which God himself hath built ?
 Christ me anointed, and, anoint, I hope,
 Will keep me from the jaws of this proud Pope ;
 His powerful hand hath kept me yet from harm,
 Nor will the Lord make short his out-stretch'd arm.
 If God be on my side, why doth this Popish wonder
 Seek to affright me with his beastly thunder ?
 Why doth this new-born giant seek to ride
 Above the clouds, with his prodigious pride ?
 'Gainst heaven, why doth this Nimrod make new wars,
 And, with Jehovah, breed these impious jars ?
 Pius, this anchor of thy Peter's boat
 Is broke, thy hope and faith do float.
 Ye, in whose hands, the Almighty God ordains,
 To put the people's, and the kingdom's reins,
 Do not yourselves, and people, bring,
 Under the yoke of this vile barbarous king.
 Away with him that doth for scepter fight,
 And royal crown, that is not bishop's right :
 What, must the Pope so many states devour ?
 'Tis not priest's part to use the carnal power ;
 To make these madding bulls, fits not their names,
 And set on fire these hot rebellious flames.
 Their sword the word should be, the word's interpretation
 Their key should be ; this is the foundation,
 Whereon Christ's saints do fight, such men Christ's sword do wear,
 Such do his holy keys and standard bear.
 Oh ! Kings, the father's blessed son, then, kiss,
 The King of kings, the head of heads, he is ;
 Who serves not him, not reigns ; a shadow vain
 And cypher is ; learn this all by my reign :
 He'll never fail you, whom a woman bore ;
 Away with Popes, to them set ope the door ;

Set wide the gate, shut forth these new-made kings,
 Let in the Lord, which, with him, justice brings.
 Dear England, my own bowels, daughter, mother,
 Fear not this bulling Pius, or such other.
 What have I done, that thou shouldst angry be?
 Oh! England, 'cause thou'rt happy, hat'st thou me?
 'Cause God, by me, so many gifts hath given,
 And I, these gifts, on earth, God loath'd in heave
 Why do my English love the Egyptian pot?
 Why looks on Sodom back the wife of Lot?
 Whilst that my sister was at Romish call,
 There was a stage and scene most tragical;
 Religion was corrupted, all your rites
 Divine were stain'd, faith wrapp'd in error's night;
 Home-jars, and strange, my muse now shall not shew,
 Even I, myself, drank cups of gall with you.
 Now manna rains from heaven, heavenly food,
 Now floweth peace and joy, and every good;
 He, that feeds ravens, makes my lillies flourish,
 Hairs of my head, and diadem doth nourish:
 Judah's strong lion keeps our lion's nest,
 The Romish Leo's but a fearful beast;
 Fear ye the ensigins of a mitred priest?
 Can we, with sword, keys, club, be e'er oppress'd?
 Rather thank Christ, pray him, that he all evil
 Would resist, all ambushes of the devil;
 Double your prayers to Christ, that he would deign,
 T' assure your Good, and let no Rhombus reign;
 Double your prayers for church, and purest faith,
 Pour forth your prayers for Queen Elisabeth.

I have inserted this answer of Queen Elisabeth, not only for the worth of it (though I hold it worthy to be written in letters of gold;) nor will I say, that Philip, King of Spain, was an instigator of Pius, Pope of Rome, to send that cursed bull: But it was plain, and more than probable, that that bull was the ground, which set on fire the hearts of her popish Romish subjects to rise in rebellion against her: And, sure I am, that Spain soon backed them, and suborned them in their rebellion, and cruel practices, against her sacred person, and flourishing state; witness the bead roll of their cruel practices here following:

In the year of our blessed Saviour 1583, and twenty-fifth of Queen Elisabeth's reign, Francis Throckmorton, being solicited by Bernardine Mendoza, the then Spanish ambassador ledger, lying in London, undertook a most dangerous design, against his dread sovereign and native country; which was to bring in a foreign, Spanish, army, and to alter religion, with alienation of the crown and state. And, for the charges of which attempt, the said Mendoza promised,

that the King, his master, would bear half the charge of the enterprise.

In the next year, viz. 1584, William Parry, as he named himself, being instigated by Benedicto Palmio, and Christofero de Salazar, secretary to the catholick King Philip, undertook to murder her sacred Majesty, and one Hannibal Codreto, a Spanish priest, approved the same diabolical design.

In the year 1586, Babington and Ballard, and their fellows, conspired with the aforesaid Mendoza, to betray the land to a Spanish invasion: Which being discovered, they enter into a new resolution, to kill the Queen; whereof they were prevented.

But, Philip of Spain seeing that all former attempts failed, in the year 1588, he set forwards his long premeditated invasion of England, sending a mighty armada, which he termed the Invincible Navy, meaning then, as it were, to devour England at a bit; but he found so many bones in the bit, that, in attempting to swallow it, they stuck so fast in his throat, that he was the worse for it, every day of his life after.

This great, noble, and invincible army, as pope Sixtus termed it, and terror of Europe, as the papals both term it, and took it to be, consisting of one-hundred and thirty-four sail of lofty towering ships, besides galleys, galleasses, and galleons; threatening, as it were, the heavens, and, spreading in the wind their flags, streamers, and ensigns, seemed to darken even the sun; and were furnished with this provision following:

Bullets, for great shot, twenty-two thousand; powder, forty-thousand two-hundred quintals, every quintal an hundred weight; lead, for bullets, one-thousand quintals; match, ten-thousand two-hundred quintals; musquets, and calievers, seven-thousand; partizans, and halberts, one-thousand; besides murdering pieces, double cannon, and field-pieces for camp, and store of mules, horses, and asses; so as they were sufficiently provided by sea. And, for land, bread and bisquet was baked, and wine laid aboard, for six months provision; bacon, sixty-thousand five-hundred quintals; cheese, three-thousand; besides other flesh, rice, beans, pease, oil, and vinegar; with twelve thousand pipes of fresh water: store they had of torches, lanthorns, and lamps; canvas, hides, and lead, to stop leaks; butcherly knives, iron fetters, shackles, wire-whips, whips, with spur-rowels, and other torturing instruments; intended to torment us, old and young, all such, I mean, as would not suddenly submit to the Spanish Yoke.

This mighty navy, thus prepared as you have heard, loosed anchor from Lisbon, the nineteenth of May, 1588, and made to the Groyne in Galicia, it being the nearest haven to England; whence, I say, hoising sails, with great hope, and no less pride, they bent their course hitherward; but suddenly the heavens, hating such hostile actions, poured down revenge, by a sore and unexpected tempest, which drove the Duke of Medina, the chief general, back again into the Groyne; and divers

others were dispersed and driven upon the coast of Bayonne in France, and there perished. Not long after, their navy, nevertheless, appeared in the narrow seas, betwixt England and France, in manner of a half-moon (the arch-enemy of Christ's ensign) where our English fleet gave them such an encounter, the God of the main ocean fighting for us in the narrow seas, that we soon defeated and dispersed that invincible navy, and made it vincible.

Now, because the subject I am upon is a catalogue of Spanish cruelties, I would fain know, whether there was ever invented a greater cruelty towards and against a famous and flourishing state and kingdom: Surely, in my judgment, which did concur with the judgment of the Christian world, there was never such and so great a cruelty hatched under heaven, as that Spanish invasion in 1588, our deliverance from which hath made the year ever since famous and memorable: Upon my knowledge, when I was on earth, there was a day set a-part, and commanded by my Sovereign to be kept holy, for that our great and miraculous deliverance from the jaws of the Spaniards; and I wish, that your unthankfulness, in the neglect of celebrating that day holy, be not required at some of your hands; and, certainly, those reverend divines, that do never cease, in their publick prayers, to give God thanks for that your great deliverance, do shew their zeal not a little, and deserve double commendation; yea, and let my posterity no longer live and prosper, than they have thankful hearts to God for that general deliverance; and let the posterity of all religious people say, Amen.

For all men and women, that would not have bowed the knee to Spanish Baal, had then, doubtless, been put to the sword; their children, now, haply, living men and women, had been tossed at the pikes ends, or else their brains dashed out by some ill-faced dons or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that time of England's deliverance: and, amongst others, I remember, reverend and religious Theodore Beza, of pious memory, wrote a sweet and pathological poem gratulatory of the aforesaid tragicomedy in Latin, inscribed to the Queen my Sovereign, and sent unto me to deliver unto her royal hands; the which is thus excellently rendered into English:

Spain's King with navies huge the seas bestrew'd,
 T'augment, with English crown, his Spanish sway;
 Ask you, What caus'd this proud attempt? 'Twas lewd
 Ambition drove, and avarice led the way.
 It's well; ambition's windy puff lies drown'd
 By winds, and swelling hearts, by swelling waves.
 It's well; the Spaniards, who the world's vast round
 Devour'd, devouring sea most justly craves.
 But thou, O Queen, for whom winds, seas, do war,
 O thou, sole glory of the world's wide mass,
 So reign to God still from ambition far,
 So still, with bounteous aids, the good embrace;
 That thou England long, long may England thee enjoy,
 Thou terror of all bad, thou good men's joy.

O let the remembrance of that time have an eternal being in the minds and mouths of men.

I have been somewhat long in the commemoration of this part of my catalogue of cruelties, I now proceed to the residue, as followeth:

In the year 1594, Roderick Lopez, doctor of physick, a Portuguese by birth, and entertained physician in ordinary to Queen Elisabeth, being instigated by Christofero de Moro, a special counsellor of King Philip's, covenanted to take away the life of her sacred Majesty, by a poisoned potion; for the performance of which deed of darkness, the said De Moro promised him fifty thousand crowns, and he had earnest given him, a jewel of gold, with a diamond and ruby of rich value; but that plot was detected by God's providence, and Lopez received condign punishment.

In the year 1595, Edmund York and Richard Williams, being set on work by one Stefano Ibarra, King Philip's secretary at Brussels, who promised them the reward of four thousand crowns, undertook to kill the Queen by some means or other; but that also was detected by the vigilant eye of the English state, and they received the reward of their deserts.

When King Philip saw all his practices still frustrated, he, as audacious as ambitious, began to tamper with myself, and, by his instruments, sought out me as a fit man to betray both my sacred Sovereign, and dear country. I forbear to trouble your ears with the latitude of his large bombasted promises of reward unto me to effect the same; but, in lieu of accepting his cursed proposition and offer, I vowed a further revenge of him; and, with my Sovereign's leave, and God's assistance, I had performed what I vowed and intended, &c.

The last publick attempter in my time, which in no wise I must forget, was one Edward Squire, who, being taken prisoner in Spain, was set on work by Walpole the jesuit, and other officers of King Philip, to murder her sacred Majesty and myself; which he undertook, and brought over a new-invented Castilian confection, first, to poison the pommel of her Majesty's saddle, and then the pommels of a chair, wherein I usually sat at sea; both which he failed not to attempt; but, by God's goodness, his cruel and treasonable attempts proved also successless, and this proper Squire had the reward of his devilish practices.

Of all these cruel Spanish practices I was more than an ordinary witness; and, these premisses considered, What treason was ever attempted against her Majesty's sacred person, or flourishing state, but the Spaniard was at one end or other of it? Nay, since my time on earth, and the death of her Majesty, that horrid gunpowder-plot, hatched in hell, was it not consulted on, and approved of, in the Spanish King's court? Look well to the confessions of the traitors. And did not King Philip promise an hundred thousand crowns towards the expedition of that damnable deed of darkness? Look into your own chronicles.

Now, all the premisses well weighed and considered, certainly, the Turk ought not to be more hated and abhorred by Christendom, than the Spaniard deserveth to be detested by England; &c. *Discite, O mortales.*

Iterum in Christo valete.

* * POPE JOAN, intended to follow here, is, on account of its length, obliged to be postponed to begin Vol. IV. EDITOR.

A DISCOURSE*

OF

THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE, HENRY,

LATE PRINCE OF WALES.

Written, Anno 1636,

BY SIR CHARLES CORNWALLIS, KNIGHT,

Sometimes Treasurer of his Highness's House.

London, Printed for John Benson, and are to be sold at his shop, in St. Dunstan's Church-yard, 1641. Containing thirty-six pages in quarto.

To the High and Mighty Charles, Prince of Great Britain, &c.

Most Gracious Prince,

BESIDES my particular zeal, there is a natural interest in this ensuing discourse to your Highness, as being the hopeful heir of this kingdom of Great Britain, and the true inheritance of your noble uncle's virtues (Prince Henry) as of his fortunes. The eyes of all men are upon you, in full view of those sweet graces of nature and ingenious disposition to goodness, which all admire. If you shall be pleased to add these examples and precepts to those of your royal father, taking them hand in hand, they will lead you, in your tender years, in the fair continuance of honour and virtue; and then his Majesty, your royal father, may for many years (for which we hope and pray) be a living mirror unto you of piety, wisdom, and justice, and

* This is the 185th article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

all other regal endowments, fit for so great a dignity, to which you are born.

Glad I am, that it was my chance to meet with this part of treasure, truly gathered by that worthy knight deceased, treasurer to your Highness's uncle; and great cause I have to rejoice, that by this (through your gracious acceptance) I have the opportunity, humbly to tender, with this, my prayers at your Highness's feet, for your long and happy prosperity. So prays

Your Highness's most humbly devoted,

J. B.

IN this most illustrious Prince may most clearly be discerned, that God's judgments are only known to himself, and his thoughts and determinations unsearchable; for, having so framed and fashioned him, as his most rare parts, in youth, gave so many presages of his becoming to his Divine Majesty (from whom he received them) an honour and glory, to the world a wonder, and to the people of these kingdoms an exceeding happiness; yet was he pleased, in the spring of his years, and of the hope had of him, to take him to himself, and to deprive the world of him: neither could the reasons of his short life (so far as the eyes of man could discern) grow either out of neglect, or want of performance of duties to God, or of obedience to his parents; the observance of which commandment only hath the enlarging of time upon this earth annexed unto it. For, in the first, it cannot be denied but he was exceedingly observant, never failing to sacrifice unto God the first of his actions; to continue in them with all demonstration of reverence, without any diversion or distraction; to cherish such, in whom he found ability to teach, and piety to express in life the fruits of their doctrine; to resolve so far to become immutable in the religion he professed, as, long before his end, with solemn protestations he vowed, that he would never join in marriage with a wife of a different faith; and had, besides, a determination, if longer he had lived, to have made choice of a chaplain of his own, a man in years, grave in divinity, rarely learned, and of great discretion, experience, and wisdom; by whose advice, in all matters spiritual, and tending to the rectifying of his soul, he intended to have received a continual direction.

Of the second, to speak not by hearsay, but of my own knowledge: howsoever some moths and mice of court, in that time (not enemies to him in particular, but maligners of true virtue, and only friends to their own ambitions and desires) to possess the ears and opinions of princes, had in that particular traduced him; so true and sincere he was, both in profession and execution of all duties and obedience, and bore so natural and filial a reverence and respect to the King his father, that, although sometimes out of his own inclination, or the incitation and encouragement of others, he repaired to the court, and moved the

King in some things, either concerning the commonwealth, his own particular interest, or that of others; yet, with the least word, countenance, or sign given him of his Majesty's disallowance, he would instantly desist from further pursuit of it, and return either with satisfaction, in regard that he understood it to be disagreeing with his Majesty's pleasure, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor work, gave so much as any semblance of being displeased, or discontented. Nay, which is more, so truly was he affected to the pleasing and satisfying of the King, his father, in all things, that, some good time before his death, he made unto myself a solemn protestation, that, to the end he might not in any thing be either displeasing, or give the least distaste unto his Majesty, he would, from thenceforth, utterly remove his thoughts from all affairs whatsoever, that should not particularly concern himself, his own estate, or the government of his household.

In this discourse of that memorable prince, I will forbear to speak of his infancy, or youngest years, although I have heard by such as did then attend him, the same did most presage his ensuing virtues. My purpose and desire is to deliver nothing but verities known to myself, not things received by tradition from others.

In the first spring of his years of understanding, the King, his father, committed unto him the disposing of the lands and revenues assigned to him, and the government of his household; for the administration whereof his Majesty appointed unto him certain special officers, in the number of whom myself (being not long before returned out of Spain, where I served the King divers years, as his ambassador) was constituted treasurer of his house.

The place gave me occasion continually to attend him; and the especial favour, that I afterwards found with him, not only the means to observe his actions, but to become particularly acquainted with the most of his thoughts.

My first step into his favour and especial trust grew out of that, which, with some other princes, would have cast me down either into perpetual disgrace, or at least into a temporary distaste and dislike hardly recoverable. I so much admired his judicious parts in so unripe an age, and discerned in him so great a will to know, and so noble and rare a disposition to give ear to advertisements, that, out of the duty of my place, and extraordinary affection to himself, taking hold of some fit occasion and opportunity, I adventured to make proof, whether he would endure advice, or advertisement reprehensive.

Young princes, left to their own wills, and great men, that are set upon the highest stage of worldly greatness, and lulled in the lap of fortune, do rarely endure a reproving voice, especially from those of a lower form.

I took the occasion from a then general supposal, or, at least, suspicion of a little too much straightness of his hand in rewarding, and of some errors in his actions; but did so tenderly tread upon those grounds, and with so retiring a foot, as occasioned a discovery, from himself, of a desire to receive and have a full sight of them, before I pulled off the masque, wherewith I had covered them,

In conclusion, I delivered them in substance plainly, but in words soft and respectful (as to such a prince became me) kings and princes being to be treated with, with words of silk, not of iron.

To the first, he gave answers satisfactorily.

To the other, excusively.

But, what were the fruits succeeding, to his ever enduring honour, truth inforceth me to publish, that I ever after, in my own particular, found myself exceedingly ingreated in his favour, and that those few things that were erred became reformed.

To this so rare a disposition, which being by a prince entertained, cannot but make him both scient of the offices appertaining to his high estate, and in time also, as good as great, which, in one born to govern, of all things is the most desirable, is to be added another virtue in one of regal power, as valuable, and not much less necessary: So very close he was and faithful a keeper of whatsoever secret was disclosed unto him, as it was never known to any, that ever he discovered any one word in that kind delivered unto him.

Apt he was to hear and desirous to receive advertisements and advices, by any in whom he discerned knowledge gained by learning, or abilities won out of time, and experience to give them, neither did he take them in Transitu, as in the old testament they celebrated the passover; nor as a man receiveth his cloke to put about him, not within him; but gave both time to the deliverers to relate them, and leisure to himself to consider and digest them.

Counsels are to be chewed not swallowed; he would therefore unrip every seam of them by interrogations used by himself, and receive reasons and resolutions by those that offered them, until, by mature debate and consultation, which are the true foils that give clearness and assuredness to counsels, he had both perfected and made them solid and fit for his use, whensoever occasion should be offered.

In the government of his houshold in years so very young, he gave examples imitable to all other princes.

His family was ample, as that which consisted of few less than five-hundred, many of them young gentlemen, born to great fortunes; in the prime of their years when their passions and appetites were most strong, and their powers and experiences, to temper and subject them to reason, most weak, his judgment, his grave and princely aspect, gave temper to them all, his very eye served for a commandment, and more and better service have I noted to be done by the very looks of him, than by sharp reprehensions of some other princes: If any questions or quarrels were moved amongst his servants, he would give a stop and stay to them, at the very beginning, by referring them to some such of his principal officers, as he thought to be most scient in matters of that nature, and best did know to give just compensation to the injured, and reproof to them that should be found to have offered the wrong; so as, in so numerous a family, there was not so much as any blows given, or any countenance of quarrel or debate between any.

Plenty and magnificence were the things that in his house he especially affected, but not without such a temper as might agree with the

rules of frugality and moderation; he caused to be set down in writing unto him the several heads of all his annual charges, the ordinary expence of his house and his stables, the charge of his apparel and wardrobe, his rewards and all such other things, as yearly were to be issued out of his coffers, and, comparing them with his annual revenue, did so judiciously fashion and proportion them by shortening what he found superfluous, and increasing what was wanting, and too short in any of them, as he reduced them to a certainty, and such as his revenues would well defray, besides a yearly spare of some thousands of pounds, which he reserved for a store or treasure to be ready for all events and occasions accidental.

By giving of which so good and solid foundation and order unto his state, he delivered himself from all necessity of becoming rigid or strait to his tenants, either by any unmeasurable improving their farms or their fines, or seeking or taking advantage of any their forfeitures, and became also unnecessitated to take the benefit that both law and right afforded unto him, of such as had in time of former princes purchased lands appertaining to his duchy of Cornwall, which could not by law be alienated from the same, to whom, out of his princely bounty and gracious compassion, upon resuming of them, he gave some reasonable satisfaction.

The banquets and feasts, that any time he made, his desire was, should be magnificent and agreeing with his princely dignity, yet not without an especial eye, and care had, that nothing should be spent in disorder, or the charge made greater through the want of providence, or well managing, by his officers; in those he ever affected the demonstration of a princely greatness, and that all things should pass with decency and decorum, and without all rudeness, noise, or disorder.

In any thing either committed or permitted unto him by the King his father, concerning the state and defence of the kingdom, exceeding willing, sedulous, and careful he ever shewed himself, to perform all offices and duties understandingly, and with much circumspection.

He was once sent by his Majesty to take a view of the navy at Chatham, whither myself waited upon him, and observed how great his desire was not only to see with his own eyes every particular ship, but to enable himself by conference and consultation with the best experienced of his Majesty's officers of the Navy, in the fashion and fabricature of the ships, to understand their strengths and the form of their sailing, to take knowledge of such as were then perfected and fitted for present service, and which defective, and in what several parts, to the end there might instantly be order given for the repairing of them; he also very particularly informed himself of their several equipages and furnitures, went in person to take an exact view of them and of his Majesty's store for that purpose, and would not be satisfied without understanding the special uses of every of those things, and of all other that tended to make them serviceable and useful; what further in years more ripe was in naval affairs, wherein consisted the principal strength, honour, and advantage of this kingdom, to be expected of him, may easily be discerned by his will, his diligence, his

understanding, and princely courage, shewed upon occasion of discourse, delivered unto him by a servant of his own, concerning a naval war with Spain, whensoever that king shall give cause of a publick hostility.

To publish particulars agrees not with the rules of state; but two especial things being propounded, which were the preparation of a navy, consisting of a certain number of ships to be sent into the West-Indies, and another to attend the coasts of Spain, to prohibit all entry or issue of ships either into or out of the same.

Admirable it was in one of years so young, to hear what interrogations he used of every particularity of that design, of the feasibility and of the difficulties of every branch of it; how he insisted upon every doubt, until, by the best experienced and practised both in sea services and in navigation, with reasons and demonstrations he became fully satisfied; and that done, how narrowly and nearly he searched into every knot, both of the honour and utility, and of the danger and charge that an attempt of that nature would draw with it, and ceased not until he understood every particular of the same, and especially the yearly charge which that whole expedition would amount unto; which having found so very reasonable, and the hopes so great, and all doubts so well resolved, to shew the valour of his own heart, he openly protested to such as were present, that should the King his father be pleased upon any future occasion to break with Spain, himself, if so it should agree with his Majesty's pleasure, would in person become the executor of that noble attempt for the West-Indies.

In persons private it may suffice to be religious, honest, and just, within themselves.

To princes and men, constituted in high places, it behoveth to be also givers of good example to others.

Inferiors and subjects cast their eyes more upon what princes do, than upon what they command; their examples, with them, are of more force, than any law of letters.

This became to this prince so great a motive, as he thought not fit to lose any hours of the life, that upon this earth were appointed unto him; but so to bestow them, that they might not only become profitable to himself, but imitable and exemplary to others.

He so distributed the day, by dividing his hours into the service of God, to the fitting himself to the office he was born unto, both in government civil and military, and to necessary exercises and recreations; as no part of it could be said to be in vain bestowed: To enable his knowledge in government civil, he read histories, the knowledge of things past conducing much to resolution in things present, and to prevention of those to come.

In the military, he added thereunto the mathematicks, study of cosmography, and had one that instructed him in the matter and form of fortifications.

For practice, he used in a manner daily to ride and manage great horses, with which he had his stables most excellently furnished; oftentimes to run at the ring, and sometimes at tilt; both which he

so well and dexterously performed, and with so great a comeliness, that, in those his first years, he became second to no prince in Christendom, and to many, that practised with him, much superior.

His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and, in times of year fit for it, learning to swim; at some times, walking fast and far, to accustom and enable him to make a long march, when time should require it; but most of all at tennis-play, wherein, to speak the truth, which in all things I especially affect, he neither observed moderation, nor what appertained to his dignity and person, continuing oftentimes his play for the space of three or four hours, and the same in his shirt, rather becoming an artisan, than a prince; who, in things of that nature, is only to affect comeliness, or rather a kind of carelessness in shew, to make their activities seem the more natural, than a laborious and toiling industry.

Of this and of his diet, wherein he shewed too much inclination to excessive eating of fruits, he was, as in all other things, content to hear advice, but in these two particulars not to follow it.

To other play or gaming he shewed himself not much inclined; yet would sometimes play at obess, at billiards, and at cards, but so very nobly, and like himself, as plainly shewed his use of it to be only for recreation, not for appetite of gain; for, whether he won, or lost, his countenance was ever the same; and, for the most part, greater appearance of mirth in him, when he lost, than when he won; thereby plainly demonstrating both his judgment, in adventuring no more than what he made no regard of if he lost it, and his princely magnanimity and temper, in suffering no passion or alteration to take hold of him, through any crossness of cards or chance.

In some young gentlemen, whom he affected, he seemed to mislike too much disposition to play, and did not only dissuade them from it, but gave unto some of them matter of value to become bound to leave the use of it; for pleasure, he took them all, as it were, in passage, without semblance, either to desire them, or at least to have a will to dwell in them.

The pleasure of the flesh, especially which is most incident to young years, and by princes rarely avoidable, whose fancies and affections are commonly as vehement, as their persons and powers are great, and therefore most like to fall themselves, and give occasion of falling to others; although some in those times there were, that, taking measure of him by the yard-wand of their own unbridled appetites, were pleased otherwise to conceive and report of him, yet myself, having been present at great feasts made in his house, whereunto he invited the most beautiful and specious ladies of the court and city, could neither then discover by his behaviour, his eyes, or his countenance, any shew of singular or special fancy to any, or at any other time such looseness, either in words or actions, as whereupon, in justice or reason, to ground any such opinion of him.

But rather thus with truth and assuredness to determine, that, were he not himself chaste in his inward thoughts, yet did he with so incomparable judgment and temper cover them, as, to just and judicious eyes, they gave no true occasion to suspect him.

It is true, that, to take a wife, though he shewed no vehement desire, yet he demonstrated a good inclination.

Marriages were propounded and offered for him in Spain, in the time that myself there served, who had from the King, his father, commission to treat it; but, finding, that the overture there grew rather out of a desire to win time to advance their own designs, than with true intention to perform it, in regard of the difference of religion, I, for my part, gave end to that negotiation, in a manner, so soon as I began it.

After my return from thence, and entry into his Highness's service, like motions were made both by Florence and Savoy; but, those not conforming with what, in alliances with princes of his greatness, either in increase or equality of honour or utility, or for strength and surety of estate, was especially to be regarded.

That of Spain was, upon a new overture made by the ambassador of the King there, again entertained and committed by his Majesty here to be treated of by his ambassador, who in that court succeeded me.

But, after some protractions used there, it was, upon the first opening, found to have come too late; that princess, for whom the treaty was intended, being the eldest daughter of that King, and the only who in years was fit for him, being formerly promised to the French King, that now is.

Lastly, there grew a proposition for a daughter of France; wherein his Highness having, as in duty it became him, submitted and reserved himself to the King his father, the same was not proceeded in to any effect.

In this noble prince was to be observed a singular integrity and clearness of thoughts; he had a true kingly disposition, and was so far from being induced to piece up the skin of the lion with that of the fox, that above all things he hated flattery and dissimulation.

A nobleman in those times, in the highest favour with the King his father, wrote unto him, by the especial commandment of his Majesty, a letter, wherein he recommended unto him a matter of very great consequence* to be instantly answered unto, and, in his subscription, used these words:

Your's before all the World.

This answer his Highness committed unto me, who, having written it, did also set down some words of favour to the nobleman, to precede his Highness's signature; the letter itself he read, and, having considered it, allowed it wholly without alteration.

Only, in regard of the words of subscription, notwithstanding the great haste that he made of the dispatch, he commanded me it should be new written, and those left out; and, notwithstanding all the reasons that I used to the contrary, would by no means be persuaded to suffer it so to pass, saying, that he, to whom he wrote, had untruly and unfaithfully dealt with him, and that his hand should never affirm what his heart thought not.

This prince, as he was no coverer of his thoughts, where he had just cause of dislike, so would he also, to those he trusted, acknowledge his love to such as he affected.

Of the titular nobility of this kingdom, upon occasion offered, he would express himself best to love and esteem such as were most anciently descended, and most nobly and honestly disposed, when, sometimes also, he would not forbear, by name, to particulate.

His Highness's brother, our now sovereign, then Duke of York, and his sister, since that time Queen of Bohemia, he intirely loved; yet must I confess, at some times, by a kind of rough play and dalliance with the one, and a semblance of contradicting the other, in what he discerned her to desire, he took a pleasure, in giving, both to the one and the other, some cause in those their so tender years to make proof of their patiences.

To say the truth, such were both those excellent princes, their own rare parts, and most sweet dispositions, as, had there been none other attractive of blood or nature, would to them have inforced his love and best affection.

He gave also, in the administration and government of his own particular estate, much presage of what he would have become, if he had lived to possess the diadem.

At such times as he attended the King, his father, to houses of remove, or in progress, he would not endure that carriages or provisions should be taken for him, without full contentment given to the parties.

In removes to his own houses, in like manner.

Nay, so careful he was, that none by him, or any of his train, should be either prejudiced or annoyed; as, whensoever he went a hawking, before harvest ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn; and, to give them example, would himself ride rather a furlong about, truly and judiciously conceiving, that, to princes, there is no surer fortress, than that of hearts, and that, those once had and settled, the rest of what they possess is at their commandment.

Of his disposition to justice, he gave also, upon all occasions, much proof and demonstration.

He would never either condemn or censure any man unheard or undefended, retaining in his memory that notable example given to princes by God himself, whose divine knowledge, both of works and thoughts, needing no informers; yet, after Adam's fall, would neither censure him nor his Eve, without hearing what either of them could say in their own defence.

This I could demonstrate by divers particulars, as also of his being merciful after offence acknowledged, should not a long discourse seem unproportionable to so short a life.

It is true, that he was of a high mind, and knew well how to keep his distance, which, indeed, he did to all, neither admitting a near or full approach either to his power or his secrets.

He oftentimes protested, that neither fancy, nor flattery, should move him to confer upon any a superlative place in his favour; but he would,

to the utmost of his understanding, measure unto all, according to the merit of their services, as holding it not just to yield unto affections, or rather second respects, that which is only due to virtue and deservings.

That remunerative he was of services, and considerative of those that deserved and needed;

A most memorable and inimitable example he gave before his death, having, to divers of his servants, who longest had served, and in whom he noted want, given, by several patents sent unto them, pensions during life, to the value of eleven or twelve-hundred pounds a year, and that without all mediation and intreaty by others; and, at a time, when themselves did least expect it.

To conclude of this prince, did he not all things well? The fault is rather to be imputed to those, that, in years so unripe, by their advice, should have assisted him, and lined out his ways, than to any want of will, or religious and princely disposition in himself.

He was of a comely personage, of indifferent stature, well and streight limbed, and strongly proportioned, his countenance and aspect inclining, in those his young years, to gravity and shew of majesty.

His judgment so far beyond what his age could promise, that it was truly admirable.

His speech slow, and somewhat impeded, rather, as I conceive, by custom, and a long imitation of some that did first instruct him, than by any defect in nature, as appeared by much amendment of the same.

After that he had been advised to a more often exercise of it, by using at home, amongst his own servants, first short discourses, and after longer, as he should find himself inabled.

Yet would he oftentimes say of himself, that he had the most unserviceable tongue of any man living.

Towards the latter part of his time, so well became foreign princes, by their ambassadors, informed of his rare parts, as the adverse to this kingdom began to fear and redoubt him, and the well affected, and confederated, to love and entertain great hopes of him.

But God seeing it good to bestow another crown upon him, excelling all that on earth was to be had or hoped:

After some five days sickness endured with patience, and as often recognition of his faith, his hopes, and his appeals, to God's mercy, as his infirmity, which afflicted him altogether in his head, would possibly permit:

He yielded up the ghost at St. James's, next Westminster, and was interred at Westminster, where his body now resteth.

I wish it were in my power to raise such a Monument unto his Fame, as might eternise it unto all Posterities.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S GHOST:

OR

ENGLAND'S FOREWARNER.

Discovering a secret Consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spain.

Together with his

TORMENTING OF COUNT DE GONDOMAR;

And his strange Affrightment, Confession, and publick Recantation.

Laying open many Treacheries intended for the Subversion of England.

*Cresce, cruor, sanguis satiatur sanguine, cresce,
Quod spero sitio, vah sitio, sitio.*

*Destruction and Unhappiness is in their Ways, and the Way of Peace
have they not known; there is no Fear of God before their Eyes. Psal. xiv. 7.*

Utrecht, printed by John Schelleem. 1626. Quarto, containing forty-four
Pages.

ALTHOUGH the liberty of these times (whertin your courants, gazettes, pasquils, and the like, swarm too abundantly) hath made all news, how serious or substantial soever, liable to the jealous imputation of falshood; yet this relation, I assure you, although in some circumstances it may lean too near the flourish of invention, yet, for the pith or marrow thereof, it is as justly allied to truth, as the light is to the day, or night to darkness.

To hold thee, then, gentle reader, in no further suspence, be pleased to understand, that, some few days after the solemnity of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, according to the Roman and Spanish computation, it pleased the Majesty of Spain, Philip the Fourth, to retire himself to his delicate house of pleasure, called Casa del Campo, situate near the town of Madrid, or Madrill, where his standing court, for the most part, continually remaineth: and the nearest in attendance unto him, next to the Count de Olivares, was the Count de Gondomar, the arch enemy to the flourishing estate of our England, and the fox, whose stench hath not cured the palsy, but rather impoisoned and brought into an apoplexy many noble, and sometimes well deserving, English hearts. Neither was the King, for his pleasure, retired to this house of pleasure, but rather through the necessity of some special affairs, the greatest whereof seemed to be gathered from the last attempt of the English upon the fort and castle of Punetall,

and the town of Cadiz, or Cales; wherein, though the loss was not so great or material as might either make the assailant or assailed offer roses, or nettles, upon the altar of fortune; yet, the affront seemed to strike a more deep impression in the hearts of the Spaniards, than could be well taken away with scorn, which is the ensign of their pride, or with the hope of future advantage, which only gives life unto their envy and malice.

And, therefore, now at this time and in this place, after many consultations held with the Earl of Gondomar, whom the whole world baptised the Butt slave, or Incendiary of Christendom, the Intelligencer, Ambassador, and Jesuitical Archbishop Ledger, as his practices in our nation hath well witnessed, touching some notable revenge to be had against the state of Great Britain, being the only jewel on which Spain had long since fixed her heart, to make her universal monarchy every way full and perfect, he is, by command from the King, in the person of the Count Olivares, to make his appearance before the Pope's nuncio, the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Cea, the Duke Infantazgo, and the Constable of Castile, who had a special commission signed for that purpose, and to deliver unto them all those secret advantages, which he had, either by the experience of time, the continual labour of his brain, the corruption of his bribes, the threatenings and insinuations of his popish priests, the petulant flatteries of his papistical English mistresses, diving into their husbands counsels, or, by any other direct or indirect means, won unto himself a knowledge or instruction, for the alteration or subversion of that brave and flourishing British monarchy. And, in this charge, the Count de Olivares, according to the state and magnificence of the Spanish reservations, began to make a great flourish of many demure and austere circumstances unto the Earl of Gondomar, concerning the greatness of his engagement, the high trust reposed in his singular knowledge, and the infinite expectations the King and the whole state had fixed upon the wisdom of his proceeding; adding thereunto sundry admonishments, or caveats, to call into his remembrance, touching many alterations in the state of Great Britain, some defensive, some offensive, since his last abode or commencement in the same; and, amongst the rest, as a thing of most especial note, the Count began to repeat many relations, which Gondomar himself had delivered unto him, touching the general warlikeness of the British nation, affirming, that he had heard him say, that he had seen the very children and boys in the street make their sport, and play a school of war, and, by imitation from elder knowledges, to express, in child-play, the very excellency and perfection of martial discipline; which had summoned in him both matter of passion and admiration, that he had often cried out, What will the English do? Every child will be an Hercules, and kill a serpent in his cradle. This, Olivares told him, was but a small shadow, or little prick, to express a much greater substance now in use; for, since the death of King James of ever living and famous memory, the Englishmen, who, for the space of twenty-two years before, had, but as it were, dallied and played with arms, rather seeking to affect it for novelty than necessity, were now, in one year's deliberate and material

exercise, become so singular and exquisite, that the Netherlands blushed to see themselves overgone in a moment, and that to be made familiar in an instant, which they had laboured to obtain to in divers ages.

Besides, Olivares assured him, that he had received infallible intelligence out of the Archduchess's countries, that an hundred and odd of the best experienced soldiers, or firemen, being all English, were sent from the States of the United Provinces, into Great Britain, to educate and instruct, in martial discipline, every several country and province, insomuch, that the whole island was nothing now but a nursery of excellent and exquisite soldiers.

To this, Gondomar replied, that he had, from certain Jesuits in England, received the like intelligence, and, with this addition, that those excellent selected men in the Low Countries found their equal school-fellows, nay, many tutors and experienced masters, when they came into England; so that indeed their necessity did but convert to superfluity and a little loss, to some that were of much better deserving.

Yet, said Gondomar further, for my own part, though this make much for our terror and amazement, and that we must, with Curtius, leap wilfully into a gulph of certain ruin, before we can hope for revenge or triumph, yet doth this new military course little move my blood; for, though I must confess the Netherlands to be the only unparalleled school of war in the whole world, yet the only thing it teacheth, is, form and fire, intrinchnent and besiegement; but for the use of the sword, push of the pike, bringing of grosses body to body, and hand to hand, the exercise of every private strength, and the fortune of battles, things which the English must of necessity be exposed unto, *hoc raro aut nunquam*; and therefore, my Lord, I tell you, I more quake when I see an old Irish commander drilling an English company, who never beheld an enemy, but he felt his sword and knew his target, than, when I see infinites of golden fellows, teaching men only to dance to the tune of posture, or framing chimera's in their brains, whether the pike and the bow, or the pike and dragoon, or pike and long pistol, be of greater importance: but of these things we shall have a larger time to discourse and think upon; it sufficeth me that I know my royal master's pleasure, and your honourable instructions, all which I will study to satisfy: only divers things are, through other employments, laid, as it were, aside from my memory, not utterly forgotten; therefore I beseech I may have the respite of some few hours, to reckon with my former knowledge, and so yield up the whole sum of my duty and service.

To this, Olivares seemed exceeding willing, and so, for the Earl to make choice of his best time, they departed one from the other; Olivares returning to satisfy the King, and Gondomar, taking his litter, went back to Madrid, where, what contention grew between him and his old acquainted mischiefs, how every minute he produced new and unnatural cocks-eggs, brooded them from the heat of his malice, hatched them from the devilishness of his policy, and brought forth serpents able to poison all Europe, is a discourse monstrous and almost inexpressible; I will therefore omit this mutiny of his troubled thoughts, and only pitch upon this one accident, no less strange than memorable;

wherein, as in a mirrour, every eye may behold the weakness of a guilty thought, and how easily frailty is surprised and overcome, when it encounters with these two main enemies of our blood, fear and amazement.

It so fell out, the morning before the noon on which Gondomar was to appear before the designed commissioners, partly to refresh his perturbed spirits with the pure air, and to recollect unto himself all those thoughts and circumstances, which might make a glorious passage for the huge and monstrous body of mischief, wherewithal he was, that day, in labour; that he caused his attendants to bring him in his litter to the Prada, near unto the city of Madrid, being a place of recreation and pleasure for the nobility and gallantry of Spain, not much unlike to our new Moorfield walks, near to the city of London, only, that this is more private and reserved; for, as ours is common to all men of all sorts, so is this Prada only but for the King, the grandes of Spain, the nobility, and some gentlemen of the uppermost or best quality.

After Gondomar had, in this place of recreation, taken a turn or two in his litter, whether he found his ruminations disturbed with the uneasy pace of his mules, or that he had not elbow-room enough in his litter, to give action and grace to many of those damnable thoughts, which, in that hour, gave him singular contentment, for the Spaniard is not of our dull English quality, to let his words pass from him as neglected strangers, or thoughts out of the compass of his dearest familiarity, but rather as dear children, or choicest friends, to lend them admiration with his eyes and hands, to adorn them with expectation in the shrug of his shoulders, and, with a thousand other mimic gestures, to make a speech that is as trivial and unseasoned as folly itself, to appear as serious as if it were a Delphian oracle; upon some one or other of these Spanish disgests, this fox (our earl) unkennels himself, and makes his servants take him from his litter; then, placing his chair (the true sworn brother, or, at least, the nearest kinsman that might be to a close-stool) under the shadow of certain trees, in a walk more reserved than the rest, he commanded his attendants to withdraw themselves; and he had reason so to do for two principal respects: the first, lest his antick postures, mumps, moes, and monkey-wry faces might draw laughter, or scorn, from his vassals; or, lastly, lest the violence of his study and meditations might make some words fall from him, which he thought too precious for another man's bosom.

Being obeyed in all his commandments, and seated thus alone by himself, only guarded by his two choice friends, Malice and Mischief, he had not called up many evil thoughts to appear before him, when, on a sudden (according to the weakness of his apprehension) there shined round about him a most glorious and extraordinary light, which might be taken rather for fire and flaming, than shine or glittering; and this appeared so suddenly, spread itself so largely, and increased so violently, that terror, fear, and amazement, at one instant, rose upon the heart of the earl, and, with their cold qualities, did so stupify, dull, and contract all his spirits, that, as if he had seen Medusa's head, the poor Don was become altogether a piece of ice or marble, &c.

had no spirit to remember there were spirits; his crossings and blessings, his holy water, and his *Agnus Dei*, his monks charms, and his Jesuits conjurations, were all now turned to quaking and trembling, to staring and stark madness, to gaping and groaning, to want of words through strife for words, and, indeed, to what not that might shew the singularity of a perplexed astonishment! His night-cap throws his hat in the dust, and his hair makes his cap fly into the air like a feather; he doeth reverence, but sees no saint; would fain utter either salutations or curses but knows not by what name to call his controulour: in the end, starting and standing upright, seeming to see what he would not see, or to find out that with curiosity, which he had rather lose with the best care of his spirits; straddling like a Colossus, as if he neither respected present perils, nor feared those which were further off, he looked as if he would look through the pure air, and, though it have truly no colour, yet was his search so diligent, that he appeared to find out a constant complexion; yet all was but his new fear, which neither his manner of life, which had ever been desperate, subtle, and reserved, the condition of the times, at that time and in that place, free from perplexities and incumbrance, the state of his affairs, rather rising than declining, nor his present negotiations, strong enough to have encountered with any Goliath's amazement, was able now to keep constant any one joint about him; I have read, that the Duke of Burgundy had like to have died at the sight of the nine worthies, which a magician had discovered; but, our Don Gondomar is like now to die at the sight of nothing but air, and his own imagination, for he had every symptom of death about him, as a body trembling, a stomach swelling, forehead turned yellow, eyes dead or sinking, a mouth gaping, and what not that could say, our Don is now upon the pitch of departing. They say, that great princes should never see the portraiture of fear, but upon their enemies backs; sure I am, Gondomar now saw both fear and cowardice upon his own heart. But why should I drive you off with more circumstance? The nakedness of the truth is, that, as he gazed thus fearfully about, there appeared, or seemed to appear before him, the ghost of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, a noble famous Englishman, and a renowned soldier: at this apparition, the earl fell down flat to the earth upon his face (for backward he durst not, lest he might give an offence to his surgeon) and yet the posture, in which this noble gentleman appeared, however fearful to the guilt of Gondomar's conscience, was amiable and lovely to any pure and honest composition, for he was armed at all pieces, and those pieces of silver, which is the ensign of innocence and harmlessness: in his right hand, he brandished his sword, which was an instrument that had been ever fatal to Spanish practices, and, had not the edge been taken off by this fox's subtleties, I persuade myself, by this time, it had near made a new conquest of the West Indies; in his left hand, he seemed to carry a cup of gold filled with blood, which blood he sprinkled, some upon Gondomar, and some upon the ground, uttering, in an hollow and unpleasant voice, these or the like words following:

Cresce cruor, sanguis satietur sanguine, cresce, quod spero sitio, ah sitio, sitio.

Gondomar's attendants, who had all this while, afar off, beheld their lord's actions, seeing him now falling down in this trance, came with all possible speed running unto him; but, before they could offer an hand to his assistance, they might hear him utter words of that strange nature and quality, that their fears bridled their charities, and they were rather willing to let him lie still, bending their attentions to his words, than by a too officious disturbance, to break off any part of that discourse which might make for the bettering of the knowledge of the state, or otherwise be applied to future service, at which these unnatural and abortive accidents ever point; and, therefore, fixing their eyes and ears constantly upon him, as he lay groveling on the earth, they might hear these, or words much like unto these, proceed from his perplexed and amazed spirit:

'Blessed soul, noble Sir Walter Raleigh, what have I to do with thy goodness, or wherefore hast thou left the peacefulness of thy rest, to torment, and call me to account, before the prefixed and full day of my trial be come, and that I must stand face to face with thee, and a world of others, before the greatest tribunal? I can confess mine iniquities, and that I have been to the King, my master, as Borgia Cæsar was to Pope Alexander the Sixth, an instrument willing to take upon me any or all manner of sins, how odious or vile soever, so I might but make Spain look fresh, and that those imputations, which otherwise might have drowned her, might be but put into the catalogue of my services, though defame and curses were heaped upon me, in much greater quantities than Ossa, Pelion, or Pindus. I do confess I have been the very nose of the Spanish state, through which hath been voided all the excrements, both of the head and the whole body: I have been a channel or a common sewer, to the church of Rome; and what either Pope, priest, knave, or jesuit, could invent, I have not left to put in practice: I knew the odiousness of conspiracies, and how hateful they are both to God and man, yet had I never the power to leave conspiring: I knew both, that the law of God, and the law of honour, tied princes to detest conspiracies, and had many times read over that notable history of Lewis the Eleventh, and could repeat the noble and famous praises which all Europe gave him, for advertising his arch-enemy, the Duke of Burgundy, of an attempt against his person: but what hath this wrought in me? Certainly, nothing but more flame, and more fuel, so long as my thoughts were busied with the study and remembrance of an universal monarchy.

'I confess, I have many times said, however I have believed, that those great ones, which seek to make away their enemies, otherwise than by justice, or the event of war, shew minds base and cowardly, and that their souls are empty of true courage, fearing that which they should scorn. I confess, I have admired the goodness of Faritius, who delivered into Pyrrhus's hand the slave that should have poisoned him. I have made Tiberius Cæsar a demy-god, for answering a king of the Celtes, which made him an offer to poison Arminius, 'That Rome did not use to be revenged of her enemies secretly and by deceit, but openly and by arms;' but have I pursued this honourable track? Have any of my ghostly fathers, the jesuits, or my masters, the inquisi-

tors, given examples for these restrictions? No, their lessons are of a clean contrary nature; they say, Flaminius was an honest man, when he made Prusias, the King of Bithynia, violate all the laws of hospitality and virtue, in the murder of Hannibal; but the whole senate condemned the action for most odious, accused Flaminius of cruelty and covetousness, of vain glory, and of ostentation: And questionless, had they had any touch or feeling of divinity or christianity, they could not have found any other rank for him, than that next unto Judas: These fair paths I have known, but these I have forsaken: And, as Flaminius was the cause of Hannibal's death, out of an ambitious emulation, that he might, in the histories of succeeding times, he made notorious and eminent for so foul an action: So I must confess, I, that have, the whole course of my life, laboured continually in the deep mine of policy, have not spared any blood, how excellent soever, so I might be remembered in our after annals, for one of the chief master workmen, which went to the building up of the King my master's universal monarchy: And, in this, I must confess, most blessed soul, that thy death, thy untimely, and, to the kingdom of Great-Britain, much too early death, which with all violence, and with all the conjurations, persuasions, and examples, that could tie and bind together the hearts and bodies of princes, I did both plot, pursue, effect, and consummate, was one of the greatest master-pieces in which I ever triumphed; I have made myself fat with thy downfall; and the blood, which issued from thy wound, was nectar and ambrosia to my soul; for from thy ending I knew right well must proceed Spain's beginning; for never could the Spanish King say, as the French King did, *Je suis Roy seul*, I am King alone of the Indies, as long as Raleigh lived, whose knowledge and experience was able to divert, convert, and turn topsyturvy all his conquests, all his proceedings. I say, the tottering ground, whereon my King's title to the Indies stood, that it was nothing but violence and force, tyranny and usurpation, and that, if a stronger or more gentle army should enter, How easy it was to set us besides the cushion? This I knew thou knewest, and what not besides, which belongs to so great an attempt and triumph. I must confess, I have called up into my mind the honour, the antiquity, and greatness of thy great family, how rich thou wert in blood and friends, the whole west of the English nation depending on thine alliance: The manner of thine education, which was not part, but wholly gentleman, wholly soldier; the endowments of thy virtues, which were learning and wisdom; the advancement of those endowments, which was to be by the greatest, the best, the most renowned princess that ever breathed in Europe; and in the greatest time, of the greatest actions, the busiest time of the most troubled estates, the wisest time for the discussion of the most difficult affairs, and the only time that did produce the excellency and perfection of wisdom, war, and government, so that nothing could be hid from thy knowledge, neither wouldst thou suffer any thing to be concealed from thine experience, for thou hadst ever a mind actively disposed; and howsoever thy fortune was accompanied with all manner of felicities, things able in themselves to have drawn thy mind from all other objects; and to have settled thee upon the theory, That solitariness is the most

excellent condition belonging unto mankind, inasmuch as in it he only findeth the true tranquillity of the mind, for nothing is wanting in that quiet habitation; manna falls there, the ravens bring bread from heaven; if the waters be bitter, there is wood to sweeten them: If the combate of Amaleck and Edom be there, the triumphs of Moses and Joshua are likewise there, for what cannot a life retired either suffer or cure in its contemplation? Yet all this thou didst neglect, and both contradict and disprove; thou knewest this life unfit for thy greatness, and thou wert not born for thyself but thy country; thou knewest the sea, wherein every great soul should wander, had no haven but the grave, and that, as they lived, so they ought ever to die in action. Hence it came, that even in the very flourish and glory of all thy great estate, thou betookest thyself to the seas, and what thou hadst before, by thy purse, and infinite great charge in the actions of other men, won and annexed to the diadem of thy great mistress, now thou dost, in thine own person, take a view and survey of the same, applying knowledge to report, and making thine own experience a controul to other men's relations: I dare not, for the honour of my nation, unfold the woeful perplexity, in which Spain stood during this tedious voyage; how she quaked to think of the general view which thou hadst taken, without impeachment of all the West-Indies; but most of all, when she was advertised of thy long and laborious passage upon the river Oroonoko, the distinguishments which thou hadst made, betwixt it, and the river of Amazons; and the intelligences which thou hadst gotten for thine ascent to the great city of Manoa, and kingdom of Guiana; designs, which if they had been pursued according to thy willingness and knowledge, we had not, at this day, acknowledged one foot of earth for ours in all the West Indies: O the miserable estate of Spain if these things had proceeded; she had then, which now threatens all, begged of all; and the pistoles of gold, and pieces of plate, wherewith it now corrupts and conquers nations, had then been turned to leather or iron, or some other Spanish stuff, more base and contemptible: Was it not now high time to conspire against thee, to dig, mine, undermine, to enter into familiarity with male-contents, to seduce some, to bribe others, to flatter all; to preach a thousand most damnable false doctrines, for the subversion of princes, and the destruction of their faithful servants? Was it not time for us to make religion a cloke for our villainy, and, under the lamb's furr, to cover the wolf's policies? Believe me, blessed shadow, had we either made conscience of sin, or scruples for the maintenance of honour, we had not subsisted as we do, but had sadly lain, like those, which now lie captived below us. Can Spain ever forget thine attempt upon her own confines, and in her securest places? Call up Cadiz to witness, she will shew you some of her ashes; call the King's great armada to account, which was led by his twelve, supposed invincible apostles, and the most of them must rise from the bottom of the seas, some must disembogue from your and our own harbours: Let Pharaoh in Portugal speak, and she will confess that her church will yet hardly cover her idols. When I look upon the islands of the Azores, methinks I see Fiall burning in the flames, which you cast upon her, whilst all the rest bring in the tributes

of their best wealths, to save themselves from perishing. Lastly, but not least, for from it I raised the ground-work of thy fatal destruction, I cannot but recount thine action upon the town of St. Thomas, standing upon the river of Oroonoko, how fit it lay as a bait to draw thee into mischief, and how bravely it gave me occasion never to desist till I saw thy ruin; alas! Was that despised town to be prized with thy life, with thine experience, with thine ability to direct, or with the least part of thine actions? No, it was not, only my malice made it inestimable, and my continual solicitations, mine imprecations, my vows, mine exclamations upon justice, mine instances on the actions of pious and religious kings, and the darings of too bold and ambitious subjects, was so importunate and violent, that, but in the great forfeiture of thy blood, my fury could find no satisfaction; hence you fell, and that fall was to me more than a double banquet; for now methought I saw all things secure about me: Now said I to myself, Who shall shake any one stone in our building? who shall give us affright by sea, or shew us the terrors of the land? What shall hinder us now to bring home our gold in carviles, and our marchandise in hoys and fly-boats; all is ours, the ocean is ours, and the Indies are ours; this could we never boast before; yet this was my work, and in this I triumphed.'

'At these words, the ghost appeared to shew anger, and menacing him with frowns, and the shaking of his sword, the poor Don, lifting up his arms under his cloke, shewed his red badge of the order of Colotravia; but, finding the cross utterly void of vertue, to divert that charm, he began to cry out again in this manner:

'Do not mistake me, blessed Soul, in that I have said I triumphed, for I will now, with grief and repentance, buy from thy mercy my absolution. It is true, that then I triumphed, for what is he, that takes in hand any labour or work, of high consequence, but, when he hath finished it to perfection, he sits down, and rejoiceth? So I, that saw (not afar off, but near at hand) the infinite hinderances, rubs, and impediments, which thy knowledge, thy valour, thy command, and experience, might bring to any work, undertaken by my king, for the advancement or bringing forward of his universal monarchy; and, when I pondered with myself, that no nation, under heaven, was so able in power, so apt in the nature and disposition of the people, nor so plentiful in all accommodations, both for sea and land, as this island of Great-Britain, to oppose or beat back any, or all of our undertakings: When I saw France busy, both at home and abroad; the Low-Countries careful to keep their own, not curious to increase their own: When I saw Germany afflicted with civil anger, Denmark troubled to take trouble from his dearest kinsman; the Poland watching of the Turk, and the Turk, through former losses, fearful to give any new attempt upon Christendom, and, that in all these, we had a main and particular interest: When I saw every way smooth for us to pass, and that nothing could keep the garland from our heads, or the goal from our purchase, but only the anger or discontent of this fortunate British island: Blame me not then, if I fell to practices unlawful, to flatteries deceitful, to bribery most hurtful, and to other enchantments most shameful, by

which I might either win mine own ends, or make my work prosperous in the opinion of my Sovereign. I confess I have, many times, abused the majesty of Great-Britain with curious falshoods: I have protested against my knowledge, and uttered vows and promises, which I knew could never be reconciled: I have made delays sharp spurs, to hasten on mine own purposes, and have brought the swiftest designs to so slow a pace, that they have been lost like shadows, and neither known nor regarded: I looked into your commonwealth, and saw, that twenty-two years ease had made her grow idle: I saw the East-Indies eat up and devour your mariners and seamen, and time and old age consume and take away your land-captains; and, of all, none more material than yourself: Blame me not then, if I made thy end my beginning, thy fall the fulness of my perfection, and thy destruction the last work, or master-piece of all my wisdom and policy. This is the freedom of my confession, and but from this sin absolve me, and I will die thy penitent in sackcloth and ashes.'

At these words, the apparition seemed (in the fearful imagination of the poor Don) to be more than exceeding angry, and looked upon him with such terror and amazement, that Gondomar fell, with the affright, into a trance, or deady sound, whilst the ghost seemed to utter unto him these, or the like words following:

'To thee, whom base flattery, want, and covetousness have gilded with these foolish and unfitting hyperboles, as to call thee, *The Flower of the West, The Delight of Spain, The Life of Wit, The Light of Wisdom, The Mercury of Eloquence, The Glory of the Gown, The Phæbus in Court, Nestor in Council, Christian Numa, and principal Ornament of this time.*

'Lord Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, most honourable Earl of Gondomar, governor of Menroyo, and Pennaroyo, of the most honourable order of Colotravia, counsellor of state, one of the King's treasurers, ambassador for his Catholick Majesty to his Royal Majesty of England, regent of the town and castle of Bayon, president of the bishoprick of Tuid in Galicia, chief treasurer of the most noble order of Alcantara, one of the four judges of the sacred privileges, pronotary of the kingdom of Toledo, Leon, and Galicia, and principality of Asturias, and lord high steward of the most puissant Philip the Fourth, King of all the Spains, and of the Indies.

'Lo thus I salute thee with thy true stile, and eminent inscription, according to thine absolute nature, quality, and profession:

'To thee, then, that art *The poisonous Weed of Europe, The Atlas of Spain's sins and conspiracies, The Devil's Fool, The Wiseman's Bugbear, The Mercury of knavish Policy, The Disgrace of Civility, The Buffoon in Court, Ate in Council, Atheist for the Pope's advantage, and principal Intelligencer between Hell and the Jesuits.*

'Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, most dishonourable Earl of Gondomar, poller and pillar of Menroyo, and Pennaroyo, of the rich covetous order of Colotravia, gazettist of state, one of the consumers of the King's purse, intelligencer for his Catholick Majesty, against the Royal Majesty of England, spoiler of the town and castle of Bayon, an ill example to the bishoprick of Tuid in Galicia, chief cash-keeper for

the order of Alcantara, one of the four bribe-takers for the profane privileges, promoter for the kingdom of Toledo, Leon, and Galicia, and principality of Asturias, and a continual broker between the King of Spain and the Pope, and between the jesuits, the inquisitors, and the devil.

'Hearken to my detection; and though I know thou canst steal and kill, swear and lie, weep and wound, and indeed do any thing that is contrary to truth and justice; yet in this accusation, shame, and thine own putrefied conscience shall be witnesses so powerful and undaunted, that thou shalt not be able to refel any one allegation or smallest particle.

'To begin then with mine own end, though I know the day of my death was the greatest festival that ever thy fortune did solemnise, though it brought to Spain a year of jubilee, to thy reputation Absalom's pillars, and to every papistical minister in the world, the praise of his arts-master; yet, poor despised mortal, know, it was not you, but a more divine and inscrutable finger, which pointed out my destiny to this manner of end and destruction; neither is it fit for the humility of ignorant man to open his eyes, as daring to presume to gaze on the radiant beams of that Sovereign Power, which disposeth of second causes as he pleaseth; neither do I afflict thee as my particular executioner, but as my country's general enemy: It sufficeth me, that the great God, who is judge of life and death, hath disposed of my life, and after this early manner, that in it he might express the effects of his justice; therefore, trouble not thyself with my death, which was thy comfort, but be vexed at thine own life, which is nothing but a continual pilgrimage to ambition, and an undermining mole to dig down the church of God, and to bring the gospel of our blessed Saviour into eternal captivity. Hast not thou been an untired pack-horse, travelling night and day, without a bait, and loaden like an ass, till thy knees have bowed under the burthen of strange and unnatural designs, by which to advance thy master to the universal monarchy of all Europe? This thy fear hath made thee confess, but this thy flattery and falshood will deny, should not the efficacy of truth make it most apparent and pregnant: Therefore, to enter into the first streams from whence Spain hath gathered the great ocean of its sovereignty, there is no fountain more remarkable than the battle of Alcazar in Barbary, where the too forward Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, whether slain or not slain, engaging himself too unfortunately, gave occasion to Philip the Second of Spain, to enter and usurp upon his kinsman's kingdoms, to expel Don Antonio from his right and inheritance, and, as it is strongly supposed, to cause the true king himself to die in the galleys; hence he became King of all the Spains and Portugal, pulled to himself the sovereignty both of the islands of the Canaries, and of the Azores; the one securing his way forth, the other securing his way home, from the West-Indies, and so made the conquest thereof more safe and undoubted; he took also, by the same interest, many strong holds, and merchantable places, in the East-Indies, so that sitting now alone in Spain, without a competitor, and having treasure from the West-Indies, wherewith to pay

soldiers, and merchandise from the East-Indies, wherewith to enrich his own subjects, What could he, or what did he contemplate upon but augmentation of his monarchy? Hence it came, that his war grew violent upon the Low-Countries, and under the governments of the Duke of Alva, and Don John, Duke of Austria, the tyrannies so insufferable, that all manner of freedoms were converted to slaveries, and the blood of the nobility made only food for the slaughter-house; yea such as were remote and stood farther off from his cruelty, depending upon their own rights, and under the covert of their own guards, were not yet safe from Spain's conspiracies; and that witness the death and murder of the famous Prince of Orange, the imprisonment and death of his eldest son, and a world of infamous practices against the life of Count Maurice, the last Prince deceased, and against the safety of Count Henry, the prince now surviving. What incroachments were daily made upon these distressed provinces, all the princes of Europe blush to behold, and had not Elisabeth, my dread lady and mistress of famous and blessed memory, taken them to her royal protection, they had long since been swallowed up in the gulph of his tyranny, and none of them, now living, had known the name of free princes; and as this work was begun by Philip the Second, so it was continued by Philip the Third, and is now at this hour as earnestly pursued by Philip the Fourth, and his sister the Archduchess, and rather with gaining than losing; so that, should England but turn its face a little away from their succour, there would be a great breach made in the hope of their subsisting.

But you will answer, that if Spain had fixed down its resolution upon an universal monarchy, they had never then hearkened to a peace with the Netherlands; to this thine own conscience is ten thousand witnesses, that the peace, which is entertained, was nothing else but a politick delay, to bring other, and imperfect ends and designs, to a more fit and solid purpose, for effecting of his general conquest; for what did this truce, but divert the eyes of the Netherlands (which at that time were growing to be infinite great masters of shipping) from taking a survey of his Indies, and bring a security to the transportation of his plate and treasure, and make him settle and reinforce his garisons, which then were grown weak and over-toiled, besides a world of other advantages, which too plainly discovered themselves, as soon as the war was new commenced?

As he had thus gotten his feet into the Netherlands, had not Spain, in the same manner, and with as much usurpation, thrust his whole body into Italy? Let Naples speak, let Sicily, let the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the dukedom of Milan, the revolt of the Valtoline, and a world of other places, some possessed, some lying under the pretence of strange titles, but come to give up their account; and it will be more than manifest, that no signory, in all Italy, but stood upon its guard, and hourly expected when the Spanish storm should fall upon them. How many quarrels have been piled against the state of Venice, some by the Pope, some by the King of Spain? How many doubts have been thrown upon Tuscany? What protestations have flown to Genoa, and what threatenings against Geneva? And

all to put Italy into a combustion, whilst the Pope's holiness, and his Catholick Majesty, like Saturn's sons, sat full gorged with expectation to divide heaven and earth between them.

'O! Was it not a brave politick trick of Spain, neither was thine advice absent from the mischief, when the difference fell between Henry the Great of France, and the Duke of Savoy, about the Marquisate of Saluses? The King then your master, under pretence of aiding the Duke, his brother-in-law, sent divers regiments of Spaniards, which were quartered some in Carbonieres, some in Montemellion, Savillan, Pigneroll, and divers other places, about Savoy and Piedmont; but when the truce was concluded, could the duke, upon any intreaty, or potent message, make these Spaniards to quit his country? No, by no means, for they were so far from leaving their foothold, having received divers commandments to keep it, both from the Count de Fuentes, at that time, viceroy of Milan, from thee by private letters, and from the King your master by sundry commissions; that the chiefs of those troops peremptorily answered the duke, that they would hold their gettings, in despite of all opposition, and were, indeed, full as good as their words for a long time; till at last, the duke, forced thereunto, raised up a strong army, and in a few days put them all to the sword. I would here repeat the Spanish attempt against the castle of Nice, being the very key or opener of an entrance into the very bowels of Italy; I could speak of the dangerous quarrel, raised between the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Mantua, for the Marquisate of Montferrat, and how fatal it was likely to have been to the whole state of Italy, wherein Fuentes, and thyself, shewed all the art of practice that might be, which should become the master workman; but these things are so pregnant and apparent, that they need little discussion.

'Let me now awaken thy memory with some stirrings up, or practices against the Kingdom of France, no less but more pernicious than any of the former: Who was the head or chief sovereign (after the death of Henry the Third, King of France and Poland) of that most unchristianlike combination, intituled the Holy, but truly, unholy League? Was it not Philip of Spain, one of your most catholick masters, who made the great and valiant Guise his sword and servant, the old Queen-mother his intelligencer and admirer, the Cardinals his ministers and seducers, and the Pope himself a prodigal child, to bestow and give away whatsoever he required? Was not all this Philip of Spain, your catholick master? How long did he keep Henry the Fourth, surnamed, the Great, from his lawful throne and inheritance? What cities did he possess? Even the greatest that France could number. What countries under his command? All that were rich or fruitful. And what nobility had he drawn from their obedience? Those that were most powerful and best beloved; insomuch that had not my most excellent mistress, Elisabeth, of blessed and famous memory, like a strong rock against the rage of a furious sea, taken the quarrel into her hand, and by her royal protection, first under the conduct of the Lord Willoughby, after under the conduct of the Earl of Essex, staid and supported that reeling state, France, it is feared, at this hour, had only spoken the

Spanish language; but God in his great mercy had otherwise disposed of these practices, and though with some difficulties, brought the crown of France to its true owner; a prince so absolutely excellent in every perfection of true honour and magnanimity, that his parallel hath not been found in all the history of France; and although he had in his very youth, and almost childhood, prevailed in divers battles, as that at Monconter, and at Rene-le Duke; and although he had been assailed in the days of Henry the Third, and in the space of four years, by ten royal armies successively one after another, and sent one to refresh the other, and under the conduct of great and most glorious captains, against all which he prevailed, as witnessed his victory at the battle of Coutras, and other places; though he had given succour to Henry the Third, and delivered him from his great danger at Tours, bringing to his obedience Gargeau, Gien, la Charite, Pluviers, Estampes, Dourdan, and divers other places; though he had been generally fortunate in all his great actions, yet after the death of Henry the Third, this devilish combination, or Spanish knot of the league, is more ominous, fatal, and troublesome unto him, than all his former undertakings; and he found that, although he might have come to the crown of France, by succession, which was the easiest way, yet God, to try his courage, to exercise the force of his mind, and to make a foolish shadow, or *Ignis Fatuus* of Spain's ambition, presented the most painful and difficult unto him, which was that of conquest: He was forced to raise on foot, by the help of our English nation, three royal armies, which he dispersed in three provinces; the first into Normandy, where he was assisted by the Earl of Essex; the second into Champaigne; and the third into Picardy, where he was seconded by the Lord Willoughby, who brought him triumphantly into the suburbs of Paris, and by the blowing up of a port, offered to deliver the whole city to his subjection. The Earl of Essex did as much at Roan, but the King desired to win France, not to destroy it; yet before the Earl departed, he chased rebellion out of the most part of Normandy. The King gave his enemies, the Spanish faction, battle upon the plain of Yury, and won it, by which he regained, in less than two months, fifteen or sixteen great towns, brought Paris to infinite extremity, made the Spaniards wish themselves on the other side of the Pyreneans, and indeed, was such a general amazement to all the unhappy Leaguers, that all stood agast, as uncertain, which way to turn them.

'This when your great master beheld, and saw that all his hopes were dying in an instant, like a cunning conjurer, he seeks to draw fire and lightning from heaven, to consume what his armies durst not approach, or disvalue; whence it came, that he rouses up Gregory the Thirtieth, then Pope, who, indeed, was the oracle, or rather the creature of Philip your master, and makes him, of a common father, between the head of a rebellious and usurping party, cast forth his fulminations, with such violence and injustice, that the bulls were taken and burnt, both at Tours and at Chalons; neither sent he out these bulls by his ungodly and bloody ministers, the jesuits, or such like desperate and obscure malecontents, but with an army of a thousand

cassocks of watchet velvet, imbroidered with gold, and cyphers of keys joined unto swords ; whose errand was, to demand the execution of these bulls : Now, seeing the difficulty wherein affairs stood, upon the view of one-hundred horse of the French King's white cornet, they dare not, for all the Pope or the King of Spain's hopes, or commandments, abandon the very shadow of the walls of Verdun, but, like so many foxes, lay lurking in their kennels of security, knowing they had to deal with men, whose swords were so well steeled, that they feared not the lead of Rome ; only, like so many furics of hell, they seek to break all treaties of peace, and made it an action treasonable and most impious, to talk of an unity between the sovereign and the subject.

‘ But, for all this, great Henry lost no time, for, First, he passed into Normandy, and secured his friends there ; thence he went into Picardy, besieged Noyon, and took it, even in the view of the Spanish army, who, although they were three to one, yet durst not hazard the battle ; which advantage the King wisely taking, and turning head upon his enemies, although he was advised to the contrary by his chiefest servants, yet his courage bound him, rather to follow the path of danger with honour, than that of safety with shame, saying as Pompey said, ‘ That in striking his foot against the earth, he would raise up legions ;’ so the armies met together at Aumale, where though, upon the first approach, the King was hurt with a shot, yet he had strength enough to cry, Charge, Charge ; and, breaking through his enemies, he put the Duke of Parma, and all his Spaniards, to a shameful retreat ; as this, so he beat his enemies at Bellencombe, stripped them at Bure, and made them to quit Yuetot with much shame and loss.

‘ Thus this royal King's quarrel being just, and maintained by a good sword, the pride of Spain found, that, if the war continued longer, her catholick greatness could have more wood to heat her oven, than corn to send to the mill.

‘ It is to no purpose to speak of the ruin of Quibeuif, the recovery of Espernay, or that brave assault, where eight horses put three-hundred to rout ; let it suffice me, in one word, to conclude, that, in despite of all the engines, which the Pope, or the King of Spain, could use, Henry of France became triumphant, and your master's universal monarchy was turned topsy-turvy ; nay, the league, the Typhon of sedition, from whence sprung so many serpents and vipers of disloyalty, was smothered under the Ætna of her own presumption and pride.

‘ But did either Spain or Rome here stay their malice ? Fie, no, but rather, Anteus like, they rose up with double vigour, and, what public war could not effect, private practice and conspiracy must bring to pass ; for, before the great Henry was well warmed in his throne, Hell and the Spanish gold, stirred up a wretch, who undertook to kill him ; the tyger staid his hand, at the shining of a glass, and, after his apprehension, confessed, that he saw so much piety and zeal shining in the eyes of this prince, that he felt horror in himself, to offend the sovereign dignity ordained of God among angels and men. Hence it came, that all France beheld and took notice of Spain's

ambition, and that, indeed, all their labour was but to reduce that flourishing nation, to a private province, which the parliament of Paris (after it had vomited the phlegm of temporising) taking to heart, made forth a decree, for the dispersing and banishing of all the Spanish regiments; and now fine great dukes, formerly bewitched with catholic incantations, fall at the foot of this great king, and confess how they were beguiled.

'The first was the Duke of Lorrain, which obtained a general peace for his estate, through the mediation of Ferdinand, the Archduke of Tuscany; the second was the Duke of Mayenne, who obtained pardon, through the wisdom of his carriage, having still a watchful eye, that no general ruin might happen to the kingdom; the third was the Duke of Guise, the loss of whose father and uncle made his interest the greatest in this quarrel, yet had he the honour to receive the King's first embraces; the fourth was the Duke of Joyeuse, who, as soon as he had kissed the King's hand, forsook the troubles of the world, and betook himself to a solitary life; and the last was the Duke Mercure, who brought to the King, not himself alone, but, with him, the reduction of the goodliest province in all France: To conclude, Philip of Spain, your master, seeing upon what false wheels his engines ran, was content to intreat for peace of this great chieftain.

'But did here conspiracies and Spanish plots end? No, nothing so; for, to come nearer to your own touch, and to repeat matters of thine own prosecution, is it not an history most remarkable, and, to Spain, most infamous, of that desperate villain born at Negre-pelisse, who, going into Spain upon some discontents conceived against this great Henry of France, and, as it was strongly supposed, having taken some directions from you, but full and material instructions from the devil's post-horses, your masters, the jesuits, did, with all violence, prostitute himself to murder this most christian king; but the matter being so important, and carried through so many several hands, had lost so much strength of secrecy, that an inkling thereof came to the ears of de Barraut, then ordinary ambassador in Spain for the King of France, who instantly, out of duty, and the hatred which every true christian ought to bear against these odious and most atheistical practices, complained to the Pope's nuncio, hoping for redress, both against the villain himself, and the jesuit, who are both villains, and yourself; but the matter was fully blanché, and your impious ear, that had listened to his abominable sin, was excused, and the whole offence of subornation was laid upon a creature of yours, but one of the King of Spain's esquires, named, from the place of his birth, Valdomoro; who, upon examination (having his lesson before taught him, confessed all the passages to the Duke of Lerma, and that, not only this slave, but divers others, had tendered themselves to the like service, yet this, with the greatest violence, assuring him, that he knew the means how to kill the king; which proposition, upon some conference with a jesuit (who never take distaste at such a practice) he had accepted of, but yet, with that caution and delay, that nothing proceeded therein, neither was likely to proceed, and so all things were shut up, without any further discovery, only that de Barraut advertised

the King, his master, thereof: But was this honourable or pious in Spain? No, the praise had been more perfect, and the merit more plain and evident, for the Spaniards, if they had punished the traitor, made thyself, Valdomoro, and the Jesuit, examples, not to listen or give ear to such odious conspiracies, and, by a careful advertisement to the King, made others dread the entering into so odious a business; for it is true, in all the laws of hospitality, that this slave ought not to have come out of Spain unchastised, for all kings are brothers, and all kingdoms interested in these attempts. But the designs of Spain looked now another way, and the traitor had leave to escape, who, returning afterwards into France, was, by de Verdun, first president of Languedock, apprehended at Tholouse, and there executed, and his companion condemned to the gallics. O how far was this action short of that royal and princely act of the famous late Queen Elisabeth! who, having received intelligence of some Spanish mischiefs pretended against this great king, forthwith gave him intelligence, that a strange gentleman, who was one of his followers, had no good meaning towards his person, and related unto him every circumstance as she had received it; but such was the bounty of this great King, that, although reason would that he should have been apprehended, yet the King never discovered unto him a frown, but he still remained in the court well entertained, was mounted out of the King's stable, and honoured with many of his trusty commandments, till, in the end, tortured with his own conscience, he stole away from the court, and durst no longer abuse so royal a bounty; that this was a favourite of Spain, yourself cannot deny; that he fled from France into Spain, your own cabinet is a witness; and, that you did preserve him for the like exploits in other places, the mark on his face, the colour of his beard, and his cloaths, cut after the Walloon fashion, were too apparent testimonies.

'I might here recount this great King's death by Ravilliack, from whose blood, neither thyself, nor Spain, can wash themselves, though all the rivers in the world were exhausted and thrust into one intire bath, and so spent upon your particular cleansings; but these truths are so fresh in memory, they need neither repeating, nor amplification.

'I could to these add a world of others, as the attempts upon the life and safety of the late Queen Elisabeth, of famous memory and the making of all those inhuman creatures pensioners of Spain, who had either by rebellion, or other treasonable practice, attempted any thing for her untimely and sad destruction.

'Was our late dread Sovereign, King James, of blessed and happy memory, that Solomon of his time, a prince so indulgent and careful for every good thing that might happen to Spain, a man so tender and vigilant for her reputation, that he ever placed it in the next rank to his own honour? Was he, I say, was this good King free from the bloody practices of Spain? No, to the eternal infamy of ungrateful and bloody Spain, I may ever proclaim it, that he was more deeply plunged, and his like, more bitterly besieged and assaulted, than any whatsoever before rehearsed; and to this I call up the plot of all plots, that devil of many legions of devils, the gunpowder conspiracy, that which should have destroyed all, not a single prince, or a single man; but many

princes, many men's whole generations; here was cruel Spain, and here indeed, had not God prevented, was a strong foundation for an universal monarchy; and, that Spain may not, in this, plead not guilty, let her discover to the world what occurrences they were which drew Thomas Winter into her confines, what negotiation was that which he held with de Laxis? Whence came his instructions and letters commendatory into the Archduchess's country? Where did Guy Fawkes receive his breeding? Who gave information of his knowledge in mining? And who preferred and advanced him to this piece of most damnable service? Questionless, let truth answer to any of these positions, and the speech, it must utter, will be Spanish language: Who in all this nation was so intimate with you as the Archpriest Garnet? Or who, like him, found at your hands equal protection? He confessed and absolved the traitors, and thou didst absolve and confess him, and thereby didst get unto thyself, from thine own tribe, the nick-name of Archbishop Ambassador.

'Thus I have brought Spain's attempts for an universal monarchy, from Portugal to the Netherlands, thence through Italy, and so into France; England was looked upon by the way, in the year 1588, but she was not so drowsy as others: there is now but Germany betwixt him and the end of his ambition, but is that free and untouched? Woe to speak it, that of all is the worst and most horrid. O! the lamentable estate of those once most happy princes! How hath the house of Austria drowned them in blood? And, by the work of civil dissension, made them in their furies to devour one another? Is there any thing in this age more lamentable or remarkable, than the loss of the Palatinate? Or is there any thing in which thy villainy can so much triumph as in that politick defeature? Why, the lyes which thou didst utter to abuse the Majesty of England, and to breed delays till thy master's designs were effected, were so curious and so cunning, so apt to catch, and so strong in the holding, that the devil, who was formerly the author of lyes, hath now from thee taken new precedents for lying. I would here speak of thy Archduchess's dissimulation; but she is a great lady, and their errors at the worst are weak virtues.

'Therefore to thee that hast lent both fuel and flame to all the mischiefs of Europe, and that art now big in labour with new troubles and vexations: arise and collect thy spirits; become once honest and religious; let thy services depend upon good and necessary affairs, and not upon malicious and bloody practices: for behold, I, thy tormentor, will never be absent from thine elbow, and whatsoever thou shalt contrive or plot for the hurt of Great Britain, I, with the help of the holy angels, will return upon thine own bosom, and the bosom of thy country, for the God of heaven and earth, who is the protector of the innocent, hath made royal King Charles, and his throne, precious in his sight; therefore, if thou desirest to live and see good days, touch not his anointed, and do his prophets no hurt.'

At these words, the glorious apparition, waving his sword about, vanished out of his sight, and the poor Don, as if awakened from a deadly or mortal sleep, rose up, looking about with such ghastly amazement, as affrighted all that beheld him. In the end, espying his

own servants, with tears in his eyes, terror in his heart, and a general trembling over all his body, he went into his litter, and returned home; where, how he refreshed himself, how he appeared before the designed commissioners, and how he answered the expectation both of them, and the King his master, shall be declared upon the next return of the woman-post, which passeth betwixt the English and the Spanish Jesuits.

A TRUE AND MOST EXACT RELATION

OF THE

TAKING OF THE GOODLY SHIP,

CALLED,

THE SAINT ESPRIT,

Belonging unto the French King;

Which was built in Holland, and furnished with fifty-four Pieces of great Ordnance;

Was surprised on the Twenty-eighth Day of September,

BY SIR SACKVILLE TREVOR, KNIGHT,

And since brought over, by him, unto Harwich, in Essex.

LIKEWISE,

The Proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham's Grace, in the Isle of Ree; the Killing of the base Brother of the French King, at the new Fort before Rochelle, with a Shot from one of our Ships; and also the appointed place of Rendezvous of the great Fleet threatened from Foreign Parts to raise the Siege at the Isle of Ree: with many other particulars. Published by Authority.

London: printed by A. M. for Thomas Walkley; and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Eagle and Child, in Britain's Burse. 1637. Quarto, containing fourteen pages.

THE French-resolving to build some ships for the strengthening of their navy, and wanting materials and shipwrights in the kingdom, they determined to build them in Holland, at Amsterdam, and Enchuysen; a thing which the States of the United Provinces could not

deny them, it being at their proper cost, in respect of those obligations which bind them to that nation.

The notice whereof, together with their supposed time of launching, being advertised into England, his Majesty, to crush this crocodile in the shell, and to prevent the storm of the danger before it fell, sent out Sir Sackville Trevor, after his return from the river of Elbe, where he made the Hamburgers come to reason, and searched their ships in despite of all opposition.

He had with him in this last expedition a fleet of eight sail, whereof four were of the King's navy royal, the rest were merchants.

His commission enjoined him to ply up and down, upon the coast of Holland, and to take all French ships which he could meet withal.

He observing carefully these orders, used all possible speed, and on Friday the twenty-eighth of September, he arrived at the Texel, a great road in North Holland, about eight of the clock at night, with all his fleet in safety.

The Names of his Ships were these :

The King's good ship, called the Assurance, carrying thirty-eight pieces of brass ordnance, wherein Sir Sackville himself went as admiral.

The King's good ship, called the Adventure, carrying twenty-six brass pieces, wherein Captain George Allen commanded as vice-admiral.

The good ship, called the Ambrose, carrying eighteen pieces of iron ordnance, wherein Capt. John Pette, the rear-admiral of the fleet, commanded.

The King's good ship, called the St. Mary of Roan, carrying sixteen great pieces, besides murderers, the captain whereof was Captain Thomas Bardesey.

Captain Cheyney's ship, called the May Flower, of London.

Capt. Hook's ship, called the Lion, of Ipswich.

Captain Morgan's ship, called the Jacob.

Capt. Needham, a pinnace belonging to the King, called the Maria, carrying six pieces of brass ordnance.

These four latter ships were of no great burthen, but were well manned, and of quick steerage, and carried in all, besides the murderers, which they had upon their upper decks, twenty pieces of brass and iron ordnance.

Sir Sackville Trevor got a Dutch pilot upon the coast, who being demanded concerning the ships that lay in the Texel, told him, that besides sixteen Hollandish men of war, and divers other vessels of good burthen, there lay one goodly French ship, called the St. Esprit, which was of the burthen of eight hundred tons, the upper works whereof were richly gilt with double angel gold, in the inside and outside of her, in those places which were fittest to express pomp and stateliness, as also the very port-holes were curiously carved with lions heads gaping that were richly double gilt.

The pilot, after he had been fully questioned by Sir Sackville Trevor concerning all particulars, which might tend to the service, told

him, that if he would give him gold, he would bring him to the side of her; whereupon Sir Sackville gave him a double Portugue in gold, valuing four pounds, sterling.

We coming near unto their French ship, presently she sent out her long boat, being manned with French and Dutch, to hale us, and to see what we were: but our admiral commanding the men to come aboard us, we surprised the long-boat, and pinioned the men, and put them in the hold.

Afterwards the Esprit, discovering us to be enemies, began to fight, and discharged, but without any effects of hurt, three great shot, and one hundred small shot. Then Sir Sackville Trevor, being willing to take occasion by the foretop, and to slack no time for fear of losing advantage, came up close to her, and gave her a whole broadside; so likewise did our vice-admiral and rear-admiral, and the St. Mary, where Captain Thomas Bardesey commanded; which shot was discharged with that quick motion, and working advantage, that their main-mast and bow-sprit being pierced through, they cried out for quarter, which, for good considerations, was granted them; so that by ten of the clock at night, which was two hours after our coming into the Texel, we became masters of this great and warlike ship.

Before we came up close to her, but after they had discovered us to be enemies, those of the St. Esprit made a train in a chest filled with gunpowder, and other combustible materials, to blow up the ship, and our men that should enter it. But this resolution was again altered, because their long boat being taken by our admiral, they saw no other means of escape, but only by submitting themselves unto our mercy.

That night we disposed of her men severally in our ships, being one hundred French and fifty Dutch. We gave all fair quarter to the Dutch, but the French were kept prisoners until the day before we came out of the Texel, and then they were all set on land in North-Holland.

After we had taken this ship, there came unto us Captain Dapper, in the True Love of Ipswich, and Captain Wall, in the Susan, of Al-borough, on the Sunday following, whom we welcomed after the manner of the sea.

There was another goodly French ship, which was newly come over Wearing Flats, distant eight miles from the Texel, who receiving intelligence of our strength, and of what we had done, got hoys, lighters, and other small vessels of transportation; in which having lighted herself of her ordnance, she got over the flats to Enchuysen, before our men could come up to her.

We came up with eight sail of ships to take her, but losing our labour, by means that she was safely harboured in Enchuysen, we returned back again unto our Admiral, who expected our coming in the Texel road.

Some of the states of the neighbour towns came aboard us, and demanded peremptorily, by virtue of what commission we came to fetch that ship out of their road. Our admiral told them, that he had commission to take all French ships which he could meet withal, and he

was assured that this was a French ship, and therefore he adventured to take her, without any further commission.

Capt. George Allen, our vice-admiral, and some others of this fleet, stay upon the coast of Holland, for the intercepting of this, and other French ships; the rest, under the conduct of Sir Sackville Trevor, brought home the surprised ship to Harwich.

This goodly ship taken on the twenty-eighth of September, as is aforesaid, had forty-two pieces of ordnance mounted, twelve pieces unmounted in her hold, two hundred and six armours, one hundred and fifty musquets, and sixty barrels of gunpowder.

The specification of her ordnance, and other particulars, follows:

Item, Upon her lower tier, twenty whole culverings of brass of full size, being in height five inches and a quarter.

In her steerage, two demy culverings of brass, in height four inches, one quarter, and better.

Item, Two drakes upon the half deck, being brass, of sacker bore.
24 brass.

Item, Upon her upper tier twelve demy-culverings of iron, in height four inches and a quarter.

Item, Four sackers of iron, upon the half deck.

18 iron.

Sum total mounted is 42.

Item, It is reported, there are in hold twelve pieces of iron, all whole culverings; we took the height of two, being five inches, the rest we could not come to.

The length of the ship, by the keel, is one hundred and five feet.

The breadth, by her beam, is thirty-five feet.

From the kirchin to the deck in depth twelve feet.

Item, Two hundred and six armours.

Item, One hundred and fifty musquets.

Item, Sixty barrels of gunpowder.

Concerning the proceedings of our army and navy in the island of Ree, commonly called St. Martin's, there hath happened no memorable accident, as far as we can understand, since the Wednesday se'nnight after Sir John Burrows was slain, upon the night of which day, our men surprised many boats, as they were passing to the fort with victuals; the particulars of which exploit were related in our last journal; but concerning the occurrences happening in the main, we have received their advertisements, by letters out of France, on Wednesday last, being the third of October.

That the French King, being fully bent to follow his designs against Rochel, and to pluck out that thorn, which, as the Cardinal intimated unto him, had so long stuck in the sides of his sovereignty, continues the building of his new fort, on purpose to debar the townsmen from all ingress and egress by water. He follows this work with great charge and great labour, as well knowing how important the finishing thereof will be for his farther ends and intentions. He hath caused twelve whole cannons to be mounted before the breast of this fort, with which his cannoniers make divers random shot into the

town, but with more terror than danger. Some ships of our fleet, riding not far from the fort, have bestowed divers shot upon the French, though without point-blank distance. One of which fell so fortunately for us, and so unfortunately for them, that it killed a base son of that great Henry the Fourth, which he had by a sister of the Duke of Orleans. The same shot did likewise kill another duke, of whose name we are not as yet certain. And the wind of that bullet struck down the monsieur, the legitimate brother of the French King, as he was conferring with the other two.

It is further confirmed, that two principal men of the French nobility were slain by the late ambush of the Rochellers. Which two noblemen, with divers other brave chevaliers, were drawn within danger by a stale made by twenty common soldiers, in the habit of gentlemen, who sallied forth of the town of Rochel.

The Rochellers are very careful to furnish our fleet and army, with all necessary provisions, which their store or procuration can afford; and these they transport in twenty long boats, which in token of the service that they owe unto the King of England, carry red crosses for the device of their colours. Divers English, who have been either sick or wounded, are in the town, amongst whom is that honourable knight, Sir Charles Rich, who is cured of his wound, but hath not as yet recovered the perfect use of his arm. His presence is much desired of my Lord Duke, and is expected in the army every day.

His excellency, to avoid the extortion of victuallers, who, like the milt in man's body, grow fat by the leanness of others, hath, out of his noble disposition, published a proclamation for the price of bread, wine, and other necessaries, according to the rates of which proclamation, the islanders and others from the continent do bring in victuals.

There is a confident report in all those parts of France, that there are appointed forty ships of war to come from Spain, and twenty from Dunkirk, who are to join with the French fleet for the succours of the island, and the beating off of the English. The rendezvous of all these ships was appointed at Blawet, a famous port-town in Brittany, on the tenth of this present month.

THE PRESENT STATE OF ENGLAND,

EXPRESSED IN THIS PARADOX,

*Our Fathers were very rich with little,
And We poor with much.*

WRITTEN BY WALTER CAREY.

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WHEREAS I intended to shew the present state of England, by the exposition of this paradox; yet would I have none to think, that I intend to meddle or speak of any matter of government thereof, *Quia Jovem tangere periculosum**; but only to express the manners and conditions of the people, and to shew the difference of this present time, and of that which was sixty yeares since, when I was, as it were, but a springing *cima*† of sixteen years old: Neither will I therein use any long discourse, but with all possible brevity deliver only this pamphlet, as a glass, wherein men of this present age may see their monstrous deformities; or as a theme for wiser wits to play upon, setting aside, in effect, whatsoever I shall write more than the words of the very paradox itself; for, *Verbum sapienti sat est*‡. The duty also, which, by the law of God, and the law of nature, I owe unto my native soil, and the great heart-sorrow I have to see the follies, misdemeanours, and ill behaviour of many of this time, hath moved me, now in my withered age, to leave these few lines, as tokens of my love; with great hope, that, if the same, perhaps, shall come to the hands of our wise, religious, virtuous, learned, and most gracious sovereign King, the blessed peace of England, he will thereby be put in mind, *Scabra hæc nostra dolare*, that is, to make these our rugged ways plain.

The Exposition of the Paradox,

AS in all others, so, in this paradox, the words carry a strange sense, and seem to import a meer contrariety and untruth: For, according to the word, how can it be, that one having little, should be rich, and another much, should be poor? Wherefore we must seek another, and more secret meaning; knowing, that every paradox hath both an outward and inward sense: The one, as I may term it, super-

* i. e. It is dangerous to meddle with Jupiter.

‡ i. e. A word to the wise is enough.

† i. e. Bud.

ficial, the other essential; the one left to the gazing of fools, with admiration; the other to the wise, with deep consideration: The one to the eye and outward appearance only; the other to the inward sense and judgment. For my promised brevity's sake, omitting many, I will speak only of three things, with their appurtenances; wherein our then wise fathers did greatly differ from us now fools.

These three, which have turned things upside down, and strangely altered our estate, are suits of Law, suits of Apparel, and Drunkenness; which being well considered, with matters subsequent, it will appear, that these three foul stains, in our fair commonwealth, do plainly lay open and prove the inward truth of my paradox; for, to speak first in general, our fathers in apparel were very plain; drunkenness was abhorred; and, as it is a most base trade, so used only of the most base, and some few of the very abject sort. They did not ambitiously strive to get that which they could not compass, to borrow that which they could not repay, neither to contend for every trifle in law, which, at this day, are causes of infinite suits; but, living quietly and neighbourly with that they had, they were ever rich, able to give and lend freely. But now, on the contrary, our rents being generally five times as much as our fathers received for the same land, the idle and senseless expences of senseless drunkards; the outrageous charge of suits in law; the monstrous prodigality in apparel, maketh us, seeming great and rich in outward shew, to be full of care, trouble, ever needy, and very beggarly: For, by these three means, we strive to seem kings, but contend, indeed, who shall be first beggars; so that the old proverb is in this age most truly verified. *Stultorum plena sunt omnia*, i. e. The world is full of fools. Now of these three particularly; and first,

Of Drunkenness.

THIS most monstrous vice is thus defined: *Ebrietas est privatio motus recti & intellectus*, i. e. Drunkenness is the privation of orderly motion and understanding. This definition agreeth in part with that which Galen hath, lib. xxx. *de locis affectis*, of natural folly, which is, *Stultitia est amissio intellectus*, i. e. Folly is the loss of understanding; and another saith, it is *absentia intellectus*, i. e. The absence or want of understanding: But I need not stand much about the definition of drunkenness, or to shew what it is: For, with grief I speak it, the taverns, alehouses, and the very streets are so full of drunkards, in all parts of this kingdom, that, by the sight of them, it is better known, what this detestable and odious vice is, than by any definition whatsoever. God hath made all things for man; hath made him ruler and governor over all; which office, that he may the better perform, he hath given him reason, a most divine thing and precious jewel, to govern his actions, whereby he far excelleth all other creatures. This is well compared to a carpenter's rule; for without a rule the carpenter can never orderly compose his work; but every part will be out of frame; so that these drunkards, having expelled reason, that most excellent

rule, are in far worse case than brute beasts; for they have neither reason nor nature to direct them, but shew themselves either fools or mad-men, as they are formerly defined. I would to God, they would consider how many murders have been, and daily are committed by drunkards; so that some of them are killed and taken away in the midst of their wickedness; others hanged, losing lands and goods, to the overthrow of their houses. This sin is, in a word, in itself damnable, and the very pathway leading to all other wickedness whatsoever. *Inter alia, hoc me mirificè excruciat, quod academia nostra morbo hoc pernicioso laborare dicuntur: nam fontes si inficiantur, rivi omnes non nisi aquam putidam præbere poterint**. But, still mindful of my promised brevity, I will only set down notes, as it were, or short speeches of drunkards or drunkenness, and so take my leave of that, wherewith I was never acquainted.

I read of one brought up from his infancy in a wilderness, at last coming to a city, and seeing a drunken man go up and down the streets, using clamorous and outrageous words, far from reason, in his gait staggering, and in all his actions foolish and rude, asked what creature that was, being, so like in shape to a man, and no man.

Another seeing one come drunk out of a tavern, falling down in the street, and vomiting up in great abundance the wine with which he had overcharged his stomach, said, Look, look, I will shew you a strange sight; this man hath in this sort vomited many goodly lordships, and great treasure, left him by his father; and now he hath neither wealth nor wit, but is a beggar, and a besotted fool.

It is written, that, one coming into a place where many were drunk, one of them offered him a full cup; to whom he said, there was poison in it, or worse than poison; for it hath bereft you all of your wits and understanding. I will none, I thank you.

One, seeing a man extremely drunk, and still drinking excessively, said, Alas! let him drink no more. To whom another answered, Let him drink still, for he is good for nothing else; and it is not fit for a man to live, that is good for nothing.

They, that force others to drunkenness, are like stinking sinks, which receive all filthy and loathsome things, and therewith infect others.

One being asked, What he thought of a man often drunk, said, He is a piece of ground good for nothing, which bringeth forth nothing but weeds.

A drunken man sleeping soundly, one said, It is pity he should ever wake; for now he doth no harm; but, when he is awake, he is ever speaking or doing something that is naught.

I have heard, that, in Spain, if one be drunk, his oath is never after to be taken before a judge.

A philosopher, hearing one brag of his great drinking, as many do in these days, said, My mule doth far excel thee in that virtue.

It were very fit that drunkards, having lands, should be made wards, of what age soever; for they are not able to govern themselves, nor their livings, more than children.

* i. e. Amongst other things, I am sore grieved, that our universities are reported to be infected with this sore disease: For, if the fountains are infected, all the rivers can give us no better than corrupt water.

Sentences of wise Men, touching Drunkenness and Drunkards.

COMES ebrietatis paupertas, Beggary is the companion of drunkenness.

Qui sunt crebrè ebrii, citò senescunt, They that often drink, are quickly old.

Nulla fides ebrío danda, nec huic negotium committendum, There is no trust to be given to a drunkard, neither any business to be committed to him.

Ebrietas contentiosa, Drunkenness is full of quarrels.

Ebrietas fomes libidinis, Drunkenness is fuel for filthy lust.

Ebriosi Psittacorum more modò loquuntur, Drunkards speak but like parrots.

Vino repletus, vinum habet, seipsum non habet, He that is full of wine hath wine, himself he hath not.

Ebrietas dulce venenum, Drunkenness is a pleasant poison.

Nescit ebrietas vel imperare, vel parere, Drunkenness knoweth neither to govern, nor to be governed.

Ubi ebrietas, ibi sola fortuna; ubi sola fortuna, ibi nulla sapientia dominatur, Where drunkenness is, there only fortune; where only fortune is, there no wisdom doth bear rule.

Ebriosus semper in præcipiti stat, A drunkard standeth always, as it were, in a place ready to break his neck.

Ebrium noli consulere, Never ask counsel of a drunkard.

Ebrietas non minor quàm insania, sed brevior, Drunkenness is no less than madness, but shorter.

So have you heard, what the wisest men long since have said of this filthy vice, and the vicious followers of the same.

To conclude, I wish all drunkards to read this, every morning as soon as they rise, that thereby they may be persuaded to reformation that day; and to remember how greatly that beast-like and loathsome sin hurteth the soul, the body, the purse, and the name or reputation. It is in itself so odious and detestable before God, and all civil men, that, as one saying, Lo, yonder is a cruel lion: which words cause a man presently to fly and shift away: so, if I had but named drunkenness, that only word should be a sufficient persuasion for wise men to avoid the same. For the lion is not so dangerous, who killeth only the body, as drunkenness, which killeth body and soul.

Of the excessive Abuse in Apparel.

THERE are professors of a rare and strange art or science, who are named Proportionaries; but seldom set to work. If you deliver one of these a bone of your grandfather's little finger, he will by that find the proportion of all his bones, and tell you to an inch how tall a man your grandfather was: so I herein mind to use some of their skill; for, seeing it is an infinite matter, *sigillatim* to write all the peevish, child-

ish, and more than foolish costly ornaments now used, especially being object to every man's sight, I will only take the head with the neck, and, by these, tell you what proportion all the rest of the body holdeth, down to the lowest part of the foot. I saw a compleat gentleman of late, whose beaver hat cost thirty-seven shillings, a feather twenty shillings, the hatband three pounds, and his ten double ruff four pounds; thus the head and neck only were furnished, and that but of one suit, for nine pounds seventeen shillings. Now taking the proportion of the bravery for the rest of the body; the cloke lined with velvet, daubed over with gold lace two fingers broad; the sattin doublet and hose in like sort decked; the silk stockings, with costly garters hanging down to the small of the leg; the Spanish shoes, with glittering roses; the girdle and steeleto: I leave it to those that herein know more than I, and can speak of greater bravery than this, to cast up the total sum; wherein also, as an appurtenant, they may remember his mistress suited at his charge, and cast up both sums in one. But, on the contrary, I observed, but sixty years since, generally a man full as good or better in ability than this compleat, lusty looking lad, whose hat and band cost but five shillings, and his ruff but twelve pence at most. So you see the difference of these sums; the one is nine pounds seventeen shillings, the other six shillings. Then, after this proportion, the whole attire of the one cost above thirty times as much as the attire of the other; forget not also, that the one lasteth three times as long as the other; subject to change, as fashions change. There is another appurtenant to this gilded folly; for, if his Mistress say it doth not become him, or if the fashion change, that suit is presently left off, and another bought. I will not forget, but touch a little the foolish and costly fashion of changing fashions, noted especially, and objected against our English nation; and in one thing only, I mean the hat, I will express our prodigious folly in all the rest. Of late the broad-brimmed hat came suddenly in fashion, and put all others out of countenance and request; and happy were they that could get them soonest, and be first seen in that fashion; so that, a computation being made, there is at the least three hundred thousand pounds, or much more, in England only, bestowed in broad-brimmed hats, within one year and an half. As for others, either beaver or felts, they were on the sudden of no reckoning at all; insomuch that myself, still continuing one fashion, bought a beavers hat for five shillings, which the year before could not be had under thirty shillings. The like, or more, may be said of the change from plain to double ruffs: but, if you will see the effect of these follies, and what lamentable estate it bringeth many unto, go to the King's-bench prison, to the Fleet, to the Compters, and like places; where you shall find many, that in golden glittering bravery have shined like the sun, but now, their patrimonies and all being spent, and they in debt, their sun is eclipsed, and they rest there in very miserable case, bewailing their vain and more than childish course of life; and some of them call to mind, how they have heard, that their forefathers, on that living, which they have in lewd sort spent, and disinherited their family for ever, lived bountifully, quietly, pleasantly, and, as I may truly say, like kings in their little kingdoms: they sel-

dom or never went to London, they did not strive for greatness, they did not long for their neighbour's land, neither sold of their own, but, keeping good hospitality, and plainly ever attired, were very rich. Well, if the hat alone, and, in so short a time, hath put England to that charge, by change of fashion only; what hath lawns, cambricks, silks, sattins, velvets, and the rest done, and change of fashion in them? I will deliver you my opinion, out of love to my country, and desire of reformation, and leave it to the correction of the wiser. The money, which is most superfluously bestowed in apparel in this little island, is thought able to maintain a navy, to command the sea forces of all our neighbours bordering on the narrow seas, of Spain, and of the pirates, and all others in the Mediterranean sea. How far they further may shew their force in the sea leading to Constantinople, I will not take upon me to judge. Yet one other effect these peacocks feathers, in this gilded, not golden age, worketh: the most part of the gentry of this kingdom are so far in the usurers books, by their over-reaching heads to climb to greatness, and they and their wives to exceed their neighbours in bravery and place, that they live in continual care, and, like fishes in nets, the more they strive to get out, the faster they hang. I could bring many sentences of the wise and learned against these vain, peevish, childless, thriftless, and painted fools, as I did against drunkards; but I will only tell you an old tale, and so conclude this part: a knight named Young, a man of an excellent mother wit, very pleasant, and full of delightful and merry speech, was commended to our late Sovereign Queen Elisabeth, who caused him to be brought to her, took great pleasure to talk with him; and, amongst other things, she asked him, how he liked a company of brave ladies that were in her presence? He answered, As I like my silver-haired conies at home; the cases are far better than the bodies. These our named gallants are well compared to such conies, and are deceived much, to think they better their reputation by their bravery; for many, even ordinary taylors in London, are in their silks, sattins, and velvets, as well as they: and, in Italy, every base ordinary blacksmith doth exceed, on the Sabbath-day and other holidays, or equal the bravest of them. I wish them, therefore, to compare the sweet country with the unsavoury London, wherein they are most resident, which is the cause of great expence, in bravery, in gaming, drinking, resorting to plays, brothel-houses, and many other great follies; and I dare say, they shall find more true pleasure in one year, living like their fore-fathers in the country, than in twenty living in London.

Touching Suits in Law.

HEREIN I must bear an even hand, and speak nothing that shall give just cause of offence; yet *veritas non culpanda* *.

In our law proceedings, I find (in my simple judgment, ever subject

* i. e. Truth ought not to be blamed.

to the correction of the wiser) sundry inconveniences. The first is, that although they have in their law a maxim, *de minimis non curat lex*^a, yet they admit every trifling action for gain; even of such poor clients also, as have scarcely bread to give their children; wherein oftentimes is more spent, than thrice the value of that they strive for,

I heard of two men, who fell at variance about an hive of bees, and went to law, until he, that had spent least, had spent five hundred pounds.

I heard also of two brethren, who contended in chancery for a chain of gold worth sixty pounds. The elder, being executor, kept the chain; the younger had proof, that his father said often in his lifetime, that the chain should be his: the suit proceeded, until they had spent above an hundred pounds. And, on a day, being both at the Chancery-bar, they touched one another; and the elder brother desired to speak with the younger, and said, Brother you, see how these men feed on us, and we are as near an end of our cause, as when we first began; come and dine with me, and I will give you the one half of the chain, and keep the other, and so end this endless cause: and, I pray you, let us both make much of this wit, so dearly bought. Thus was this cause ended.

There was a widow and a gentleman, that contended for a seat in the church, at the civil law; and this gentleman, talking of his suit for his seat, protested, that it had cost him so great a sum, as that, for the credit of these courts, I am loth to name. One wondering thereat, he said, It was most true; and said farther, They have spun me, at length, like a twine thread; and named the number of courts he had been twisted in, and the strange number of chargeable commissions which passed between them. Thus you see the old saying true: 'If you go to law for a nut, the lawyers will crack it, give each of you half the shell, and chop up the kernel themselves.'

There is a thing which long since happened in France, very memorable, touching the endless causes in the civil law: a stranger, having sold great store of merchandise there, and not paid, entered suit against his debtors, wherein he spent more than his debts came unto; and thereupon greatly perplexed, especially seeing no likelihood of an end of his suits, or obtaining his debts; he went to the King, and said, I have a great complaint against one in your kingdom, and I humbly desire you to hear me patiently: the King said, Tell me against whom, I will very patiently and willingly hear thee. My Lord, said he, it is against yourself: Against me, said the King, How so? Whatsoever it be, speak it freely, and fear nothing: whereupon the merchant told him, That he did suffer most intolerable, costly, and tedious courses in the proceedings of law in his kingdom (which is there only the civil law) and such as, I think, will never have an end, as long as the clients have money to give the lawyers; and told him withal, of all his proceedings. Well, said the wise King, I will first see thee fully satisfied, and then reform this foul abuse: and presently thereupon did take such excellent order for the quick and just end of

^a i. e. The Law takes no Cognisance of Trifles.

causes, that his subjects did name him, *Pater Patriæ*; and he was so admired, and so heartily loved of them, as, I think, never King was before or since.

I could speak further of two citizens of London, who fell out for the kicking of a dog, and went so long to law, until their books could not be contained in two bushel bags. This cause, thus standing without shew of end, our late gracious Sovereign Queen Elisabeth caused to be arbitrated. I could speak of many more like vain and trifling suits, which, as little springs, first creep out at the foot of an hill, and, by long running, grow to be great rivers: but these shall suffice, *quia in infinitis instare, infinitum*.*

I have heard of a very laudable order in Spain: there are appointed certain men, called justices, which are dispersed over the whole kingdom; every one limited to certain parishes, in which he hath authority to hear complaints of misdemeanours, and trifling quarrels, and to punish offenders, either by fine (whereof he hath part, and the king the rest) or corporal punishment, as he seeth good; and to end also causes for trifling debts, and other matters (being of no great moment) whatsoever, without suit: whereas, in England, there are an infinite number of suits tolerated for words, for the least blow, for cattle breaking into ground, for trifling debts, and such like; so that, if one have ten shillings owing him, nay five, or less, he cannot have it but by suit in law, in some petty court, where it will cost thirty or forty shillings charge of suit. But, to end this chapter, I could wish that our justices, by commission, were authorised to sit in several parts, to which they dwell nearest; and, before any suit be brought, the plaintiff should shew his cause of complaint, and thereupon, if it were for title of much land, or matter of great moment, he should be suffered to proceed in law; but, if otherwise, they should determine it themselves, or refer it to others, as, the persons and causes considered, they thought good, and likewise to punish misdemeanours; which would breed great peace in this land, and prevent the utter undoing of many.

A Second Inconvenience.

This is the multiplicity of attornies at the Common Law or Chancery, under-clerks, and many petty-foggers dwelling and dispersed over all this kingdom; which may well be compared to such as stand with quail-pipes, ever calling the poor silly bird into the net.

I heard it credibly reported, that, a few years since, there were not above two or three attornies in the Isle of Wight, and not many more causes or suits at law; but now there are (said the reporter) at the least sixty, and many more suits in law. The reason, he added, was this: If any be angry with his neighbour, he hath one of these ready and near at hand, to whom he openeth his grief; who is also as ready presently to set him on for his own gain, telling him his cause is clear, and he shall never wag his foot, but he will do all for him, and fetch his adversary about well enough. On the contrary, the

* i. e. Because there would be no end of such endless Matters.

other hath one as ready to tell him, how well ~~he~~ will defend his cause. So these two enter combat, and, when both are weary, then neighbours end the cause; and to that end, for the most part, come all suits of England. How much better, then, were it, at the first, to commit causes to neighbours? for no causes seldom have so good end by law, as by neighbours: *Iniquissima pax justissimo bello anteferenda*, i. e. The most unjust peace is preferable to the most just war.

The third is, Motions made in the Courts, especially in the Chancery.

There are some counsellors, who will, in their motions, report whatsoever their client telleth them, be it true or false; and these are well said to have *voces venales*, that is, to be such, as that, for money, you may have them tell what tale you will*. These also abuse the courts, and cause divers orders to be made, by their false suggestions, which make suits very tedious, and more costly; insomuch that, about orders only, there is oftentimes more money and time spent, than ought to be about the whole substance of the cause.

The Fourth.

This is the great fees which counsellors take, whereby the clients are much impoverished; for they, not looking into their consciences, what they deserve, or how hardly their client (perhaps poor) may spare it, take all that comes, and are like gulfs without bottoms, never full. And further, if you have a day of tryal, or hearing, and fee your counsellor, although he be absent, and do you no good, yet he swalloweth your fee, as good booty. There is a remedy by law for excessive fees, as I have heard; but it taketh no good effect.

The Fifth.

This is making long bills in the English courts, full of matter impertinent, from the fulness of their malice, to put the defendant to greater charge. These men are often in like sort requited, and beaten with their own rods; wherefore I compare them to one, that will put out one of his own eyes, to do his enemy the like harm. I wish that such a man may pay well for his folly to his enemy.

The Sixth.

This is especially in the English courts also, where the under-clerks, with their large margins, with their great distance between their lines, with protraction of words, and with their many dashes and slashes, put in places of words, lay their greediness open to the whole world; and I have heard many say, that they are as men void of all conscience, not caring how they get money, so they have it; and that,

* Quere, Do not the council, who plead for a brief, do the same?

with as good a conscience, they may take a purse by the high-way, but not with so little danger; and that is all the difference. I did see an answer to a bill of forty of their sheets, which, copied out, was brought to six sheets; in which copy there was very sufficient margin left, and good distance between the lines. Hereby every man may see how infinitely, by the abuse of petty-clerks (the court of chancery swelling, and ready to burst with causes, the star chamber, and the rest) the whole kingdom is robbed, as it were; for that copy, which should have cost but four shillings, cost four nobles. There was one presented our late worthy lady and Queen, Elisabeth, with a piece of paper, no bigger than a penny, whereon were written the Pater-noster, the creed, and a prayer for her. Now I wish, that all such clerks should be apprentices a while to such a scribe; for so, falling from one extremum to another, they may be brought to a mean: But, as for the higher clerks and officers, they would fain have this foul and unconscionable fault amended, because it maketh nothing for their profit.

The Seventh.

This last that I will speak of, but not the last, yet least by many, is touching interrogatories, and examinations of witnesses. There are many, that set down vain and frivolous interrogatories, nothing at all to the matter in question, and thereupon cause many to be examined, whose testimony maketh nothing to any purpose, neither is ever read or heard, but only causeth long, tedious, needless, and costly books, to the grievance and excessive charge of the subject. Thus have I, as it were, only nominated seven inconveniences, to persuade men to peace, and to end at home such quarrels as arise, without great vexation of mind, without great trouble of body in riding and running, and without excessive expences; all which, together with neglect of all business, do necessarily follow suits and controversies in law: *Ictus piscator dixit*. As for many others, which are greater, and whereof the last parliament began to speak, with intent to reform the same, I will say nothing. But these seven motives I desire to be picked out of their long gowns.

So have I briefly, without our new-born ink-pot terms, delivered to the view of the world my paradox, and exposition thereof, with hope to persuade some of the wiser sort to avoid drunkenness, excess in apparel, and controversies in law, with matters subsequent; which are three of the most common, costly, and offensive evils now reigning; that, by their example, others may learn to live a civil, plain, quiet, and contented life; whereby, seeming poor, they shall be rich; whereas others, bestowing much in feasting and drunkenness, braving it out with a glorious outside only, and painted apparel, living in controversy, and sparing no large fees, or great bribes, to overcome their adversaries, seem only to be rich, but are indeed very beggarly. Wherefore I conclude, as I begun, Our fathers were rich with little, and we beggars with much; for we use our much ill, and they used their little well.

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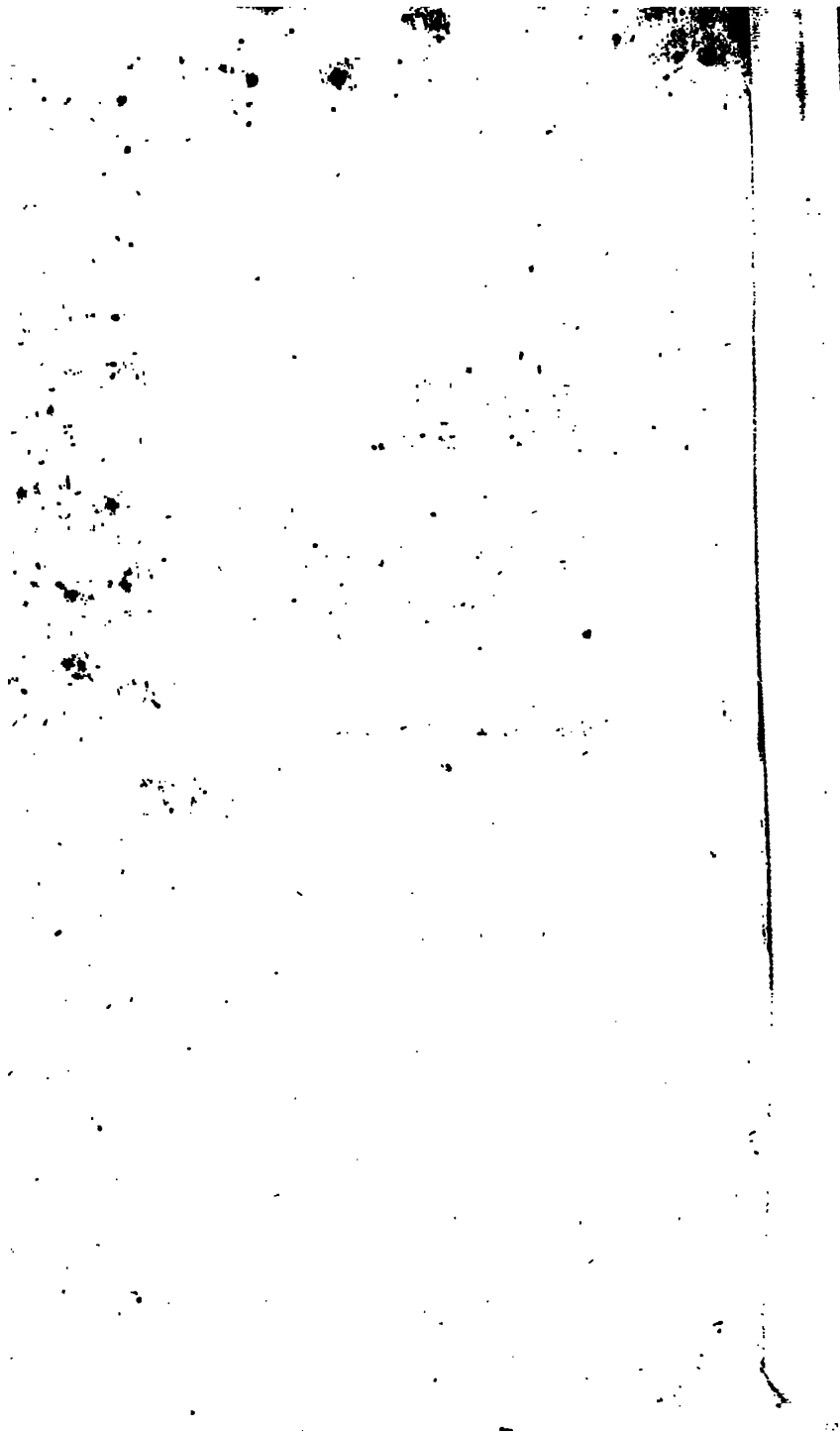
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